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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

**FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/3926) (concluded)**

1. Mr. SIK (Hungary): An extremely surprising thing has happened in the Assembly: the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is actually on the agenda de jure and de facto, not as a separate item but in the framework of the first report of the General Committee [A/3926], and for this we have to thank the delegation of the United States. The United States representative, in effect, committed a mistake to the detriment of his own aims when he chose to oppose the Indian draft resolution, a formula, by which he himself had the substance of the question included in the agenda. If he had submitted to the General Committee only paragraph 1 of his draft resolution, which merely proposes the rejection of the Indian draft resolution, we would now only have to discuss whether or not to include the Indian proposal in the agenda. But as the United States delegation also submitted paragraph 2, and as this was recommended by the General Committee with a special ruling by the President, the Chinese question as a whole is actually on the agenda. As a matter of fact, in order to be in a position to take a stand on paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, representatives have to clarify questions which would have had to be clarified only if the item proposed by India had been included in the agenda.

2. The only difference is that the General Assembly is now discussing the question of the representation of China, not on the basis of the Indian draft resolution but on the basis of the United States draft resolution, paragraph 2 of which speaks of the Chinese Republic and of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. It speaks about excluding the representative of the Chinese Republic and about seating the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Before the General Assembly can reach a decision on such a wording certain questions have to be clarified, such as the following: Are there

two Chinas? and Can it be imagined that two Chinas should be seated in the United Nations? If not, then which of the two Chinas mentioned in the United States draft resolution is the real one?

3. Paragraph 2 is so unfortunately worded from the American point of view that it has to be rejected both by those who consider that the Chiang Kai-shek clique stands for China and by those who recognize the People's Republic of China. Thus, on the recommendation of the United States delegation, the whole Chinese question is on the agenda in the framework of the General Committee's report. Representatives who not only spoke about what justifies the inclusion of this question in the agenda but also went into the substance of the matter actually had every right to do so. Although this is the case, from the point of view of procedure, the Hungarian delegation does not wish at this point to deal with the whole question; it merely intends to contribute a few modest observations on the justification for discussing the subject.

4. By now there is no one who does not realize that sooner or later the representative of the Chinese People's Republic will occupy his rightful place in the United Nations. The desperate manoeuvres introduced in an attempt to obstruct and prevent this recall to mind an absurd historical parallel. Let no one be taken aback by so momentous an example; the significance of the subject warrants a parallel of such importance. When Copernicus startled his contemporaries with his staggering discovery that it was not the sun which revolved about the earth but the earth which revolved about the sun, an edict was proclaimed in Rome, the mediaeval intellectual metropolis, that this was not so, but that the sun did revolve about the earth. However impressive the prestige of mediaeval Rome, that solemn decree was binding neither on the sun nor on the earth.

5. The United Nations does not boost its prestige by taking upon itself the role of mediaeval Rome as far as its reactions to historical development are concerned. Should the United States delegation succeed in influencing a group of delegations here to postpone settling the question of China's representation, then all tomorrow's American newspapers can do is to cheer their Government for having been able to convince certain delegations that the best way to be wise is to keep their eyes shut.

6. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, therefore, sooner or later the representative of the People's Republic of China will occupy his place here unless those anxious to turn the United Nations into a voting machine break up this Organization before the time comes. Sooner or later, for sure: the only question is—when? The sooner the better, because the greater the delay the greater will be the embarrassment of those who are obstructing the inevitable solution. The present situation has already outlived itself. This was vividly

demonstrated by yesterday's debate. After the representatives of India, the United States and the Soviet Union, someone came to the rostrum whom the President announced as the representative of China. In such a heated debate it would have been natural for the entire Assembly to hang on his words and to be all eyes and ears to know what China had to say in the stormy debate about China. But what happened instead? As soon as the President had called upon him there was exodus of representatives from the Assembly hall; journalists left their posts and a great many of those who stayed behind obviously preferred to turn their attention to something more profitable than listening to the speaker.

7. Let us not be deceived. The fact is that whichever way the majority votes, the Assembly today no longer regards those who occupy the seats designated for China as the real representatives of China. The time is ripe, therefore, for solving this question not only in the international arena, but also here in the Assembly hall. This being so, what is it then that is delaying the majority from voting to this effect?

8. First, I should like to speak of the reason about which little has been said, the skeleton in the cupboard, so to speak, then I shall speak of the reason which has received plenty of airing here already.

9. What about the skeleton? It is assumed that the whole Far East policy of certain Western Powers will suffer a serious loss of prestige if the representation of China is solved here and now. I should like to ask two questions on this point. First, what is more important, the prestige of the United Nations or the prestige of certain Western Powers? Secondly, would the Far East policy of certain Western Powers not have come off more lightly, as far as loss of prestige is concerned, if this question had already been solved, and will not these Powers suffer a still greater loss of prestige if they continue in their anachronistic attempt to bring to a standstill the inexorable course of history?

10. The Second reason, about which much has been said, is the present situation in the Far East and the Warsaw talks. What some speakers advanced as an argument for procrastination should be recognized as the reason justifying speedy action, particularly if we take into consideration that the threat of an atomic war has raised its head in the Far East. The simplest way for me to prove this is to refer to the statement made by the President of the United States on 28 August at his Press conference on this subject, in reply to a question by Mr. Felix Belair of The New York Times. According to the latest American Press despatches, Chiang Kai-shek units are also being equipped with guns suitable for nuclear war-heads. The threat is greater than is generally supposed because there is a danger not only of the local war spreading, but of an outbreak of an atomic war.

11. The present situation in the Far East, therefore, makes it peremptory to solve the question under discussion. This question has already been solved by history; this has only to be recognized by the United Nations General Assembly.

12. Therefore, the Hungarian delegation will vote in favour of the seven-Power amendments [A/L.245].

13. Mr. THORS (Iceland): First of all, Mr. President,

may I congratulate you on your election to this high office.

14. Before I comment on the proposals actually before us today regarding the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, allow me first to explain our attitude toward this problem in general.

15. We feel that the most threatening situation in the world today is the state of affairs in the Far East. It has both its military and political aspects. My delegation expressed the opinion during the general debate in 1953 that it is ill-advised and unthinkable that a Government which is in control of and exercises authority over some 600 million people and holds such a vast territory as the mainland of China, should be kept outside the United Nations indefinitely. We have, however, always been of the opinion that the Government of the People's Republic of China must improve its standing with the United Nations before it can expect the majority of the Member States to invite it to take its seat in our Organization. It is always a matter of opinion and of careful evaluation as to when the opportune and right moment has come.

16. My delegation also feels that the ten million people of Taiwan should be given the right of self-determination and that they themselves should decide on their future and political constitution. If the people of Taiwan want, as an independent State, to become a Member of the United Nations, the new State should be welcomed amidst us. A shooting war in the Far East would both ruin Taiwan and annihilate a great part of the Chinese people on the mainland, and thus only bring destruction, suffering and misery, instead of a sensible solution. This, we think, we should all admit before it is too late.

17. In view of this, we feel that the time of adjustments in this situation is rapidly approaching and that preparations for changes should be carefully initiated and diplomatically pursued. Such preparations will take time; any abrupt change would not serve the cause of world stability and peace. We have already heard some forty speakers in the General Committee and here in the plenary meeting express the views of their Governments in this matter. We doubt that any extended discussion at this session will serve a useful purpose or facilitate a fair and sensible solution of the matter. We cannot, therefore, vote for the Indian proposal to include the question for further discussion at this session. On the other hand, we feel that it is a democratic principle always to allow discussion in the General Assembly on questions with which some delegations are concerned. In this case, the question is one of the burning issues in present world affairs. We must move on to the practical and final solution, to the inevitable solution, but move with care. We shall, therefore, abstain on the seven-Power amendments.

18. With regard to the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee, we shall consequently abstain on both paragraphs, as we will not be a party to any decision at this session. Our attitude is one of warning that changes are required and to serve notice to that effect.

19. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Many of those who were present at the meeting of the General Committee were not surprised at the result of the voting on the Indian proposal to include the question of the repre-

sentation of China in the United Nations in the agenda of the General Assembly. However, the actual results of the voting are most significant, for only twelve of the twenty-one members of the General Committee raised their hands in support of the crude attempts of the United States to prevent the General Assembly from conducting an examination that is absolutely essential—both from the point of view of the legitimate rights of the Chinese people and from that of the interests of the United Nations—of an acute and long-outstanding problem. It is an irrefutable fact that there is a deep abyss between the procedural "victories" of the United States delegation and the clearly-expressed will of the real majority of the United Nations.

