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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly is deeply grateful to have this opportunity to convey, on behalf of the King of Libya, his Government and his people, the best and most sincere wishes for peace and prosperity to all the States Members of the United Nations and all the peoples of the world who cherish the ideals, purposes and principles which inspired the Charter of our Organization and to which this Assembly seeks regularly each year to give substance.

2. My delegation is also happy to greet the delegations to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. In assuring them of our closest and most sincere co-operation may I express the earnest hope that the deliberations of this session of the Assembly will be harmonious and that success will crown its work.

3. On the occasion of your recent election to preside over the General Assembly for this thirteenth session, I should like to offer you my warmest personal congratulations and those of my delegation on the confidence which the Assembly has shown in you in electing you to preside over its work. The Libyan delegation is convinced that, with your broad knowledge and wide experience, you will fill this high international office with wisdom, independence of mind, neutrality, equanimity and detachment—qualities that are essential to the proper conduct of the business of a session which promises to be so important to international peace and security and to the destinies of a region with which my country is vitally concerned.

4. I should like also to take this opportunity to express my delegation's esteem for the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan—a brother Arab and African country—who has shown himself, both by his personal qualities and by the support he received from the representatives of many countries, to be worthy of the highest honours in our Organization.

5. I wish also to say that the Libyan delegation recalls with deep satisfaction the wise and effective

manner in which the President of the twelfth session, Sir Leslie Munro, performed his functions and I should like to pay a sincere tribute to him.

6. The United Kingdom of Libya, which was born under the auspices of the United Nations, has, since the proclamation of its independence on 24 December 1951, been guided by a profound desire to abide by the principles of the Organization within which it became an independent and sovereign State and it was with scrupulous regard for the letter and the spirit of the Charter that Libya took up and settled the delicate problems of international relations that arose in the early years following its entry into the family of nations.

7. Thus it was that Libya defined on a basis of understanding, friendship, mutual respect and strict regard for its territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty its relations with the Allied Powers to whose cause the Libyan refugees in neighbouring countries rallied in the Second World War with the full support of free Libyans in Libya, led by their chief, now King Idris I of Libya, who was then in exile in Egypt, with a view to liberating their territory from the foreign conqueror. Libya subsequently put forth a great effort and succeeded, under the aegis of the United Nations, in solving with patience and tolerance and in a spirit of compromise the delicate and complex problems implicit in the transfer of sovereignty. In considering the question of the United Nations Tribunal in Libya the General Assembly at its tenth session was able to appreciate at first hand Libya's determination to solve these problems in such a spirit. May I add that these efforts culminated in the establishment of a new era in the relations between Libya and post-war Italy based on mutual respect and fruitful co-operation with due regard for the dignity, equality and independence of both countries. Libyan-Italian relations are an example of the peaceful, fruitful and lasting basis on which relations could be established with another Latin country in Europe now engaged in the vicinity of our southern frontiers in a hopeless war against a sister nation which resolved almost four years ago to take up arms in valiant defence of its right to self-determination and independence and its national integrity against the blind forces of selfishness, exploitation, ostracism and bad faith.

8. I should like to make it clear that, while Libya has placed its relations with what is generally known as the Western world on the footing of frank understanding I have described, it maintains normal relations with the Eastern world while preserving its own spiritual values and its Islamic vision of the world, thus demonstrating its sincere desire to follow dispassionately and without prejudice the path of good neighbourliness and international understanding required by a clear understanding of the Charter and a sound interpretation of its provisions.

9. Being convinced that the best and most effective way of applying the principles and achieving the purposes of the Charter is for the Member States to live together in peace and a spirit of good neighbourliness and positive co-operation, Libya has earnestly worked to maintain with its neighbours—the United Arab Republic, Tunisia, the Sudan and Morocco—as with all the other Arab countries, the most friendly and close relations based on brotherhood, friendship, mutual respect and free co-operation with a view to achieving economic prosperity in the interests of all and contributing to the safeguarding of peace and security in those two vital areas of the world—North Africa and the Middle East.

10. The United Kingdom of Libya continues, as a member of the League of Arab States, to discharge its obligations within that regional organization in the firm conviction that it is thereby contributing to the fulfilment of the joint destinies of the Arab peoples and helping to establish bonds of understanding and helpful co-operation between the Governments of Member States and to create and develop conditions of stability, peace and tranquillity throughout the region in which the member countries of the Arab League are situated.

11. The Libyan delegation considers that the League of Arab States is an appropriate regional agency for the maintenance of international peace and security, in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter, which deals with regional arrangements. Accordingly, the Libyan delegation believes that it would be just and would contribute to the dissemination of the ideals of the United Nations and the fulfilment of its Purposes and Principles for the United Nations to recognize the League of Arab States and give it the place it should occupy in the Organization. Such recognition could, we believe, only enhance the prestige of the United Nations and guarantee and facilitate the carrying out of arrangements made under its auspices for the maintenance of international peace and security in the important region with which the League of Arab States is concerned. Such recognition would also, we believe, make it easier to apply any economic measures taken by the United Nations to promote the prosperity of the peoples of the region.

12. I should now like, in referring to the prospective extension of the field of activity of the League of Arab States, to welcome the decision taken by the Governments of two neighbouring and brother countries, Tunisia and Morocco, to accede to the Pact of the Arab League. This decision, impatiently awaited by the Libyan Government and people, was acclaimed in Libya and throughout the Arab world with the utmost satisfaction. Libya, which has worked to lay the foundations for an Arab Maghreb united in complete independence and pure Arabism, expresses the fervent hope that it will soon see another Arab country, Algeria, take its proper place within the family to which it belongs.

13. The Libyan delegation has the honour to inform the General Assembly that the United Kingdom of Libya recognized the Algerian Provisional Government immediately after its formation. This decision, which had the full support of the Libyan people, was taken in the conviction that the Algerian Provisional Government represents the true will of the Algerian people who have, for more than four years, been waging

a sacred struggle to achieve their ideals of self-determination and liberty so that their nation, which is determined to regain its dignity and independence, may take its rightful place in the world. Our decision also took into account the fact that the Algerian Provisional Government, which stems from the national organs at war with France, exercises *de facto* control over vast regions comprising the major part of Algerian territory; it ensures the effective administration of these regions, levies taxes there, administers justice, runs the education and health services and ensures the food supplies of the people that it is defending in the front line against aggression by a foreign army.

14. My delegation considers that recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government by Libya and the other countries which have recognized or are about to recognize it, is not an unfriendly or a hostile gesture towards France. On the contrary, this action is in keeping with the principles of the French Revolution which have unfortunately been distorted and deprived of their high human value by the insatiable appetites of colonialism, thus preventing them from being applied to the peoples affected by the European colonial expansion that began in the nineteenth century.