20. Events have themselves drawn a clear dividing line between States Members of the United Nations which support the senseless policy of futile denial of the great role that belongs to the People's Republic of China in international affairs and the States which hold a different point of view. In this connexion, we should cast aside the idea that the United Nations as a whole—I repeat, as a whole—is responsible for the shameful farce, which has continued for many years, concerning the establishment of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The heaviest responsibility obviously lies with the United States of America. You cannot, as they say, hide a camel under a bridge. The United States representatives in United Nations organs indulge in all kinds of mystifications and in attacks against the People's Republic of China. This is merely a propaganda complement to the aggressive plans of the United States imperialists in the Far East directed against the great Chinese people. But history will not be able to pass over in silence the responsibility of the countries which provide the exact number of votes which the United States needs for its procedural "victories". It is a sad paradox that United States representatives often, for some unknown reason, regard the adoption of various resolutions convenient for the United States, especially on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, as an expression of opinion of the United Nations as a whole. This is an obvious delusion; we might even say that it is a delusion arising from too many illusions.

21. The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic greatly appreciates the efforts of the Indian delegation and of other States to cause the General Assembly to remedy the crying injustice of a situation where the place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek ghosts, who occasionally frighten people with weak nerves by the threat that if they disappear, the United Nations will cease to exist and the forces of hell will be let loose.

22. It should be borne in mind in this connexion that the first Indian draft resolution relating to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations was submitted to the General Assembly at its fifth session [A/1365] in 1950. This draft recognized that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was the only Government functioning in the Republic of China. Accordingly, it alone was entitled to represent the Republic of China in the General Assembly.

23. At the same session, the Soviet delegation proposed that the General Assembly should adopt a draft

resolution [A/1369] deciding that the representatives of the Kuomintang group could not take part in the work of the General Assembly and its organs because they were not the representatives of China.

24. Mr. Acheson, who was Secretary of State of the United States at the time and who, incidentally, unflatteringly but correctly described the Kuomintang régime in China as sunk in corruption and engaged in a scramble for position and power, nevertheless found it possible to urge the General Assembly to reject the Indian draft resolution. Since then, the State Department of the United States has followed Mr. Acheson's policy from one year to the next. At the meeting of the General Committee, Mr. Lodge recommended, not without some acrimony, that the Indian proposal should be rejected and that the United States resolution should be adopted. He did the same at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 22 September 1958 [753rd meeting].

25. The United States draft resolution recommended by the General Committee is virtually a copy of the resolutions which the United States has submitted at the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth sessions of the General Assembly. It is permeated with the hostility and hatred which the United States nurtures against the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people and its Government. This draft resolution is apparently intended to help Mr. Dulles to intensify the Chinese people's mistrust and hostility towards the United Nations. This may serve the purposes of the Secretary of State of the United States, but it is certainly not compatible with the Charter and the principles of the United Nations.

26. Furthermore, the emblem of the United Nations is the globe. China is a part of the continent of Asia, where 600 million Chinese people live, toil and build with unremitting energy and single-mindedness. China is represented on the emblem of the United Nations, as are other countries and continents, but it has been left outside this international organization. Perhaps the emblem of the United Nations should be changed; but it would surely be better for the General Assembly to reject the United States draft resolution, as being in effect an expression of the dangerous aggressiveness of the United States towards the great Chinese people, and thus to remedy a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

27. We appeal to the General Assembly to take this decisive step and to adopt the amendments submitted by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and the United Arab Republic to the United States resolution. The substitution of the words "accede to" for the word "reject" would fundamentally change the tenor of paragraph 1 of the United States draft. Instead of "Decides to reject the request of India...", this paragraph would read: "Decides to accede to the request of India for the inclusion in the agenda of its thirteenth regular session of the item entitled 'Question of the representation of China in the United Nations'".

28. The second amendment is to delete paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. This amendment is also justifiable and acceptable from all points of view particularly in view of the fact that the General Committee exceeded its powers. In recommending that no proposal to exclude the Chiang Kai-shek clique or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the

People's Republic of China should be considered at the thirteenth regular session of the General Assembly, the General Committee violated, as we have already said here, rule 40 of the rules of procedure and assumed functions which belong to the General Assembly, that is to say, it took a decision on substance, although the functions of the General Committee cannot go beyond recommendations.

29. Some people have invoked past precedents, in an attempt to justify the violation of the rules of procedure by the General Committee. What are these precedents? They are other violations of the rules of procedure which took place at the twelfth and eleventh sessions of the General Assembly in similar United States resolutions. Why should we hide behind false precedents, instead of casting them aside, and why should we increase the number of incorrect decisions that have been taken?

30. For the aforementioned reasons, the Ukrainian delegation supports the amendments of India and other States, the purpose of which is to correct the absolutely unacceptable United States draft and to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. In so doing we base ourselves on the consideration that China is one of the founders of the United Nations and one of the permanent members of the Security Council. It has signed the Charter. The People's Republic of China exists, and it is developing and becoming stronger as an important factor in international relations, irrespective of whether or not the United States recognizes it, and whether or not it is a Member of the United Nations. But our international Organization cannot function effectively without China in seeking solutions for international problems which affect the future not only of Asia, but of the peoples of the whole world. As Mr. Khrushchev pointed out in his message to the President of the United States of America, in order to solve international problems in accordance with the principle of peaceful coexistence, there must be an end to obstructionist policy in the United Nations and nothing must hamper a solution of the urgent question of restoring the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

31. United States politicians have a great deal to say about disarmament, about the reduction of China's armed forces and even about placing in Chinese territory control posts for the abolition of nuclear weapons tests. But how can any steps be taken in this direction without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China? I do not think that we are mistaken in saying that one of the reasons why the United States is hindering the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations happens to be the unwillingness of the ruling circles of the United States to solve the problem of disarmament. The United States has a great deal to say about disarmament, or, rather, about the desirability of disarmament, and at the same time it is constantly intensifying the armaments race. The United States fears that when the People's Republic of China becomes a Member of the United Nations, it will join with other peace-loving States in urging the United States to cease the armaments race.

32. The allegation that 1958 is an unfavourable year for considering the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

and that this may lead to increased international tension is laughable and completely unfounded.

33. The international situation has indeed been dangerously aggravated in the Far East, not through any fault of the people's China, but through the fault of the United States, which threatens China with aggression accompanied by the use of atomic weapons. Who can believe that the discussion by the General Assembly of the proposal submitted by India and other States carries with it the threat of aggravating the situation in the Far East? And do the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom believe such statements which may show evidence of a grim kind of humour, but hardly bear out their false assertions?

34. Mr. Lodge's reply to the statement of Mr. Gromyko, the Head of the Soviet delegation, is also full of such false and unsupported assertions. Yet the angry words of the United States representative refute or prove absolutely nothing. He made the unfounded statement that the United States was not an aggressor and went almost so far as to say that it had sent its forces, first to Lebanon and now to the Far East, on a kind of pleasure trip. Perhaps its fleet is cruising in the waters near Taiwan to satisfy idle curiosity, to measure the depths of Chinese waters, or to catch oysters.

35. It is clear to everyone present here that, in following the dangerous policy of balancing on the brink of war, the ruling circles of the United States are threatening the People's Republic of China and all Asia with aggressive war.

36. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wholeheartedly supports the proposal on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and appeals to the General Assembly to reject the General Committee's recommendations for many peoples are expecting positive results from the General Assembly,

37. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): My delegation's views on the inclusion of the item proposed by India in the agenda of the present session were stated in the General Committee [118th meeting] by Mr. Castañeda, Chairman of the Sixth Committee. I shall therefore refrain from repeating the arguments put forward by the Mexican representative in the General Committee to explain his abstention in the vote on the United States proposal.

38. I shall merely say that for the reasons then stated, the Mexican delegation will abstain in the vote on paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution adopted by the General Committee, which appears in its report [A/3926].

39. The situation is entirely different with regard to paragraph 2. The Mexican representative made it clear in the General Committee that we are in agreement with the substance of this part of the draft resolution. We do not think this is an opportune moment to examine the thorny problem of the exclusion of the representatives of the Republic of China or the admission of other representatives.

40. Furthermore, there is no doubt of the general Assembly's competence to consider and settle the question of the adjournment of this item, whereas there are very serious doubts concerning the powers

of the General Committee in this regard under rules 40 and 41 of the rules of procedure.

41. For these reasons my delegation will vote in favour of paragraph 2.

42. I should like to say, Mr. President, that if it is considered necessary to take a vote on the draft resolution submitted by the General Committee after the vote on the amendments, on which my delegation will abstain, my delegation would like the two paragraphs of the operative part to be voted on separately, in accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure.

43. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I am grateful to the President, for the opportunity he has given me to exercise my right of reply in this debate.

44. The time devoted to this problem in the last few days—some three hours in the General Committee and something like eight hours of debate in plenary meeting, with eight speakers in the General Committee and thirty-two in the plenary sessions, that is, excluding the President's not non-controversial intervention—is a proclamation of the importance of this item and contradicts the view that we need not discuss it. Since the Assembly now has the opportunity of considering this subject, even though it came in by the back door, as it were, it is taking full advantage of this limited opportunity. If we add to this the concern that is in the minds of Members, sometimes expressed in one way, sometimes in another, we should come to the conclusion that it would be a violation of the wishes of the majority of the peoples of the world to ignore the prevailing vast sentiment and to exclude this subject from full and mature consideration by the Assembly. Some have expressed themselves to the effect that exclusion is both legitimate and necessary. But it is only fair to look at the objections.

45. The main objection is that discussion is not timely. Now, that is merely a matter of opinion! Not even those who have said that discussion is not timely have denied the urgency of this problem. I think the foremost exponent of this view, though his speech was very brief, is Sir Pierson Dixon of the United Kingdom, who said [753rd meeting] that the deep division of opinion on this subject in the United Nations would embitter the Assembly's proceedings. This might have been true three days ago, but we have had an expression of the alignments of opinion and of the strong feelings in this matter. Therefore a proper discussion would only assist in bringing the subject into proper proportions and perspectives whereby the cases on either side could be put.

46. My delegation has said here and in the General Committee—and repeatedly—that we are not asking at this moment for an expression of views on what might come out of the discussion on this item. I should like to say again that if the item were on the agenda it would enable those who are so sure of the untimeliness of this matter, who have been throwing dark and sometimes not-so-dark hints about all the implications of this problem, to air their views much better. My friend, the representative of the United States, said that if he really wanted to argue the substance of the matter, there were very persuasive arguments which would make the Assembly reject this item or reject the whole proposition when the time came. If those arguments are so "persuasive"—and the representative of the United States is not without influence or without

the power of voice, or the power of persuasion—why does he not come and try to persuade? Is this not a place for persuasion? It is a place for asking people whom you may influence and with whom you may argue to accept your views, not to shut their minds to a problem that is so difficult, that is so full of grave implications. It is not as if the representative of the United States thought he had a weak case. He thinks he has a strong case, and what is more, a case which will persuade the Assembly. I do not say in what way; he says he can persuade. Then, why not try persuasion?

47. But the best answer to my colleague from the United Kingdom has come from other representatives who have spoken here. The representative of Finland, who made a brief observation, said [753rd meeting]: "My delegation fails to see how the successful activity of the United Nations could be furthered by not considering this matter here". Here is a country which is far away from China and which, so far as I know, has no political affiliations with the present Chinese Government, one which in no way stands in a position of fear or favour concerning the People's Republic of China and which does not usually intervene in every proposition in this Assembly, but which now comes here and tells us that we are not going to lose anything, that the successful activity of the United Nations will not be hindered by considering this matter.

48. The same thing comes from another country, again far away from China, that is, from the representative of Sweden, who said that an opportunity should be given for discussing this matter.

49. But I think the strongest argument in favour of free speech has come from the representative of Ireland. It is in words similar to those of Voltaire: "I disagree with everything that he says but I insist on his right to be heard." He also recognized that this is a question of major importance when he said "There can be no doubt that the situation in the Far East not only affects the interests of China and Korea, but is an immediate threat to local peace and to world peace. Indeed, I wonder whether refusal to discuss it in previous years may not have contributed to the present dangerous situation in the Far East." [753rd meeting]

50. I submit that this is not only a rebuttal of the position put forward by those who argue untimeliness; it further points to the fact that by this postponement, by this prevarication, by this refusal to face issues, by this ostrich-like policy in regard to a grave problem, we are really contributing to the very tension which it is in our interest to lessen.

51. I should also like to refer to some other statements made recently which are of very great importance because they come from sources which should command respect in this Assembly.

52. The Prime Minister of Norway, not so long ago, on 21 September, I believe, after this problem was before the General Committee, said in an interview:

"It is an absurd situation that the world's most heavily populated country is not represented in the United Nations.

"It is hard to imagine that any easing of relations in the Far East can be achieved unless a reasonable solution of the question of China's membership of the United Nations is found."

Of course, he is dealing with the main problem. But you cannot find a solution to this problem if you refuse to discuss it.

53. This is the same position taken by the Foreign Minister of Sweden, who said:

"It becomes more and more absurd that Chiang Kai-shek's Government, which, with its army, has got asylum on Formosa, should be regarded by the United Nations as the legal representative of the biggest country in Asia."

54. I do not know what commentary history will pass on this. There have been many comic opera scenes in the march of history, but this would be perhaps one of the biggest of them where, as I said the other day, the seat of a permanent member of the Security Council, of one of the five stewards of the security of the world so far as the United Nations is concerned, is occupied by individuals who do not represent their country; and, what is more, those who do represent that country are excluded from that seat.

55. I have no desire to speak at length in order to controvert each argument that has been adduced. In fact, there are no arguments to controvert. I have been in this Assembly during most of the debate and I have looked at all the speeches. The only real arguments that have come up are, first, that a discussion would be untimely; secondly, that it may add to tension; and, thirdly, that China has disqualified itself by its conduct. These are the three main arguments that have been brought forward.

56. On the other hand, the Assembly has also to look at the sentiments of people who are very near to China, those who, for the last few years—some of them, like us, from 1949 onwards and others more recently—have established diplomatic, trade and other relations with China. It is not right for the Assembly to disregard those sentiments because they are the sentiments of people who speak from first-hand experience.

57. I hope that other representatives will not think I am making an invidious comparison when I say that none of these statements were more emphatic than that made by the representative of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, this morning [754th meeting], when he gave his experiences. What is more, he pointed out to the Assembly an argument which some of you will not accept, namely, that if there was a so-called communist menace in his country, it was before there was the friendship with his people and his relations with the People's Republic of China. The feeling in Cambodia is the result of understanding and good neighbourliness.

58. My colleague from Indonesia, who has had reason in recent times to be concerned about the security of his own country—a vast land where the possession of coastal islands raises a problem which is very onerous for his Government, and where, if any country were to claim passage through the islands on the grounds they were "open seas", the integrity of that land would be threatened—tells us:

"But is not the United Nations, by continuously postponing consideration of this question, in fact inviting the People's Republic of China to find its way into silencing the United Nations and incapacitating its potentialities for promoting tranquillity and understanding in international relations? This is in-

deed a sad development. For us, an Asian country, it may well be catastrophic. We are not thousands of miles removed from China. China is our neighbour and the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the Far East is naturally a matter of immediate concern to my Government and people." [753rd meeting.]

I would like for half a minute to dwell on the last part of this statement. I would particularly like Western representatives to ponder that for a moment. To us, it is not an academic question. We are not wedded to any continental compartmentalisms. But neighbourhood, distance, geography and cultural affinity have impacts upon the relationship of nations—we are no exception. Our security, our future and our capacity to develop depend very largely upon the stability in the Far East, and we would like representatives of Europe and of countries of the American continent at least to carry away with them the impression that in taking the attitude they are taking they are isolating themselves to a very considerable extent from the large continents of Asia and Africa.

59. Then we had an expression of views which we were asked to imagine were the views of the United States. Here I want to say that, while it is true that every country has one vote, that we are all equal, sovereign States in this Assembly and that our status may be equal, in political affairs equality of status does not always mean equality of function. It would be unrealistic to ignore the economic or the political importance or the moral power of great States. Therefore, my country has great respect for the views of the United States and, if I may say so, even for some of its predilections. We are prepared to understand its difficulties.

60. But I think it would be wrong for this Assembly to think that public opinion in the United States is not equally exercised by this problem. We have here statements of people who have been in important positions. Mr. Dean Acheson, the former Secretary of State of the United States, whom history will not characterize as being a partisan of China or a partisan of pacification, much less appeasement in the Far East because it was during his time that great troubles began, said: "The important fact is that always, until the present civil war, the off-shore islands—Quemoy, Little Quemoy and Matsu—have been controlled by the same power which controlled the adjacent coast".

61. I thought that after the recent Middle East developments the idea of a Power vacuum had been rejected. Apparently it has not. This is not a no-man's land which does not belong to anyone. The United States has never claimed it and has no territorial ambitions there. My Government does not take the view that the United States has territorial ambitions in the Far East. But, however that may be, these islands are part of China. I will deal with this matter when I go back slightly into the historical aspect of this question. Mr. Acheson stated further:

"These, whatever may be said of Formosa, are the coastal islands, as are Long Island, Staten Island and Martha's Vineyard. Their population is minimal. The only purpose of their being held by a force hostile to the mainland Government is to block the mainland harbour of Amoy and to offer a threat as an invasion base."

Coming from such a source, the characterization that the occupation of these islands by those who now occupy them is a threat to the integrity of China must carry some weight with this Assembly. I will not read the rest of the statement because it would be an intrusion into American politics.

62. Then we are told that a new situation has arisen because there is a "hot war" or a near "hot war" or shelling or trouble in the Quemoy area. May I say that we must be strictly accurate about these matters. The region near Quemoy and Matsu cannot be regarded as the Taiwan Straits area. It is the Chinese Mainland area. There must be a difference in our minds between the Gulf of Formosa, as we knew it before we began to call it the Taiwan area, which surrounds the Island of Taiwan and those areas in the territorial Sea of China which lies along its coast; otherwise the position of every country would be very difficult.