15. The Libyan delegation believes that recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government, in addition to being a necessary act of justice towards the Algerian people, is a positive contribution to the settlement of the Franco-Algerian dispute. The atrocious war which the French army is waging against a peaceful population is not only a grave affront to the most elementary human values and a challenge to the authority of the United Nations; it is also a serious threat to the security of neighbouring countries such as Libya, Tunisia and Morocco and is largely responsible for the disorder and instability in this area, whose development and prosperity it is retarding.

16. Only a few days ago, on 25 September 1958 to be exact, French military aircraft violated Libya's air space and machine-gunned the peaceful village of Eissine in south-west Libya not far from the Algerian-Libyan border. This raid resulted in the loss of human life and considerable material damage. Furthermore, this hostile gesture was not the first of its kind. On 3 October 1957, French armoured units supported by French military aircraft committed a grave act of aggression from their bases in Algeria against the same village, causing many victims; the village was set on fire and substantial material damage resulted. Since then the French Army has made repeated incursions into Libyan territory. The Libyan Government has protested on every occasion to the French Government against these hostile activities; it has even proposed the establishment of a joint Franco-Libyan commission to investigate these repeated aggressive activities and set up the necessary machinery to maintain peace and tranquillity along the Algerian-Libyan frontier. All these efforts have failed because of the unco-operative attitude of the French authorities.

17. My delegation would like to express the profound anxiety which the Libyan Government and people feel in the face of these repeated acts of aggression against the territorial integrity of the country and the safety of its inhabitants. It wishes also to place on record in this Assembly its energetic protest against such irresponsible actions by the authorities of a Member State of the United Nations which has special

responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council. My delegation reserves the Libyan Government's right to take the necessary steps within the United Nations to put an end to these provocative and aggressive acts by the French forces stationed in Algeria.

18. Recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government is, we believe, the most direct way for France to put an end to the terrible adventure upon which it has embarked and for which it has thus far paid so heavy and tragic a price in material damage, death, hatred and the destruction of all the values that made the French people great. The Libyan delegation is fully convinced that the enlightened self-interest of the French nation demands a sound and realistic application of the right of self-determination of the Algerian people and of its right to independence. For those purposes and for more than one reason, the Algerian Provisional Government can serve as a valid spokesman with which France can negotiate a solution in the interest of both parties.

19. According to recent news dispatches the Algerian Provisional Government, continuing to act in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the Algerian question, has made the necessary overtures. In our opinion, it would be much better to agree to enter into pourparlers than to lose precious time in vain attempts to apply a policy of integration, in whatever form it may be conceived, on the basis of a legal fiction by which no one is or has ever been convinced. The Libyan Government therefore considers that the referendum, for which thorough preparations were made by a French army and police force of 800,000 men in support of the premises of the familiar French argument, cannot be seriously considered as substantiating a conclusion carefully prepared in advance, namely, the myth of a French Algeria.

20. Libya considers that Algeria is an Arab country with all the attributes of sovereignty and independence and that nothing, absolutely nothing, differentiates it from its three neighbours to which those rights have been fully and rightly recognized.

21. Libya believes it to be its duty to tell the Assembly that France has everything to gain by recognizing one simple fact, namely, that its interests as a Mediterranean Power require it to maintain mutually profitable relations with the Arab countries of the southern shore of the Mediterranean. There is only one obstacle: the unjust and inhuman war waged by France against the Algerian people. And there is only one condition: the settlement of the Algerian question on the basis of the freedom and self-determination of peoples and their right to independence.

22. In reply to the arguments concerning the future of the European community in Algeria, I would cite the position of the foreign communities in the other North African countries: Libya, Tunisia and Morocco. They enjoy peace, respect and security, as well as increased prosperity, thus demonstrating the meaning of international obligations freely assumed and the traditional generosity of the liberated local populations; they serve as an example of fruitful co-operation between peoples of different races living together in human dignity and equality.

23. We would recall, moreover, that only a few days ago, the head of the Algerian Provisional Government, Mr. Ferhat Abbas, made a solemn declaration giving the most formal assurances with regard to respect for the fundamental rights and legitimate interests of the various minorities living in Algeria.

24. The Libyan delegation takes this opportunity to convey to the Algerian Provisional Government, from this room where the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations are assembled, the congratulations of the King of Libya, his Government and his people, and their sincere wishes for the early achievement of the complete liberation of Algeria. I should also like to express the hope that the French Government and people, finally recognizing the enormity of the errors they have committed and the jeopardy in which they are placing the human values proclaimed by the French Revolution on the battlefields of Europe, will comprehend the importance and urgency of recognizing the reality of an independent and sovereign Algeria as an essential factor in a national revival and the rebirth of a country rightly judged by history to be the repository of the true values of Western civilization. May the present French Government help this Assembly to efface the disappointing impression created by the refusal of successive French governments to act in conformity with the resolutions adopted by this Assembly on the Algerian question at its last two sessions, by contributing to the fulfilment of the principle of the Charter concerning the right of self-determination of peoples, and putting an end to the atrocious Algerian war which is so great a threat to peace and tranquillity in the area and in France itself.

25. My delegation wishes to inform the Assembly of the increasing interest with which the Libyan Government is following the efforts being made under the auspices of the United Nations to bring about agreement on disarmament. The Libyan Government earnestly hopes that the conventional arms race and the manufacture and testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons will be halted in the very near future. Libya whole-heartedly desires a resumption and intensification of the efforts made at the twelfth and previous sessions to devise a satisfactory solution of the problem of practical arrangements to halt the arms race and has noted with gratification the success of the technical talks held in recent months at Geneva on controlling nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests. My delegation hopes that those talks will be resumed in the near future with the same measure of success, to the great satisfaction of the peoples everywhere.

26. I cannot let this opportunity pass without conveying to you the grave concern aroused in Libya by the frightening news that France intends to hold its first atomic bomb experiments in the Sahara. I need not dwell on the harmful effects of experiments with a weapon which the representative of France, only a few days ago [758th meeting], described from this rostrum as "devilish". I would merely add that all the peoples of the African continent are outraged and shocked by such plans.

27. The United Kingdom of Libya believes that the huge expenditure on armaments, which greatly contribute to the aggravation of international tension and increase the danger of world war, could instead be a

factor for peace and prosperity and contribute substantially to the expansion of natural wealth and the development of mankind's resources, thus increasing the welfare of the people.

28. We are therefore most attentively following the experiments that are being made under United Nations auspices with a view to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. At the eleventh session [602nd meeting], we had occasion to express our interest in this matter in connexion with the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We then announced Libya's readiness to co-operate with the Agency by placing at its disposal the space it might require to carry out its important work and, at the same time, make it possible for Libya to benefit from the peaceful use of this potent source of energy.

29. In the belief that poverty, disease and ignorance breed despair and disorder, and seriously obstruct the genuine development and emancipation of peoples and the establishment of harmonious relations among them, my delegation is happy to be able to pay a tribute to the world-wide efforts of the United Nations to combat these scourges of mankind, thus paving the way for a brighter future and a better standard of life. On this occasion, the Libyan delegation is happy to express the Libyan people's gratitude for the technical assistance Libya is receiving from the United Nations.

30. The Libyan Government, which appreciates the high value of United Nations technical assistance to Libya and its important contribution to the advancement of the country in all fields, pays grateful tribute to the efforts made by the Organization to discharge its special responsibility towards Libya. It is confident that the United Nations will continue with the same sense of unselfish responsibility to assist the growth of a State that was born under its auspices.

31. After taking part in the Bandung Conference in the spring of 1955, subscribing to its principles and pledging itself to carry out its resolutions in the belief that in so doing it was working towards the strengthening of the United Nations and the promotion of its ideals and principles, the Libyan Government actively participated in the work of the Conference of Independent African States held early this year at Accra, the capital of the new independent and sovereign State of Ghana. I wish to take this opportunity to salute the African peoples of that new independent State who have recovered their dignity after long years of slavery, oppression and exploitation. The Accra Conference, which took place in an atmosphere of responsibility, seriousness and tolerance, provided a profitable opportunity for the independent States of Africa to discuss their common problems, establish the ties of friendship, good neighbourliness and co-operation necessary for the fulfilment of the principles of the United Nations on the African continent, consider the problems of peace and security in Africa, and promote the principles of self-determination and respect for human dignity among the African peoples. In that spirit, the Libyan delegation will follow with particular interest the discussion on questions relating to the Non-Self-Governing Territories at the current session. It hopes that the General Assembly will resolve those questions in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

32. The Libyan delegation considers that discriminatory practices and racial segregation are among the

causes of friction among Member States and they may be the starting point for international complications which jeopardize order, peace and security among nations. My delegation believes that such practices, which have the effect of dividing men into hostile groups merely because their skins are of different colours, should be fought by the United Nations. This Organization is founded on the equality and dignity of man and symbolizes the final stage in the development of free men. One of its undeniable claims to fame is that of having cleared the way for the codification of the statute of free men by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In paying a tribute to the courage and moral integrity of statesmen of goodwill of some Member States who are resolutely fighting anachronistic segregationist and discriminatory practices with the support of national judicial organs, thus reaffirming the equality of man, my delegation sincerely hopes that countries where such practices still persist will take action to give effect to the equality of all men irrespective of colour or race both in law and in the matter of custom and tradition, thus demonstrating that twentieth century man, United Nations man, has reached full maturity as a human being.

33. We have no doubt that one of the most important causes of tension in the Middle East is the unhappy plight of a million Arabs who found themselves overnight plunged into the direst poverty, exposed to the rigours of nature and beset with privations after being driven from their homes, their fields and the land of their ancestors in the wake of the aggression launched against their country in the tragic events in Palestine, the gravest assault in the annals of the United Nations on the sacred right of property, the integrity of the homeland and the elementary rights of groups of people to protection against the law of the jungle, banditry and terror. Pending a just and equitable solution of the whole of the Palestine issue and, particularly, pending the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 and 1949 on the question, it is our most earnest hope that the Assembly will fully assume its responsibilities when it considers the question of assistance to the Palestine refugees in the Middle East. We consider it a duty to tell the Assembly that it is of the highest importance, from the point of view of the history of the United Nations and the confidence placed in it by all the oppressed peoples of the earth, that the Assembly should continue to provide moral and material support for the Palestine refugees so that they may retain a ray of hope in the abyss of misery, privation and injustice into which they were plunged by the catastrophe which befell their country in 1948.

34. We wish also to say that the Cyprus question, in the eastern Mediterranean, is a cause of anxiety to all the countries in the area. That is why Libya, which is bound by ties of friendship, co-operation and confidence to the three parties concerned in that thorny issue, whole-heartedly hopes that the problem will be settled in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, taking into account the methods of peaceful settlement made available to Member States by the Charter.

35. Libya is deeply anxious that international peace and security should rest on a solid basis of friendship, mutual respect and co-operation and that those principles should be adopted as permanent procedures in the relations between Members of the United Nations.

It therefore considers that the underlying causes of dispute between States and the regions in which such latent causes exist should be the continuous concern of the United Nations, which should seek all appropriate means to eliminate those potential causes of conflict.

36. In this connexion, my delegation considers that a free and democratic solution in Europe which would restore to Germany the unity for which the German people fought throughout the nineteenth century would help to maintain peace and stability and might bring to an end the manifestations of tension and cold war in that area.

37. Similarly, a solution of the question of West Irian in keeping with the principles of the United Nations, thus permitting the complete liberation of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and a normalization of the situation in Korea would also achieve the objectives of understanding and peace among nations.

38. It should also be noted that the use of force in the south of the Arabian peninsula is inconsistent with the United Nations Charter. The problems of that area should be settled by peaceful means, account being taken of the real wishes of the inhabitants and their right of self-determination.

39. I should now like to discuss two questions which are endangering international peace and security and may plunge mankind into the dreadful abyss of atomic war, threatening the total destruction of our planet.

40. A little over a month ago, the General Assembly held its third emergency special session to consider what was then called "the Middle East crisis". The United Kingdom of Libya, which is an integral part of the Arab world, was eager to take part in the work of that session because it believed that the United Nations, in which mankind has placed its hope and aspirations, is the fundamental instrument for the settlement of disputes. The Libyan delegation came to the third emergency special session full of confidence in the effectiveness of the United Nations which had, by a fair and just decision, brought to a successful conclusion Libya's twenty-year struggle for its dignity and independence.

41. The prestige and the moral authority of the United Nations facilitated a solution to the Lebanese and Jordanian questions and this Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution of 21 August 1958 [resolution 1237 (ES-III)]. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to implement the resolution by making the necessary practical arrangements to give effect to its provisions concerning neighbourly relations and mutual respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the countries concerned, and by taking appropriate steps for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. Having voted for the resolution which, in effect, confirmed if not the letter, certainly the spirit, of the provisions on the point of being adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States meeting in special session at Benghazi in Libya in early June 1958 to consider the Lebanese complaint, the Libyan delegation was confident that the Secretary-General, with his skill, tact and patience, would successfully discharge his delicate mission. We take this opportunity to convey to him and his collaborators our greatest admiration for the discretion and efficiency of their efforts on behalf of the United Nations.

42. The Libyan Government attaches the greatest importance to the implementation of the resolution of 21 August. It considers that the Middle East situation has in fact begun to improve since adoption of that resolution and that its adoption has been an important factor in improving relations between the countries concerned. We are glad to say that this promising outlook is to the credit of the Assembly and of the Secretary-General.