63. We have been treated to many observations in regard to the new position which has arisen on account of the shooting and shelling in Quemoy. As I have said, I think we must be accurate about these matters. The shelling of Quemoy has been going on for the last eight years, with intermissions, and that is why it is necessary for us to look back into the history from which the present situation in China has emerged. Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, the régime which is now ruling China, and which alone is competent to represent the Chinese State, was the occupant of only a very small part of China, in the south. At that time, while they had a Government, and while even the United States at that time had some kind of *de facto* dealings with that Government—at the time of General Marshall—they were not recognized as a State. But, as has happened in all revolutionary situations—and the United States least of all can object to revolutions because otherwise there would be no United States—they moved on and they gradually obtained the hegemony of the whole mainland. And Formosa, Quemoy and all the coastal islands are part of the unfinished business. It would be no more correct to talk about Quemoy as not being part of China than it would have been to talk in the same way if the revolution had not been completed and if the Chiang Kai-shek people were hanging on to some part of Shanghai or some other place where they were not allowed.

64. What happened in that period? Having been defeated in a revolutionary war, the greater part of the Nationalist forces surrendered, and Chiang Kai-shek, with some of his followers, crossed the straits and went over to Formosa and lived thereafter under the protection not of the power of the Chinese people but of foreign forces. It cannot be said, then, that these islands are outside Chinese territory.

65. Then we are told that a war of aggression has begun and that China is trying to shoot its way into the United Nations. Whatever we may think of the Chinese, we should not think that they are so foolish as to believe that you can shoot your way into an Organization of this kind. But here, I think, a statement by a former Senator of the United States, Senator Lehman, is important. He said:

"One-third of General Chiang's total military forces are now stationed on these islands. Indeed, the very presence of this preponderant portion of Chiang's fighting forces on Quemoy and Matsu, an open provocation to Red China, has been cited by

President Eisenhower as a justification for our defense of the islands.

"We cannot oppose the use of force by Red China and at the same time support the threat of force by Chiang Kai-shek.

"These islands have no strategic value except possibly for aggressive purposes against the mainland of China."

66. Is this Assembly to be geared into the war intentions of a group of people who are erroneously regarded as the representatives of China in this Assembly? That is the issue we have to face.

67. Having said all this, I should also like to deal with some other aspects of this matter and, so far as possible, put them factually straight. My delegation is not concerned with the views expressed either by the United States or the Soviet Union on matters that are not relevant to the present purpose. If there has been any bandying of words between them, with one side—whichever it is—, probably using harsher language than the other, that does not alter the question. If that were so, any good argument could be spoiled by someone's making a speech not approved by the other side. We must therefore look at this question very objectively.

68. Some of the observations that have been made are likely to give the impression that there is a terrific attack going on and that the Chinese Government wantonly started a war in the hope that it would develop into a larger war in which that government might gain some strength or get other Powers behind it. And here we have a statement by Mr. Lodge, who said, no doubt on authority, no doubt on the basis of information which he has:

"They have fired some 300,000 rounds of high explosive shells at the Island of Quemoy. That is in the neighbourhood of three rounds of high explosives for every man, woman and child on the island. This barrage against Quemoy, which was started less than a month ago, recalls the attempted invasion in October 1949 and the attack against Quemoy in September 1954. In this latest barrage, 1,000 civilians have already been killed." [753rd meeting.]

Incidentally, the year 1954 is important, and I shall return to it.

69. Mr. Lodge goes on: "We think that this is not only a further disqualification to be added to the already long list in so far as United Nations membership is concerned, but we think ...", and so on and so forth.

70. Now, what are the facts? There is no evidence that this amount of warfare is going on except in propagandist minds and in the pages of certain newspapers. On the other hand, we have certain evidence from one of the American magazines which, I am told, is very closely associated with what is called the "China lobby" in the United States. I usually do not quote from Time magazine—but, since this quotation comes from an adverse source, it may have some value, because if this magazine could have said the reverse, it would have done so. This article from Time reads:

"Peking's ultimatum was backed up by the thunder of the heaviest sustained artillery barrage the world has seen since the Korean war."

That is not a long time; if they had said "since 1914", I could have understood it.

"Day after day, Red Chinese batteries rained 152-mm. and 122-mm. shells on Quemoy... It was a heavy shelling, but hardly the 122,000 rounds estimated by Nationalist headquarters in Taipei. Nationalists reported about 700 civilian and military casualties killed and wounded."

Then, a week later, on 15 September, Time reported:

"The Quemoy we saw in the three days and nights before the Chinese Nationalist plane flew us out did not look as though it had been plastered with 140,000 rounds of artillery. Only four shells have hit Quemoy City, where by day life goes on as usual in narrow streets lined by two-storey houses..."

"In those parts of the island lying nearest to the Communist guns, every other house has been hit. Yet, surprisingly few have been demolished. Officially, 6,000 houses have been damaged, 600 totally destroyed. Civilian dead since Aug. 23"—and this report is dated 15 September—"now approaches 40".

71. I looked for evidence which could be brought here, because one already had reason to know the facts and one had to find the evidence that could be placed before the Assembly with some chance of acceptance. Therefore, I should like to say that what goes on in the off-shore islands is part of the revolutionary war that has gone on for the last thirty years. There is nothing new in this. As I say, it has been going on for a long time, even though it has been slowed down at times in the hope of negotiations.

72. I now want to offer one or two other quotations because they come from different parts of the world. I should like to read, first, part of an editorial from El Tiempo, of Bogotá, Colombia, of 13 September. No one can say that that part of the world is either pro-communist or pro-Chinese Government, or anything of that sort. The editorial is entitled "The Madness of Formosa", and it reads:

"In the case of Formosa, the West has committed the error of ignoring reality, which is inexcusable in politics. The United States insists on not recognizing any Chinese Government except that represented by General Chiang Kai-shek, head of a defeated army and authentic representative of a feudal, corrupt and inept administration, which was not only rejected by the Communist revolution but also by the people of China without any political distinctions, and those people would not like once again to see a similar Government installed..."

"The facts of political life do not always correspond to our desires and prejudices. But this does not make them any the less important facts."

I have many excerpts from Canadian periodicals expressing very strong opinions, but I do not propose to read them.

73. I should like to go a little into the present situation. I would want to remind the Assembly, as I did the other day, that this situation is in all conscience very serious. At the time of the Korean war my Government—we claim no credit for it and have not cast ourselves in the position of a general intelligence

bureau for the world, or as mediators—in a similar situation conveyed information to the relevant quarters which, if it had been heeded, might perhaps have had the result of preventing the extension of the sphere of that war.

74. In connexion with Quemoy, reference has been made to 1954. In 1955, when Chou En-lai came to Bandung, he proclaimed to the world, after various conversations had taken place, that China desired to settle the problem of Taiwan by peaceful negotiations, and he also suggested direct negotiations with the parties concerned, by which he meant Chiang Kai-shek on the one hand, and the United States on the other. Helpful developments took place, although they did not go so far as they might have done. A first group of prisoners was released, and some attempt was made to set up negotiations. Unfortunately, those negotiations were not stepped up to the level where they could have yielded full results. But it is interesting to note that all the time those negotiations were going on there was quiet on Quemoy.

75. In the early part of this year, I believe, the Geneva conversations terminated. At the same time the troubles in Quemoy began all over again, and somewhere in the early part of August troubles began in the Straits. We hold no brief for the conduct of the Chinese Government—it is a sovereign Government and does not require our special pleading—but it is our duty, especially since that Government is absent from this Assembly, to place before you such information as we in good faith believe to be true: in the early part of August, intervention in the inland waters of China began, and on 23 August, artillery responses were begun from the Chinese mainland by the Government there. It has to be remembered that at the beginning of this period the Formosan authorities had 30,000 persons on Quemoy. At the present time they have 80,000 persons on Quemoy and 115,000 on all the off-shore islands together.

76. Now, where does the aggression lie? Here is a vast country, with a Government that is the proper authority, threatened on its own territory and so near its mainland, by very nearly one-third or one-half of the army of the Nationalist forces on Formosa and by the augmentation of those troops from 30,000 to 115,000. I suppose that in the normal course of things a Government would take—I do not say should take—some steps toward self-protection.

77. That is the genesis of the present trouble. What I would point out to the Assembly is that the trouble did not begin because this item was coming before the United Nations. It did not begin because there was any other particular development in the world. All that took place was the breakdown of certain negotiations which were going on between the Chinese themselves—the government elements and the Kuomintang elements. After all, this is a Chinese business. There are two Chinese parties, and this is the continuation of a great civil war. I am sure that the United States will not object to civil war, because without a civil war there would have been no United States historically.

78. Therefore, when those negotiations in Geneva broke down and it appeared, therefore, that there was no possibility of negotiated settlements, those who were likely to benefit from war took to other methods.

There was intervention in the inland waters of China and a vast augmentation of the troops there. It would be improper for me to read out the strength of forces in other places in the Taiwan area. All this led to the present situation, a situation of great implications. Our information is that at the present time it is the wisdom and the strength of the United States that restrains the Nationalist forces from any adventurous exploits by air on the mainland. We hope that that influence will continue. But in a situation of this kind, and especially when one is fighting a losing battle and, what is more, fighting for a cause which has no moral backing, it is not always possible to relay on the losing party submitting to restraint in that way. If some forces should be let loose, then, given the fact that various sides are armed with weapons of a diabolic character, the world would find itself in a very ominous situation. That is why, in spite of various appeals and in spite of our hearing all the arguments about untimeliness, we have thought it necessary to place before the United Nations the fact that we are facing a situation which, if not handled wisely, can lead to a catastrophe.

79. On the other hand, the position with regard to Quemoy is no different from that which arose when the Chinese Government took the Tachen Islands some time ago. That was not regarded as a war of aggression, but the Tachen Islands were taken. We are firmly convinced at the present time that the position taken up at Bandung by the Chinese Prime Minister still holds and that a peaceful settlement of this problem is possible provided there is a peaceful approach on all sides. No other solution of the problem is possible because after a war there would be no more problems to settle. If the correct approach is made, it is possible to bring about a degree of understanding on this question. And if the talks in Warsaw do not proceed on the basis of pre-conditions that neither side can accept then it is possible that there could be understanding, and the so-called Taiwan problem and the tension in the Taiwan Strait could be settled by negotiation, as was suggested in 1955 to the parties concerned.

80. But negotiations relating to the integral territory of a country are a very different problem. I have no desire to drag out this discussion any further. I do not know whether it is proper for me to go into it in any greater detail, but up-to-date information from China seems to indicate that if those parties which think that the danger of war would benefit them are restrained, and if we accept the fact that this is very largely a matter of two Chinese parties, it is possible for the Chinese Government and the Formosan authorities to come to an agreement in their own way, with regard to themselves and their own motherland, and we should leave them to it. This does not mean that the world is not concerned about any acts of cruelty on either side, but there are ways and means of dealing with such things which are not beyond the political powers of men.

81. When Quemoy and the adjoining island of Amoy, were harassed, it was not only Chinese shipping which suffered. In the last few years United Kingdom shipping has been subjected to bombing by the Nationalist forces. And as I have said, on 19 August the date on which certain military events took place in that area, Amoy was frequently bombarded and

suffered much damage, and Chinese shipping was interfered with. China began the artillery bombardment on 23 August, with the results that we know.

82. My Government is not in favour of settling any problem by the use of force, even when there is a question of legitimate rights, but we have no right to expect that every Government will take that view. When China expresses its peaceful intentions, it must be accepted at its word. That would be the best part of wisdom, and I think that in the agreement to renew ambassadorial talks at Warsaw we have an earnest of those intentions. It is up to all parties concerned to make those ambassadorial talks as fruitful as possible and not leave it at the ambassadorial stage.

83. My Government, while it has no role in this matter of mediation, has always been at the disposal of any party, and would be prepared to use its good offices, for what that is worth, to assist in reducing tensions. There are, of course, problems in relation to the large forces that are now occupying Quemoy Island and the future of those forces. I can only say that these problems are not insoluble. While the situation continues to be grave and, what is more, may well lead to a larger conflict which may in turn degenerate into a widespread war and which might be impossible to localize— I do not say it will be impossible, I say it might be impossible—the situation offers every reason for hope, because the history of the past three years has shown us that it is possible for us to obtain the Chinese Government's adherence to the statement made at Bandung that these problems will be settled by peaceful negotiation.

84. Peaceful negotiation would be assisted if the Chinese people could think that the General Assembly is looking at this problem rather than ignoring it. We have brought this item before the Assembly year after year. It is not a sort of very hardy annual; this year it is more important than any other. The speeches that have been made here have shown the concern of many people, and I would ask those who are wavering not to cast their vote so as to make the Chinese people think that there is no response from our side to this attitude of peaceful negotiation. I am not here either to plead as to whether actions are all right or all wrong. That would be very improper for me to do. But my Government is convinced that, if we choose the right approach, if the Assembly shows that it is not ignoring this problem—in fact the world cannot settle down, nor any of its problems be solved if the 639 million Chinese people are ignored—we can find a settlement.

85. I am sure that this is the desire of those who will vote for or against these amendments. It is also interesting to note that more than two points of view have been exposed in the course of this debate. That is another reason for the Assembly to consider this problem. We have had, as I said, nearly twelve hours of discussion, but the discussion did not go into the real merits of the problem; it did not enable the Chinese people to be convinced that we are actually trying to solve this problem, not to shelve it.

86. It is no use our ignoring the fact that sooner or later—sooner if we are wise, and the sooner the better for us—this problem will have to be solved in terms of historic realities, in the same way that the problems of large numbers of South American States were

handled after the revolutions that took place on that continent.

87. With these observations, I submit our amendments to the General Assembly in the earnest hope that those who feel that their Governments are in a position to do so can support the point of view put forward and allow this item to be included in the agenda. That is all we ask. We do not say that the question should be discussed tomorrow. But if it were on the agenda, it would give us the time and the facility to bring the parties into negotiation, to turn a new page, to open a new chapter. On the other hand, I hope that no one—I say, no one—will vote in such a way as to seem to shut the door on all discussion. To say that the item is untimely is to say that we will not discuss it. It may be another way of saying it, but it means the same thing and we cannot ignore that fact.

88. I appeal to all the Member States to cast their votes in favour of a discussion of this item by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

89. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it two documents: first, the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee in paragraph 12 of its first report [A/3926] and secondly, the amendments [A/L.245] to this draft resolution, submitted by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and the United Arab Republic. I shall request the Assembly to vote separately on the two amendments. A roll-call vote has been requested on all the votes to be taken on this matter.

90. I now put to the vote the first amendment, to substitute the words "accede to" for the word "reject" in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll call.

France, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland.

Against: France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya.

Abstaining: Greece, Iceland, Israel, Laos, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Austria, Ethiopia.

The amendment was rejected by 40 votes to 29, with 12 abstentions.

91. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the second amendment to the draft resolution which reads: "delete paragraph 2".

A vote was taken by roll call.

New Zealand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Libya, Morocco, Nepal.

Against: New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

Abstaining: Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Austria, Federation of Malaya, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Laos, Mexico.

The amendment was rejected by 41 votes to 29, with 11 abstentions.

92. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): We should like to have a recount on the number of abstentions.

93. The PRESIDENT: The result of the vote is as it was announced: 41 votes against, 29 in favour with 11 abstentions.

94. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee. We shall vote first on paragraph 1.

A vote was taken by roll call.

China, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile.

Against: Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, New Zealand, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Austria.

The paragraph was adopted by 40 votes to 28, with 13 abstentions.

95. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Finland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia.

Against: Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark.

Abstaining: Greece, Iceland, Israel, Laos, Libya, Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Austria, Federation of Malaya.

The paragraph was adopted by 42 votes to 28, with 11 abstentions.

96. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Indonesia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras.

Against: Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India.

Abstaining: Israel, Laos, Libya, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Austria, Greece, Iceland.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 44 votes to 28, with 9 abstentions.

97. The PRESIDENT: There remains one final matter in the report of the General Committee which the Assembly should consider. The Committee, in paragraph 16 of its report, has recommended a special meeting of the General Assembly to be held on 10 December 1958 for the observance of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I assume that the Assembly endorses this recommendation and that such a meeting will held.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

98. The PRESIDENT: Now that we have completed the consideration of the report of the General Committee, we shall resume the general debate.

99. Mr. FIGL (Austria): ^{1/}The Austrian delegation believes it to be of significance that the General Assembly has elected as President of its thirteenth session a man who during a long and brilliant career in the service of his country has been guided by the same principles and ideals that have found their universal and compelling expression in the Charter of the United Nations. These aims and principles constitute the unalterable basis of the Austrian foreign policy, the more so since the universally accepted rules of international law are an integral part of the Austrian Constitution.

100. The everlasting neutrality which was proclaimed by our Parliament of its own free will after the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955, has not in any way prevented us, nor shall it prevent us in the future, from co-operating actively in discussing and solving the manifold and frequently complex problems of our age. We even believe that it is precisely our particular geographic location, at the dividing line between two worlds, and the specific mentality of our people, as well as our international status, which give us a special opportunity to contribute, in given circumstances, towards the bridging of existing differences by means of clarification and mediation.

101. It was with great satisfaction that Austria took note of the resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly at its special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] with respect to the conflict in the Near East. This resolution not only prevented an extension of the crisis in this crucial area of the world, but contributed to a further strengthening of the authority of this organization. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was entrusted with the highly responsible task of working out constructive proposals for the peaceful evolution and economic development of the Near East. The Austrian delegation places the highest confidence in the diplomatic skill of the Secretary-General through whose initiative a previous dangerous conflict in the Middle East area was settled in 1956. The experience gained at that time with relation to the United Nations Emergency Force justifies the hope that we will succeed in creating a permanent United Nations peace force that may also be used if needed in other parts of the world. If called upon, Austria is in principle prepared to co-operate in such an undertaking.