43. We should like in this connexion to state that the Middle East crisis is the result of the tension, instability and bitterness prevailing in that part of the world as a consequence of the injustices and mistakes perpetrated against the Arab peoples, who were promised everything following the two world wars and whose aspirations to freedom, unity, territorial integrity, health and progress have been so cruelly disappointed.

44. Although the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan is an important factor in the reduction of tension in the area, it cannot of itself create the stability, confidence and peace of mind which the Arab peoples must enjoy in order to fulfil their destiny. The Arab peoples are aware of their glorious past and their valuable contribution to civilization; they are aware of the importance of their geographical position and their natural wealth; and they demand their legitimate rights, a solution of their problems and reparation of the injustices committed against the continuity and integrity of their territories. In that sense, we feel that Arab nationalism is the genuine expression of the present stage of development of the Arab peoples and of their determination to fulfil themselves in the contemporary world, to co-operate in world progress and to assume their responsibilities in whole-hearted and unselfish loyalty to the principles and ideals of the United Nations.

45. The second crisis endangering world peace is in the Far East. My delegation considers that the events taking place in the Taiwan Strait, the use of force and provocation in that area are extremely serious. We therefore appeal for wisdom, patience and a more realistic appraisal of the situation. We consider that disputes should be settled by the peaceful means indicated in the Charter. That view is particularly valid in this case where the parties, owing to their respective political positions and the powerful forces they command, can plunge the whole world into the gravest of catastrophes by a rash action or a mere accident. The Libyan delegation considers that the use of force should be discontinued and hopes that the goodwill shown in the Warsaw talks now in progress will lead to an early and satisfactory solution.

46. Whatever may happen, my delegation considers that the United Nations is the place to which should be brought all disputes which the parties fail to settle by normal peaceful means. Force has never helped to settle differences. We also believe that in this crisis a fair and realistic appraisal of the situation as a whole, free from preconceived ideas and positions assumed in advance, would greatly facilitate the solution of the problem. A willingness to make sacrifices and to accept compromises would also substantially facilitate the settlement of the issue and would enhance mankind's prospect of peace and security.

47. The Libyan delegation would like once again to assure the Assembly that the United Kingdom of Libya is devoted to the principles of the United Nations and is

firmly resolved to act in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Charter. I should like to conclude by expressing the best wishes of my delegation for a most successful session of this General Assembly and the most fruitful co-operation among the various delegations.

48. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): A year ago, from this very rostrum, I had the honour to outline for the benefit of the General Assembly [697th meeting] the principles on which the foreign policy of Poland is based. Those principles have remained unchanged, and I therefore feel that I can turn to the main conclusions to be drawn from the developments which have taken place in the international situation during the past year. I would sum them up by saying that the doctrine of power politics has reached a critical stage, and that the inescapable historical necessity of peaceful coexistence between peoples has been confirmed.

49. The past year has demonstrated quite clearly the rapid and inexorable growth of two processes characteristic of our times—the development of Socialism and the liberation of dependent peoples. We have witnessed the failure of all attempts to oppose those processes by force. During the year we have seen too that peaceful coexistence is becoming an indispensable factor in international life in our time.

50. Peaceful coexistence is one of the main principles of Polish foreign policy. Together with the other Socialist countries we are striving to ensure that this ideal will prevail. In so doing we find ourselves in company with many other countries which have carefully considered the interests of their peoples and the course of events, and have reached the same inescapable conclusions. On the basis of this principle of coexistence we are ready to work together with everyone, regardless of political convictions and sympathies, and constructive coexistence is the policy we follow in practice.

51. We have seen with deep satisfaction that our activity on the international scene has helped to confirm to the whole world that there is an unmistakable yearning for a relaxation of tension and for coexistence, which is shared by a very wide variety of people, in the West as elsewhere. I have particularly in mind the general stir caused by the proposal to set up a nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe. The rapid growth of this trend towards coexistence is one of the most important developments within Western communities at this moment of crisis in power politics. If that trend should become world-wide, it could be a factor of considerable importance in the general search for constructive solutions to the many difficult international problems.

52. But a process in the opposite direction is also going on, namely, an increasingly vigorous attempt to stifle all opposition to the system of power politics and to subject the nations to a further period of tension and a continuation of the armaments race—more and more by recourse to the fait accompli.

53. Such in our opinion is the general picture of developments on the international scene during the past year, one which has seen growing prospects of peace and coexistence side by side with dramatic tensions and conflicts.

54. At the third emergency special session, the Polish delegation outlined its attitude [740th meeting] towards

the armed intervention by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Middle East. We supported the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Arab States [resolution 1237 (ES-III)], since we felt that it was essentially an expression of their common will to decide their own future themselves and to defend it together. We voted in favour of that resolution because we believed that it would lead to a speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. Six weeks have passed since then. We have before us the Secretary-General's report [A/3934/Rev.1] with the declarations by the United States and by the United Kingdom annexed to it. Unfortunately, these documents give no assurance that the main objectives stated or implied in the resolution adopted by the Assembly will be speedily and unconditionally carried out.

55. It is out of the question for the General Assembly to endorse declarations which make the implementation of one of its own resolutions dependent on conditions established arbitrarily. Accordingly, we support the position taken yesterday [764th meeting] by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and we consider that this question should be discussed in detail. The problem is one of the utmost importance for the maintenance of peace and one which vitally affects the conduct of international relations.

56. It is in the interest not only of the peoples directly concerned, but of all mankind, that colonialist methods, whether of the old type or brought up to date, should be rejected once and for all and replaced by relationships founded upon equality.

57. We share the general anxiety aroused by the situation in the Far East; and we too trust that fighting will come to an end in the Taiwan Strait and that the general situation in that area will cease to constitute a threat to peace. But there is only one possible solution to that problem—the United States must put a stop to its armed intervention in the internal affairs of China and cease fanning the flames of civil war on that front. For that is the source of the constant tension in the area in question.

58. To use pacts signed with Chiang Kai-shek as a pretext for keeping United States troops on Chinese territory is merely to justify one unlawful act on the grounds of invoking another. The legitimate Government of China, which enjoys the support of the people, is accused of "using force" against an aggressive, armed, internal foe. Yet, all the time arms are being supplied to that foe for use against the Chinese Government. It is this use of force which is preventing the Chinese people from achieving the restoration of their country's territorial unity. It is owing to the use of force that the mainland of China is threatened with an invasion based on Taiwan and the off-shore islands. Efforts are being made, by intervention of foreign troops, to transform a purely internal Chinese problem into an international conflict. Had it not been for intervention by the United States, fighting in the Taiwan area would have come to an end years ago.