102. Closely connected with the solution of the crisis in the Near East is the question of the Palestine refugees, a problem which has at last to be eliminated not only for political but also for humanitarian reasons. We Austrians know from our own experience with European refugees about the physical and moral hardship of displaced persons, and we can with due modesty point to our contribution towards alleviating their situation. Since 1945 Austria has granted asylum to more than one million of these unfortunate human beings. Far more than 200,000 have found their permanent home in Austria. Additional efforts by the other States of the

^{1/} Mr. Figl spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

United Nations will, however, be necessary to bring about a final solution of this problem in conformity with the suggestions and the appeal of both the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in the Near East.

103. Unfortunately, the hopeful atmosphere resulting from the emergency special session of the General Assembly and the subsequent relaxation of tension in the Near East was soon thereafter disturbed by another serious crisis this time in the Far East. We hope that direct negotiations between the Powers concerned will succeed in bringing about a realistic solution of those problems which are at the root of this crisis. Such a solution, however, can only be found if all parties concerned abstain from the use of force according to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

104. In view of the ominous development of modern means of mass destruction, mankind realizes more and more that international conflicts cannot possibly be solved by force. This realization is one further and compelling reason for discontinuing the dangerous as well as senseless armaments race and the staggering inflation of military budgets. Indeed, is it not the most urgent task of our generation to deal with this question without consideration of prestige or propaganda in that spirit of responsibility and objectivity which alone can lead to its solution? Fortunately, new perspectives have opened up in this field which give rise to the hope that there will be an improvement in the international climate and a greater willingness on the part of the big Powers to reach a mutual understanding. The specific results of the Conference of Experts in Geneva on the technical feasibility of controlling nuclear tests, the readiness of the big Powers to negotiate an agreement regarding the suspension of such tests, as well as their willingness to discuss safeguards against surprise attacks, all lead to the hope that the deadlock in the disarmament discussions will at long last be broken and that a settlement of the problem will gradually be achieved. Positive results regarding these technical details could pave the way to a global agreement on disarmament.

105. The recent developments in the field of technology, reaching into outer space, create new serious problems which call for clarification. We therefore welcome the fact that the General Assembly at its thirteenth session will deal with this matter in order to initiate a study on the peaceful use of outer space.

106. This very day also happens to be the opening day of the second session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Organization in Vienna. One year ago, I expressed from this rostrum my deep satisfaction that Vienna was chosen as the seat of this Agency. The Austrian Government has put at its disposal all the facilities necessary for the efficient working of this organization. We are confident that at this session, the General Conference will succeed in achieving tangible results on the road towards harnessing atomic energy for peaceful use.

107. In the interest of a lasting and genuine peace, it seems to us indispensable that the United Nations should intensify its efforts to create better living conditions for all peoples of the world. The unprecedented achievements of technology provide new means of mastering these tasks more rapidly and more ef-

ficiently than heretofore. We have learned with great satisfaction that new projects for the economic development of the under-developed countries have been submitted to this Assembly. We welcome the establishment of a United Nations Special Fund for this purpose. The setting up of long-range projects should, however, be accompanied by long-range credits for their implementation and should also meet regional requirements.

108. The creation of better living conditions is also an essential prerequisite for the peaceful co-existence of all nations. The attitude of the Austrian Government as to this question was clearly expressed at the twelfth session of the General Assembly. The Austrian Government is convinced that in this divided world in which we have to live peaceful co-operation between nations is of decisive importance. We believe, however, that this co-operation, in order to be really fruitful, should be guided by respect for the fundamental human rights on which the Charter of the United Nations is based. We have therefore never hesitated to stand for freedom and human dignity. No one can accuse a country like Austria of ulterior motives when it raises its voice in defence of humanity. As the representative of this country I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to address a renewed appeal to our neighbour State, Hungary, to grant an amnesty to all those who, following the events of October 1956, are still in prison. But at the same time I appeal to the responsible statesmen of all other nations, whatever their form of government, in which human beings are being deprived of freedom or equal rights on account of their political or religious convictions, their race or language.

109. May this spirit of tolerance and humanity prevail among those taking part in the forthcoming deliberations of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The difficulties of our task and the limits of our possibilities we do not ignore. But much can be achieved if we are guided by right, justice and mutual understanding.

110. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): Mr. President, it is both my privilege and my pleasure to congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation, on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. I would say that this is a signal honour which you richly deserve if for no other reason than your long and useful association with this body. We have every reason to hope for, and to look forward to, a most successful session of the Assembly under your leadership.

111. Two profoundly encouraging signs have, of late, been widely noted in this Assembly, namely, the remarkable self-possession which has been exhibited in the midst of tempestuous discord and the increasing tendency to approximate unanimity in the decisions taken. The first affords a sure indication of growth and emerging maturity of the Assembly; the second augurs well for the weight and force of its influence wherever its "presence" has been invoked. It is heartening that this inclination to comprehensive accord could manifest itself even in those central issues of our time on which one would expect a bitter divergence of views. May the General Assembly at this thirteenth session, stimulated by past example, voice its universal sentiments in the same universal fashion.

112. This development, however gratifying, should not mask from our view the realities which today so harshly divide our world and fragment man's

allegiances. In a sense there are no ultimate solutions; there are only ultimate problems. But this is merely to say that we acknowledge the frailties of man; that we are not gods. We cannot, however, be released from the inescapable obligation to persist in seeking solutions to the problems with which the life of mankind is sorely beset.

113. Of these problems, none confronts us so starkly as the issue of whether man in his lack of wisdom shall cause his own extinction, or whether man in the fullness of his wisdom can achieve his own redemption. The resolving of this issue permits, I dare say, no compromise with time for, until we resolve it, the race of man on earth must remain a haunted and tormented one.

114. Disarmament has been a perennial problem with us. Undismayed by lack of results, we have tried to carry on as patiently as we could. But the past year, I must confess, was a disappointment. The inability of the Disarmament Commission to meet was a severe setback to the disarmament negotiations. The refusal of a principal Power to participate in the discussions constituted a distinct disservice to the cause of peace.

115. It may be true that the procedures and techniques of the Disarmament Commission have not been altogether perfect, but such imperfection is hardly ground for a course of action which, if obstinately pursued, would have reduced the Commission to ultimate impotence.

116. Disarmament, in the view of my delegation, is not one of those questions which can be negotiated on the principle of "the more, the merrier". Four recent developments, however, add considerably to our hopes that a "breakthrough" might be developing in the interminably protracted discussions: first, the apparent understanding among the principal Powers to suspend, on a provisional basis, further experimental explosions of nuclear weapons; second, the Geneva accord on the feasibility of policing a ban on nuclear test explosions; third, the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of Atomic Radiation concerning the hazards of radioactivity resulting from such explosions; and, fourth, the projected meeting in Geneva of technical experts from the signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the Warsaw Pact on the problem of preventing a surprise attack.

117. It may be stated that none of these developments has a direct bearing on actual disarmament measures. But if it is accepted that the safest way to test the workability of any disarmament measure is to place it on an empirical basis, and that only such schemes as could be properly controlled at a given time should be adopted, then we submit that any agreement on enforcing the temporary cessation of nuclear tests, which may be reached by the Powers principally concerned cannot fail to yield the widest implications for the disarmament problem as a whole.

118. There is one aspect of this matter about which there can be no argument, namely, that the provisional agreement to suspend tests is a positive response to the deeply human emotion of fear aroused by the dangers of radioactive contamination. While the conclusion of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation is not final, and may be considered debatable in some quarters, it does tend to support the growing view that, the less radiation, the

better for the human race. It is a view which must certainly be taken into urgent account in the coming negotiations on the halting of nuclear tests.

119. From all this, certain instructive conclusions emerge. First, the wisdom of the Assembly in enforcing over the past four years the "stage-by-stage" measures approach to disarmament and related questions has been amply vindicated. Secondly, it would appear that technical agreements may hereafter become an essential pre-condition of disarmament negotiations, providing as they do a basis which may well influence favourably the course of such negotiations.

120. We must therefore hope that the projected conferences will confirm our high expectations and that their results will enhance, in turn, the prospect for an early accord on the control of outer space and its exclusive use for peaceful scientific purposes.

121. The success of space satellites, if dedicated to the arts of peace, holds out for mankind a promise of rich and unimaginable rewards. It would be manifestly unfortunate if that hope were again frustrated by our failure to agree on such controls as would insure the use of outer space solely for peaceful scientific purposes. As early as two or three years ago proposals to that effect were initiated, but it is now apparent that they have become entangled with considerations of a different sort. It must, however, be abundantly clear that if we procrastinate any longer, hoping merely to stumble on a solution instead of actively working to achieve it, the pace of events will inevitably overtake us and result in irretrievable loss of the opportunity to utilize outer space to man's advantage rather than for his own destruction. It is hoped therefore that any scheme, even of an interim nature, for the peaceful utilization of outer space will not become inextricably involved in the general context of disarmament negotiations and that it will be made a subject of separate agreement.

122. Twice in the last two years special emergency sessions have had to be convoked to deal with problems arising out of the troubled situation in the Middle East. We all know the happy results that attended the efforts of the Assembly in the crisis of 1956—results which have exceeded even our most sanguine expectations at the time. As for the more recent crisis, we have every reason to hail the decision of the Arab States themselves to shoulder the primary responsibility for the stability and peace of their region. Apart from its special relevance to the immediate problem of the Middle East, the reaffirmation of the principle of non-interference has served as a healing touch to those who have suffered from its violation and as an emphatic warning to those inclined to flout it for selfish ends that they can do so only at their own peril.

123. It will hardly escape notice, however, that the Middle East problem has three aspects which are so intimately interlocked that a solution on one level, while fully desirable, may not necessarily produce the kind of lasting peace that we all ardently wish for the peoples of the area. In other words, the problem has to be viewed in its widest context.

124. There are no magicians in the Assembly, but only a group of burdened men trying as best they can, in a spirit of common humanity, to help solve each other's difficulties. It may well be that a completely

viable solution to the Middle East problem is at this time beyond our grasp. But it may also be that by keeping the broad issues in view, as a whole and in their naked reality, we will be kept from being led too far astray in our quest. We feel that we can sum up the Middle East problems as follows: first, the power rivalries in the region; second, the existing difficulties between the Arab States and Israel, principally as they centre on the question of refugees; and, finally, the growing strength and direction of Arab nationalism. All of these issues have been before the Assembly in one form or another ever since the United Nations began. But to say so merely emphasizes the scope and the intractable nature of the problem which, before this session is too old, will confront us once again.

125. Of the specific situation before us it is appropriate only to repeat, pending the receipt of the Secretary-General's report, the truism uttered by the preceding President of the Assembly: to the effect that deeds, not words would supply the ultimate test of the wisdom or lack of wisdom of the Assembly's decision. In the meantime, we remain vastly encouraged by the mounting evidence of good faith among the Arab nations in their relations with one another.

126. In the Western Pacific, some two hundred miles from my country, the world attention has been riveted on the two tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Since 23 August, Communist China has subjected these islands to sustained artillery action of varying intensity with the avowed intent of seizing them and the Nationalist stronghold of Formosa. The United States has in turn repeatedly warned that it will not relinquish its responsibility to defend Formosa, including the related areas of Matsu and Quemoy, if in the judgement of its President the attacks on those areas could be a prelude to an attack on Formosa.

127. As we watch day by day the varying pressures that are made to bear upon the crisis, we can only express the fear that beyond a certain point it may no longer be possible for the countries concerned to keep control of all the factors of the situation. This dire possibility and the ever-present danger that wide areas may be engulfed if the crisis reaches unmanageable proportions, make the question of the off-shore islands a critical case of profound concern to us all.

128. In consonance with the Charter of the United Nations, my country cannot accept or condone the use of armed force in the settlement of international questions. We recognize no valid substitutes for the peaceful procedures of the Charter.

129. The talks now being conducted between the United States and communist Chinese ambassadors in Warsaw have given us some ground for relief. While we may indulge in guarded expectations as to the outcome of such talks, my delegation supports the suggestion already put forward that, as evidence of good faith, Communist China should observe in the interim a de facto cease-fire in the off-shore islands area. This will serve to insulate the Warsaw negotiations from the varying fortunes of opposing military action in the Asian "rimland". We hope that Communist China will not insist on conditions so obviously unacceptable as to wreck every fair prospect of reasonable agreement.

130. If the talks break down—and let us hope that they do not—and the current situation persists, the

Assembly or the Security Council, I assume, will not fail to bring the influence of its collective wisdom to bear upon the issue in such form and manner as are suitable to the circumstances of the situation and in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

131. Elsewhere, on the periphery of the Middle East, lie the two problem spots of Cyprus and Algeria. In either case, the issue has shifted from the essence of self-determination to the form and process by which it should be applied. In the case of Cyprus, we cannot but deplore the violence which has raged periodically therein. We note, too, with mixed feelings of misgiving and hope the persistent efforts to discover some feasible common ground among the complex rival claims of the three countries involved. In the present circumstances, precipitate efforts to press too far or too fast any conceivable adjustment could wreck the chances of a permanent solution. The danger, as we see it, is not so much that there seems to be no solution in prospect as that, if the breach is so widened between the countries involved, a future solution may be rendered even more difficult.

132. In the case of Algeria, the situation has, for well-known reasons, clearly deteriorated, or at any rate has not advanced materially towards a solution. It will be recalled that at its last session the Assembly suggested that pourparlers be entered into by France, Morocco and Tunisia. Since the unfortunate incident at the Tunisian border, France and Tunisia have entered into certain agreements concerning French troops on Tunisian soil, suggesting the possibility of restoring harmony between the two countries. It may then be possible, the French having achieved their constitutional reform, to look forward to informal discussions with a view to exploring possible solutions to the Algerian problem.

133. It is clear, however, that both problems have reached the point where they cannot be permitted to deteriorate further. The overriding necessity of reaching an accommodation of the interests of the parties in each case must compel them before long to discover an appropriate solution to their difficulties and create a favourable climate for a just, peaceful and democratic settlement. As we see it, the role of the General Assembly is to encourage the parties in their search for a mutually acceptable formula of conciliation and compromise.

134. It remains for me to speak of a principal concern of a majority of the Members of our Organization: the economic development of less developed countries. It might be more true to say that this is a principal concern of all the Members, since in the last analysis world stability is directly dependent on the economic health of the whole earth, not just of a few favoured segments of it. The greater the imbalance in economic progress, the more certain the possibility that social tensions and upheavals will occur and pose lasting threats to international peace. Fortunately, the principle of common responsibility and joint action in this respect is now an accepted one.

135. It is in this light that we must view the approval last year of the establishment of the Special Fund. The aim of the Fund is to increase technical assistance by a substantial margin and ultimately to provide capital for the development of less-developed areas, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The new programme thus touches on two of the principal problems

facing most of the States Members of the United Nations.

136. There are no quick or certain nostrums for the problems of economic stability, which are patently incapable of being solved in isolation. But those of us who are concerned most of all with the strengthening of the United Nations will do well to keep in mind that in the end the strength of the Organization can have its source only in the strength of its individual Members.

137. For thirteen years we have carried on patiently and painfully, through crisis after crisis, to bring peace to our troubled world. We know not where our efforts will find surcease; whether in the survival of man with a promise of a richer life or in his total destruction. Wisdom may lose to folly, but let it not be said that, in the lifetime of this Organization, we who gather under its canopy year after year have faltered in our resolve to work out man's salvation.

138. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): Before using this opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, I must say that the intervention of the Afghan delegation in the general debate is not merely for the purpose of following a practice which is almost customary on this occasion.

139. We represent a small nation which is confronted with great problems of its own, and which is concerned with all international problems. The fulfilment of our aspirations and the solution of our problems depend not only on our own efforts but on international peace and co-operation. Therefore, we find it more essential than anybody else to voice our views in the United Nations, an Organization dedicated to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations. We shall not take the time of the General Assembly except to make a few general remarks about the international problems before the Assembly and to acquaint our colleagues with the principles that govern our policy and the spirit with which we shall approach these problems at a time when we find ourselves most concerned about the prevailing tension in different parts of the world.

140. Having considered the agenda of this session, and having in mind the prevailing world situation, we know that the present session is one of the most important sessions in the history of the United Nations, not only because we are confronted with problems of great importance and significance, but also because of the undeniable fact that most of these problems are in their most important stage.

141. It is essential that special consideration be given to the standing problems which have appeared repeatedly on the agenda of the General Assembly. We may face recent difficulties with a sense of consolation, and we may cherish a hope that these problems will be solved when they are dealt with by the United Nations. But in regard to problems which we have not been able to solve for many years, we should admit that we will not be in a position to seek excuses or cherish much hope if they are not approached in a more realistic and constructive manner at this session of the General Assembly. It cannot be denied that the solution of these long-standing problems would prevent new situations from arising and would pave the way for better understanding and more constructive international co-operation in areas where such co-operation has hitherto been hampered by the existing political differences.

142. While we say this, we must add that due to the circumstances prevailing in different parts of the world, we cannot slur over the fact that the lack of a better understanding at this session might nullify the efforts made by the United Nations at previous sessions in connexion with certain problems, efforts which in certain cases could even have been considered constructive achievements.

143. To give expression to our concerns, we are compelled to say that the situation in the Middle East, despite the efforts made at the emergency special session of the General Assembly, is still a source of anxiety and perplexity which cannot be ignored by the General Assembly. We are looking forward to a note of encouragement in the report of the Secretary-General, but we do not think that the resolution [1237 (ES-III)] adopted at the emergency special session is adequate to deal with the real causes of anxiety and tension in this area. The serious problems of this most important part of the world cannot be met successfully unless further effective measures are considered by the United Nations with the co-operation of the Arab States. My delegation stated its views on this issue at the emergency special session. The spirit of understanding demonstrated by the Arab States during that session was a source of great encouragement, not only to my delegation, which had expressed the wish that our friends in the Middle East would demonstrate such a spirit, but also to all Members of the United Nations and to people all over the world.