59. The laws of history are inexorable; there is no other way to solve the problem of China but to bow at long last to the inescapable changes which have taken place in that vast and powerful country and to draw the necessary political conclusions from that fact.

60. It is indeed unfortunate that the thirteenth session of the General Assembly has not brought that solution

nearer, for it is the only possible one. It is deplorable that once again the majority of delegations have not considered it proper or feasible to give their votes in favour of restoring to the population of the People's Republic of China its right to be represented in our Organization. Meanwhile, the de facto situation, the debates in this Assembly, the change in the voting majority, everything in fact indicates that the day is near when China will resume its place in the United Nations.

61. The past year has seen great strides in science and technology; the barriers separating mankind from outer space have been crossed. And this fact has confronted us all more acutely than ever with the fundamental dilemma of our time—what use will man make of the power he has created? Will he use it to bring about universal well-being, or will he use it for universal destruction? It is an event which has had an impact on every mind. It has shown up the absurdity of the reasoning which sought to find justification for a policy based ultimately on military strength, the armaments race and faith in the atomic bomb—in short, the Atlantic policy.

62. A world which for years has had the technical and scientific superiority of the West drummed into it finds itself suddenly faced with the achievements of Soviet science, which open the door to a new era in the historical development of man.

63. For years, every effort has been made to set up a network of bases and a wall of economic restrictions around the Socialist camp. Suddenly, from one day to the next, all the artificial obstacles erected between peoples have been swept away and it has been realized that the policies of so-called "encirclement" or "containment" are but delusions.

64. For years, the peoples of the West have been adjured to make every effort to keep ahead of the Socialist camp in armed strength. And what has been the result? The balance of forces is today much more favourable to the Socialist countries than it was in the past.

65. More and more frequently, people in the West are asking what the world in general, and the West in particular, has gained from this armaments race. They ask where this increasingly dangerous game is leading them; for at the present stage of technical development in military matters, the very idea of superiority is open to question. People are saying "even if we are now able to kill our enemy five times over, while he can only kill us four times, what is the point? You can only die once".

66. That is why the system of power politics has reached a stage which is clearly critical; that is why the climate of opinion in the Western world is increasingly in favour of coexistence, and why the idea of a summit meeting has met with such wide popular support. That is why the whole world calls for an end to nuclear experiments. Lastly, that is why there is such widespread interest in disarmament proposals especially where specific solutions, even partial or regional ones, are concerned. And, once again, there are lively discussions about all the matters which come under the general heading of freedom from commitment. The main problem of disarmament becomes increasingly urgent.

67. One of the great Powers, the Soviet Union, took the first step in March 1958 and unilaterally ceased making any further nuclear experiments. The Conference of Experts held in Geneva, ¹ in which Polish scientists played their part, reached the definite conclusion that the detection of test explosions was perfectly feasible. But all this did not prove sufficient to persuade the Western Powers to put a stop to their experiments, even six months after the Soviet Union's decision.

68. The world learned with new hope that discussions on this question would be taking place in a few weeks between the USSR and the United States. We consider that it is the duty of the United Nations to make its voice heard and to lend its weight to the final settlement of this most urgent of problems.

69. As regards disarmament, proposals have been put forward from many quarters and they should, at the very least, receive careful consideration. Thus, we have before us, in the first place, the memorandum by the Soviet Government [A/3929], which deals in a very constructive way with the problem of disarmament as a whole. The conclusions it contains were examined by the Polish Government and received its full support. Again, the Soviet proposal [A/3925] for a reduction in the military budgets of the four great Powers was submitted to the General Assembly, and we should devote special attention to it. There is also agreement to hold a conference to work out means of protection against surprise attack.

70. Yet, in spite of certain favourable developments, the world in general and the United Nations in particular, have reached an impasse over disarmament and have not yet found a way out. The reasons for this seem clear enough to us and, indeed, we have already reviewed them in the General Assembly. I presume that there will be an opportunity during the present session to debate the matter in greater detail. At all events, we feel that the United Nations will never achieve any results in regard to the disarmament problem, which is one of its responsibilities, unless we can set up within the framework of the Organization the necessary conditions for genuine negotiations, instead of encouraging moves whereby one side foists its point of view on the other side by means of a majority vote.

71. For the people of Poland, the disarmament problem and indeed the whole question of a general easing of international tension is of particular importance, for the dividing line between the two opposing military groups runs through the heart of Europe and close to Poland.

72. At the beginning of this year, the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany took a decision which opened the way for equipping the West German army with atomic weapons. The delivery to Germany of American guided missiles of the "Matador" type, which can if necessary be equipped with nuclear warheads, is the first step towards giving effect to that decision. If the plan is carried through, not only Poland but—let us make no mistake about it—peace for every nation will be in peril. I have no desire to recall now the bitter experiences of the all too recent past, which

¹ Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

must still be fresh in the memory of many representatives. All I will say is that what is implied is arming with atomic weapons the only European country which still has designs on the territory of other nations.

73. We do indeed realize that there are elements in West Germany which are anxious for peace and for the establishment of satisfactory relations with neighbouring countries. But it is not the peaceful elements that are supported by the NATO policy of remilitarization and equipment of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons, a policy which tries to evade the definite recognition of the present frontier between Germany and Poland, though every realistically-minded statesman knows that that frontier is final. On the contrary, this policy plays into the hands of revisionist and militarist elements within the Federal Republic of Germany and strengthens the special position of Germany in NATO.

74. The decision by the Bundestag came not long after Poland had delivered to the Governments concerned a memorandum which contained definite proposals previously approved by the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. As you are aware, the suggestion made in those proposals was that a nuclear weapon-free zone should be set up covering Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. It will be remembered that the proposals met with a favourable reception in many Western countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany itself.

75. Various objections were put forward against them, though the Polish Government had shown clearly in its memorandum that it was open to constructive observations and opinions, and also appreciated the special difficulties of its partners. Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept the arguments most commonly used against the Polish proposals. So far as the military side of the question is concerned, it was never our intention that any change should be made in the existing balance between the forces of the two groups. Our proposal implies nothing of the kind. Certain statesmen who set themselves up—not always sincerely—as champions of the reunification of Germany, express the fear that that cause might be impaired by the creation of a nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe. It is hard indeed to follow the argument that atomic disarmament would make the reunification of Germany more difficult, whereas atomic armament would make it easier. The arguments against the proposal for creating a nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe are in our opinion neither convincing nor decisive. So far as we are concerned, the discussion is still open and we propose to return to the matter.

76. It is common knowledge that during the same period certain political circles in the West have made other proposals with a view to lessening the tension in Europe. We are giving those proposals the careful attention they deserve.

77. The foreign policy of Poland is based on friendship and solidarity with the Socialist countries and on constructive coexistence and co-operation with other countries. Close and cordial relations link us to all our neighbours. We shall strengthen and develop our relations with them as with all the Socialist countries. We feel that this offers the best guarantee for our security and for the protection of the fundamental interests of the Polish people.

78. Consistently with our policy, we shall continue our efforts to maintain our relations with the German people on the basis of mutual security and good neighbourliness. Our close friendship with the German Democratic Republic, we feel, constitutes a distinct achievement in this respect.

79. The constant improvement in our relations with many Western countries, and more especially with our near neighbours across the Baltic, is a source of satisfaction to us, and we hope that these relations will continue to develop in a favourable manner.

80. Despite the distance which separates us, we have established, and are anxious to extend, friendly co-operation with most of the countries of Asia and Africa, to which we are linked by a common tradition of fighting in the cause of freedom and by common views on the basic principles governing international relations.

81. Following as it does a policy of constructive coexistence and co-operation with countries belonging to different systems and ideologies, Poland considers it to be self-evident that such co-operation should not in any way involve attempts to bring about a deterioration in good relations between either side and other nations. We consider that the strengthening of co-operation, solely on the basis of common interests, between countries belonging to different political systems is a contribution to the cause of peace, relaxation of tension and coexistence throughout the world. We shall continue to foster such co-operation by stressing, in our relations with other countries, all that we have in common, more especially economic interests, historical traditions and cultural contacts.

82. I have endeavoured to set before you the point of view of Poland on current international questions. I know that opinions represented in this Assembly differ considerably on these matters. Nevertheless, I am fully convinced that ways must be found for us to reach agreement on those problems on which the peace and well-being of all our peoples depend. It is our opinion that this should be the aim of the general debate and of all the work of the United Nations.

83. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): This gathering of ours is the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. As such it has been inaugurated and as such it has been publicized. The title, the fashion and the ceremonies all belong to the category of an ordinary and regular session. In form this nomenclature of the session is admittedly true, and it would be idle to question its validity. Yet, except for the calendar of the United Nations, this session, by its very essence, by its very nature, is not the thirteenth session. I say it is not, with all seriousness and upon deep reflection. It is no play on words or figures, nor am I engaged in a pun.

84. For, if we are to make a sincere examination of the present state of affairs now dominating the world, if we are to ascertain the fears of mankind and, lastly, if we are to read intelligently the barometer of the international atmosphere, this session becomes neither the thirteenth nor a regular session of the General Assembly. It is an emergency session of the highest order. To be more precise, this is the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly held upon the heels of an emergency special session and, regrettably enough, within an interval of three weeks, fully charged with turmoil and excitement.

85. Therefore, it seems hardly necessary to make any introduction for the current international situation. By itself, the general anxiety now plaguing the whole of mankind is an eloquent preface. The events of the day shoot their way to the top of our agenda, with or without our will. Coincidence or no coincidence, we confront the crisis face to face, as if at a rendezvous with the present session. It seems as though a wild race has been set in motion between the United Nations on the one hand and international outbreaks on the other. To follow this race, you have to follow the tracks of Mr. Hammarskjöld, who is not only our distinguished Secretary-General but the master of our missions and the servant of our Charter. No sooner had he embarked on his assignment in the Middle East than the situation flared up in the Far East. It is a wild race of events, which we must face squarely. It is a race that must be ruled out at any cost—any cost except the dictates of peace and justice. For such a race brings victory to none and defeat to all—not to speak of the untold misery, the indescribable destruction and the unthinkable annihilation.

86. This is no unwarranted fear. The brutal fact, and nothing could be more brutal, is that we live in a state of war. Although in a fragmentary form, it is an actual war with human suffering and material destruction. It is a war waged in more than one area of our world.

87. In Africa a crusade of liberation is on the march, with the Algerian uprising as its spearhead. It is a war of independence that has carried the battle far and wide, to every town and village, to every hill and valley and to every cave and meadow.

88. In the Far East, Korea and other countries are still visited by partition and disunity, the greatest plagues of our time. What is more, the Far East is now the theatre of war, and a hotbed for global war.

89. Thus, we are not only at the peak of tension; we are not only at the brink of war; I am afraid we are at the brink of the brink. Yet this is only a partial view of the current situation. Viewed through the items of the General Assembly's agenda, or through the annual report of the Secretary-General, the position is no less alarming.

90. Disarmament, as we all know, has progressed in every direction except disarmament. Commissions and sub-commissions were established; conferences and meetings were held *in camera* and in public. Resolutions were adopted and declarations made, and piles of records have grown in volume. But all this labour did not produce disarmament, rather it stepped up armament. It brought not a balanced reduction of arms but an unbalanced increase of military expenditure. It led not to a prohibition of atomic weapons, but to a stockpiling of hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. It brought not the cessation of nuclear tests but the continuation of tests of all types and forms.

91. This year disarmament suffered another setback. There was a deadlock of default; no meetings were held and no deliberations took place. It was a deadlock that came after years of United Nations failures, preceded by a League of Nations frustration.

92. This has been a long and weary way, but the catastrophe is that it has no end in sight. What is more, the way seems to lead to a precipice of despair, not to a plateau of hope. Disarmament is becoming the grow-

ing literature of the United Nations and nothing more. We admit, however, that some disarmament is taking place, but only through substitution and replacement. Hence, by chemists and physicists, and by arms, troops have been reduced. Conventional weapons have yielded to atomic weapons, and these in turn are giving way to nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Now, with the age of space, weapons of inner space are on their way to surrender to weapons of outer space.

93. This is the disarmament we have been watching in the life of the United Nations—disarmed from the old, to be armed with the new; abandoning the less destructive for the more destructive; in a word, deserting the humanely barbarous for the ghastly barbarous. This is the balance-sheet of disarmament, whose only balance is, I am afraid, turbulence, anxiety and frustration.

94. Yet, we cannot shut our eyes to certain marginal gains whose gleam can penetrate the heavy clouds that hang overhead. First of all, we have the Warsaw talks dealing with the situation in the Far East. The whole world is now awaiting the deliberations in Warsaw with ardent prayers for a peaceful, just and honourable settlement. Here in the United Nations, the best service we can render is to keep the question, for the moment, outside our debate. In certain problems and at certain times, the greatest contribution of the United Nations can be made by its silence. This may seem paradoxical but the Far East question, for the moment, is one classical illustration. So let us keep silent for a while.

95. In the second place, the Conference of Experts of the atomic Powers, held last summer at Geneva,^{2/} is not without significance. Notwithstanding that the findings were scientific, strictly isolated from political considerations, no doubt the results were a success. We must bear in mind that the possibility of detecting nuclear tests through a network of monitoring systems is in itself a great achievement. It is no exaggeration to say that this is a thrilling finding, crowned by unanimous agreement. If the matter is technically feasible and technically enforceable, then to refuse suspension of nuclear tests, or even to procrastinate on reaching an agreement, becomes highly serious. Now that scientists have agreed before the altar of science, statesmen are left to stand before the bar of history. They stand to make their choice—a choice between peace or no peace, between war or no war.