144. The development of events in Algeria is most discouraging. The analysis of this situation, from our point of view confronts us with two disappointing facts. The first fact is that there is war in Algeria. The second fact is that the General Assembly resolution, adopted without any opposition, has not been implemented so as at least to create a basis for hope of a peaceful solution of this problem.

145. It is a matter of regret if an unopposed resolution of the General Assembly does not receive the consideration of Member States. The results are more alarming than ever before.

146. We sincerely hope that the parties concerned will realize even at this late hour the grave consequences involved in a careless consideration of this problem, which is already an issue of a "hot" war between two peoples who have every chance of being close friends, being bound by bonds which can be considered lasting ties between nations, in an age which is "the age of the fulfilment of the aspirations of peoples and the end of Rule by Force".

147. We cannot think of any people who would be more capable of understanding the Algerian problem than the great people of France, with whom we have always had most friendly relations, a state of affairs which we have always kept in mind in the consideration of all matters, including the question of Algeria, and which we should always like to preserve.

148. While the questions of Cyprus and West Irian remain unresolved, we are receiving alarming news from the Far East. It was a source of encouragement, however, when agreement was reached on holding the ambassadorial talks which have begun in Warsaw. We do hope that a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan problem will result from these direct negotiations. Whatever the outcome may be, the spirit and the quick

decision of the parties concerned to negotiate should be appreciated. We hope that the same spirit will come to the assistance of the parties directly concerned with the problems of West Irian and Cyprus.

149. We still note that the stubborn and unjust policies of certain Powers continue in the face of the struggle of millions of people for their natural and legitimate right to independence and their exercise of the right of self-determination. In cherishing these aspirations, these people are no longer alone, as these are the common aspirations of all freedom-loving people and of all those who realize that the peace and security of the world cannot be achieved unless the fundamental right to national independence is recognized for all peoples and nations.

150. These common aspirations have been expressed repeatedly by the people of Asia and Africa and have been supported by the majority of the peace-loving nations of the world inside and outside the United Nations. We wish to state that the Afghan delegation will follow its traditional policy of support of these peoples and will dedicate all its efforts to the cause of the self-determination of all peoples and nations.

151. We note that the use of force is still in process. Actions and measures destroying stability and disturbing the balance of power in different areas are persistently prevailing and are being initiated in a careless manner. These are all matters which should receive the serious consideration of the General Assembly.

152. The important question of economic, social and cultural development of the less advanced areas of the world is one which should receive the consideration it fully deserves. Millions of people in the world are engaged in the difficult task of improving the economic, social and cultural conditions which, in most cases, were imposed upon them by unjust politics and unpleasant events of the past. Afghanistan is one of these countries. Therefore we perhaps are in a position to realize more than anyone else the sufferings of these people, for we have learned much from the bitter experience of the state of war during the last two centuries, which most happily resulted in the preservation of our independence but most unhappily imposed upon us the present economic and social conditions. While we wish to express our real appreciation of United Nations co-operation in this area, we would urge the Assembly to take more effective measures in this direction.

153. Among the unfortunate factors which have hindered the achievement of satisfactory results in this field is the regrettable competition among nations in the arms race and the lack of confidence which has been standing in the way of disarmament and, consequently, in the way of the advancement of human progress and the maintenance of peace and security.

154. The obstacles preventing the peaceful uses of new energies for the purpose of achieving a better life for the people of the world are an integral part of this great impediment to the fulfilment of the common aspirations of man.

155. No small nation can make a greater contribution than to give expression to its concern on the question of disarmament, as it is a matter which cannot be solved except by the good intentions and the realization of the responsibilities of the big Powers. Nevertheless, it remains a source of great anxiety for all

peoples everywhere. We hope that no effort will be spared to achieve satisfactory progress in this field and that this matter will be examined with concern for the welfare of humanity only and without regard to political differences and considerations of strategic positions.

156. We believe that an agreement on principles on this issue would contribute greatly to peace and stability in the world and, by lessening international tension, would pave the way for further steps which could be taken in the direction of peace and prosperity.

157. We should share the anxiety of all the people of the world concerning the destructive harm, known and unknown, resulting from radiation caused by nuclear tests, harm which can effect the health and happiness of mankind. In the light of scientific reports, we would find it almost impossible to understand why all nations would not immediately try to reach an agreement on this question. Since the achievement of these goals depends solely on the establishment of understanding and mutual confidence, the necessity of paying urgent consideration to ways and means of making it possible for nations to live in peace is obvious. Basing our views on the important consideration of the interrelationship of all these matters, we shall support any measures which will create more amicable relationships out of which peace and prosperity could grow.

158. References have been made recently to the possible creation of a United Nations peace force. My Government, having the utmost confidence in this Organization and hoping that the United Nations becomes increasingly effective as an instrument of peace, believes that this idea requires most careful study, particularly in the prevailing international atmosphere. We feel that we should be most careful in our deliberations on this issue, because any hasty or half-considered measures in this field would involve dangers that might affect the Organization directly.

159. While we are not prepared to go into the details of this matter at the present stage, we find it essential to mention that in any case the United Nations should deal with it only at the proper time and after thorough examination of the desirability of establishing such a force. The way for a thorough consideration of this matter can be paved only by greater efforts to be undertaken by the United Nations through the Secretary-General.

160. We believe, in view of all these serious problems which confront the world, that there is only one place to seek a betterment of the conditions, and that place is the United Nations. It is not for one delegation to decide how great the responsibility of the United Nations is, and we should like to see that fact realized by all of us.

161. It is our understanding that we are here with a spirit and a determination to practise tolerance, to make it possible for nations to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their desire and their strength to ensure human brotherhood. Our purposes are set out in the Charter to which we all adhere.

162. Our gatherings in the past, as we believe, have been useful and effective substitutions for war. Our presence here expresses our willingness to discuss, to negotiate and to compromise with each other. Our

duty is to make this greatest international democracy of all time a working reality, for the purpose of securing universal justice and equality. Our prestige and success depend on our respect for fundamental human rights, the dignity of the individual, and that of peoples and of nations. This understanding will be the basis of any policy that the Afghan delegation adopts during this session of the General Assembly. Our interest in the discussions of international affairs will not be limited to those things which affect us directly.

163. While we do not believe that, when discussing the relations between peoples and nations, geographical distances deserve sole consideration and while we realize that these distances are mere fictions carried over from earlier days, we attach great importance to the common cultural heritage, common aspirations and mutual bonds of cordial and neighbourly relations which we share with friendly nations in our own part of the world.

164. While we adhere firmly to our own ideology, we do not oppose any other ideology. We believe not only in the United Nations but in a united world within the United Nations, a principle which does not permit us to favour the existence of any arrangement or organization which would divide peoples and nations of the world into two or more opposing camps, or policies which would harm the principle of universality of this Organization.

165. While we are not opposed to the unity of nations in small or large peaceful groups, dedicated to making more effective contributions towards world peace and security, we do not favour the existence of any blocs or any military alliances, which have proved or will prove to be a possible source of international tension or lack of confidence between the nations of the world.

166. To give a true expression to the policy of my Government in this connexion, I should immediately add that we have never criticized and we never shall criticize the policies of any Government, nor shall we question what they consider to be the right path in the direction of their interests, but we do hope that all paths of individual or collective policies will lead towards the only true goal, the interest of mankind as a whole. This we believe is the true spirit of the Char-

ter of the United Nations, which we shall keep in mind during the discussion of all questions which arise before this General Assembly.

167. It is with great faith and a deep conviction in the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations that we greet the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I say this with full awareness of the criticism made of the activities of this Organization, the doubts in the minds of certain sections of the public in almost every country, and the confusion about the effectiveness of the efforts of the United Nations, particularly in the political field. This confusion has emanated partly from the fact that, while the activities of the United Nations in the economic, social and cultural fields are not well known to the public, they have been overshadowed by the heavy clouds of international tension and constant threats to peace and security, enhanced mostly by those who have power over the media of information and propaganda.

168. We have stated at previous sessions of the General Assembly, and we should like to state again, that our only ambition is to promote the economic, social and cultural conditions in our country and try to become a useful member of the family of nations. We wish to maintain our friendship with all nations of the world, and to achieve our aims in an atmosphere of co-operation, understanding and peace. We wish the fulfilment of this common aspiration for all nations everywhere.

169. Our approach to all questions will be guided by our impartial and independent judgement of international affairs, and our decisions will be made on the merits of the cases which are presented for our consideration. We are doing this with unalterable determination, in spite of a realization of all the difficulties and complications which the solution of human problems always involves. We are aware of all the difficulties which quite normally would confront any gathering of eighty-one nations, but we feel confident that we can still hope and that we can still avoid disappointment.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.