96. The Geneva Conference bring to our minds another international gathering held in the spring of this year, namely the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It formulated the text of four conventions and an optional protocol of signature concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes. The Conference, however, failed on certain important aspects of the law of the Sea. In particular, the width of the territorial sea and the juridical régime of historic waters were among the subjects that remained unfinished. With this result one can hardly say that anything was really finished. The extent of the territorial sea is the base of the pyramid for this branch of international law. Unless the width of the territorial sea is defined, the law of the sea stands in a vacuum; and neither nature nor law can survive in a vacuum. Once the limit of the territorial sea is defined, we know where we stand. We

^{2/} See note 1.

can know where are the internal waters, the contiguous waters and the high seas—a delimitation of great importance in time of peace and in time of war.

97. This is no talking in the abstract. We have a vivid illustration, quite fresh and very much on our minds. We all know of the dispute that broke out between Iceland and the United Kingdom over matters pertaining to the limit of the fisheries. In the Conference at Geneva, Iceland stood for a twelve-mile limit of the territorial sea, whereas the United Kingdom advocated the three-mile limit, now a piece of antiquity in the archives of international law. After the Conference, the United Kingdom launched a fishing armada in the Icelandic waters in total disregard of Iceland's legitimate rights and in flagrant violation of the established modern trends of international law. It was a bloodless combat that was a source of amusement to the British Press. For what could Iceland do in the face of the British fleet, determined to take the law in its own hands or, more correctly, to take what the United Kingdom desires the law to be? It is a sad episode between two Members of the United Nations, between two members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and between a great Power and a powerless Power. We wonder whether the British Government would attempt such an adventure against a country of different calibre. This action on the part of the United Kingdom should cause concern to us all for many reasons. The British conduct, or to give it its legal term, the British misconduct, reflects an act of aggression against a defenceless country like Iceland. Also it reveals on the part of the United Kingdom an outrageous disrespect to the United Nations as the supreme organ for the settlement of international disputes. Lastly, it betrays British obstinacy in defending the three-mile limit, which once upon a time was a rule of international law. I stress again the expression "once upon a time", for today the three-mile limit is no more than a fallen idol—as brilliantly described by Professor Gidel, the great French jurist. It is really a fallen idol and the United Kingdom cannot sail the high seas with such an idol on board its glorious fleet.

98. This is how we view the major aspects of the international situation. But no matter how varied our appraisals may be, one central fact stands out in our minds without any controversy—namely, the impact of our region on international peace and security. The Arab homeland, stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, has recently provoked a great deal of excitement and interest. With its strategic position, with its vast economic riches and, what is more valuable, with its 80 million people full of zeal and determination to live free and united, this home of ours is becoming again one of the most important areas of the world. In testimony, if testimony is required, nothing could be more telling than a perusal of the agenda of the General Assembly ever since the creation of the United Nations.

99. In our region, a few months before the advent of the United Nations, there was established the League of Arab States with a Pact similar to the United Nations Charter in its aims and purposes except for one main objective. The Pact of the Arab League aims at closer bonds of harmony and unity. In its various fields of activity, this League of Arab States is not foreign to the United Nations, nor to its specialized

agencies. In 1950 the General Assembly, in resolution 477 (V), extended a permanent invitation to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer. Recently, at the third emergency special session, the General Assembly acted unanimously on a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] which took note of one of the main provisions of the Pact of the Arab League, an indication of great significance.

100. Doubtless the League of Arab States is a regional organization within the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, it is high time that the Arab League should be recognized as a regional organization with all the rights and duties that such an organization can exercise and discharge. The members of the Arab League are Members of the United Nations, and to accord such a status to the Arab League is simply to recognize a legitimate existing reality. We hope that our Secretary-General, well informed and keenly interested as he is, will take the necessary steps to give effect to such recognition. The advantages need hardly be emphasized. The United Nations can find in the Arab League an effective instrument to establish in the area conditions of peace, security, economic development, cultural and technical progress and social advancement.

101. In this context, I take the liberty of bringing to you happy news. We rejoice in conveying to the Assembly that Morocco and Tunisia have decided to join the Arab League. In fact, this joinder is a mere formality. Tunisia and Morocco have always been with us, and we have always been with Morocco and Tunisia. Together we have shed our tears and blood; and together we have shared our rise and decline. For us, all of us, the time has come to unite our efforts for unity, and to liberate our energies for freedom.

102. Yet Morocco and Tunisia, as well as all the Arab States, have before this Assembly a burning question, affectionately close to their hearts—the question of Algeria. As a matter of fact, the question is ours, and ours is the question. On such a matter, we need not be shy or reluctant, for the problem is one of independence which is worthy not only of the support of the Arab nation, but of the whole civilized world.

103. In dealing with the question of Algeria, I deem it unnecessary to reiterate any of the many arguments in support of the discussion of that question. The competence of the United Nations and the right of the people of Algeria to independence have both been established. By now these matters have become past history for the United Nations. Our main concern should be focused on the present and on the future.

104. For the present, the picture is free from any shred of doubt or obscurity. A provisional government for an independent and fully sovereign Algeria was established a few days ago. A number of countries have recognized it and the rest will follow. The emergence of the Algerian Government, apart from its national necessity, was a natural step in the right direction and at the right moment. It will be recalled that the question of Algeria has been on our agenda since the tenth session. Ever since then, neither the impact of war, nor the weight of the resolutions of the General Assembly, has led France to give up its intransigence and to recognize the inherent right of the Algerian people to their liberty and freedom. The

Assembly resolution of last year [resolution 1184 (XII)], calling for pourparlers to arrive at a solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, has been recklessly ignored by France.

105. Instead of pourparlers—a French term extended as a courtesy to France—French troops have translated pourparlers into further acts of aggression, this time against Tunisia as well as Algeria. The cowardly bombardment of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef, with which the Security Council was seized, is only one illustration. Another illustration is the one given by the representative of Libya earlier this morning.

106. On the political side, France has committed another violation of the General Assembly resolution. And here again, instead of seeking a solution in accordance with the Charter, France is attempting to find a solution in accordance with a new draft French Constitution, which must be the basis for a solution of the Algerian question. This is the letter and spirit of the General Assembly resolution which was adopted unanimously last year.

107. What has aggravated the situation is this so-called referendum, which has had too good results to be a good referendum and which the French Government staged a few days ago. It goes without saying that a referendum conducted by France, in France and for France is not our concern, nor could it be. The only thing we can do is to extend our best wishes to France for a strong Government and a strong régime. But a referendum by France for the people of Algeria and under French administration is deplorable, unacceptable and entirely inadmissible. A constitution for Algeria can be framed only by the people of Algeria under conditions of freedom and liberty.

108. Obviously, this abortive referendum on the part of France does not possess the normal attributes of a lawful referendum. It is intended to concoct a solution which bears the appearance of democracy. It aims at imposing on this General Assembly a fait accompli. But neither the United Nations nor world public opinion would accept this international mockery.

109. Should France feel the least faith in this unconstitutional constitution for Algeria, we stand ready for the challenge. Let France walk out of the territory and we are ready to accept a referendum conducted under United Nations auspices. We accept a referendum under Mr. Hammarskjöld, but not one under General de Gaulle. This would then be a genuine referendum, not one held at the point of a gun, let alone under various forms of pressure and inducement. Let us try to see whether the people of Algeria will cast their vote for France or for Algeria; whether they seek dependence upon or independence from France; and lastly, whether they will opt for Ferhat Abbas, the head of the Algerian Government, or for General de Gaulle, the head of the French Government.

110. If France has faith, if France has the courage and if France has the confidence, this is the real challenge—a challenge which we accept here and now and which we challenge France to accept here and now.

111. So much for the past. As to the future, better prospects are within reach if France should set aside its intransigence. There are chances for peace. Indeed, the chances for peaceful and co-operative relations between France and Algeria are not only

possible but abundantly hopeful. A negotiated settlement of all disputes between the Republic of France and the Republic of Algeria is a central factor in maintaining peace and tranquillity in the whole of North Africa. With the emergence of the National Government of Algeria, this task now becomes easy. The two parties are legitimately constituted, with nothing remaining except the appointment of a distinguished and acceptable mediator. Mr. Hammarskjöld, either as Secretary-General or as an outstanding personality of our times, or in any capacity whatsoever, would be acceptable to us to mediate the dispute between the Republic of Algeria and the Republic of France. It is no easy task, but Mr. Hammarskjöld is the man to rise to the responsibilities of this assignment. He can secure a cease-fire between the parties based upon the recognition of the Algerian people's right to independence. He can go even further: he can arrange for a round-table conference to be held in the United Nations between the duly accredited representatives of Algeria and France.

112. This is the high road to peace. This is the only course open to France in order to safeguard whatever legitimate interests it claims in Algeria. This is the only solution under which the French community in Algeria can live, prosper and survive. In a word, this will mark the beginning of friendly and cordial relations not only with Algeria but with all the Arab States.

113. Perhaps this is the last offer that can be extended to France. Maybe it is the last chance for France to save what can be saved. For what will be the final outcome if France does not yield to reason and wisdom? The final result is quite obvious: it is war, and nothing but war. The Algerian people are determined to continue the war, not only on Algerian soil but anywhere and everywhere. So far, a second front has been opened in France itself by the Algerians—and "la guerre est la guerre". It is a war of liberation. It is a sacred war, and the Algerian people have an inherent right to war and to carry the war to its ultimate victory.

114. We should bear in mind, however, that in this war Algeria will not be alone. Many will come to its assistance, and with all forms of aid. This is quite normal and, I would say, admissible. Assistance, whether military or economic, under United Nations auspices and within its cognizance, is the fashion of the day. There is no reason why Algeria should not be included. Such assistance to Algeria is now feasible, firstly, because a government has been established and, secondly, because that government has declared a state of war with France.

115. As to the ultimate end, we harbour no doubts. The end will definitely be victory for Algeria. Such has been the course of history and such has been the successful outcome of all liberation movements all over the world. I scarcely need to cite cases and events, for the irrefutable evidence lies in the midst of this august body. Many States—yes, too many States—have come to this Assembly not through the main door of regular admission but right through the battlefields of liberty and independence. And no one more than France should realize this historic reality. For the modern history of France itself provides valuable lessons—and what tragic lessons they are. But they are lessons only to those who care to learn from their own experience.

116. Two highly important questions remain to be placed before this Assembly. Allow me to begin with what I should like to call the British belt around the Arabian peninsula. This is a big problem, which is itself the aggregate of a number of problems. I shall not refer to dates, causes or events. Any student of the history of international affairs is fully aware of the facts.

117. In a nutshell, the fact is that the United Kingdom—or, to be more accurate, the British Empire—has imposed its domination at different times all around the eastern and southern parts of the Arabian peninsula. From Kuwait in the north down to Aden in the south, a belt of British rule, domination or influence was tailored to fit British imperial interests. The pretexts were varied in accordance with the style of the day. At times, it was to curb piracy; at other times, it was to defend the Suez Canal; at certain other times, it was to protect imperial communications with India, the most precious pearl in the Crown. This is how the belt was snatched from the Arabian peninsula. Eventually this belt did not come out in a single territory. Today we witness the existence of some forty-five distinct units in the area. Just imagine forty-five separate entities for one and the same land, for one and the same people.

118. The matter, however, is not confined to this dismemberment. There is not a day without British aggression around the Arabian peninsula. One day, it is against Yemen; another day, it is against Oman; on still another day, it is against Lahej; some other day, it is against Burami or Aden itself. And so it goes—a succession of aggressions by rotation.

119. I have raised this question in the Assembly only to whisper to the United Kingdom from this rostrum—and I hope it will be nothing more than a whisper—that piracy exists no more, that India is not the pearl of the Empire any longer, and that the defence of the Suez Canal is no longer the responsibility of the British Government. The march of history cries out that the United Kingdom should leave the land to the people and leave the people to their land. If the British hobby is to fashion belts here and there, they had better practice that hobby at home. They had better do it around their islands, not around our peninsula.

120. Lastly, I come to the question of Palestine. I have purposely kept it to the end, not from the point of view of an ordered sequence, but precisely because I wish to leave with you the impressions of a problem that stands out as the greatest of all Arab problems.

121. I shall not weary you with the history of this question in the United Nations, with the arguments and counter-arguments that centred around it, and not even with the volume of resolutions regarding the repatriation of the refugees or the internationalization of Jerusalem. You all know the tragedy from beginning to end, and you all know about Israel's refusal to enforce the very same resolutions that gave rise to Israel itself.

122. This time, I intend to approach the problem in a new way—and, allow me to say, in a revolutionary way, but one that will perhaps relieve the international community of a problem that has more than once endangered world peace and security. And the word "problem"—and I stress "problem"—in relation to the question of Palestine should be the spark that must ignite your thinking.

123. In 1947 Palestine became the problem of the United Nations. After a lengthy debate, a resolution calling for partition and the creation of Israel was adopted [resolution 181 (II)]. As declared by the supporters of that resolution, it was meant—and I would stress this—to restore peace to the Holy Land. Partition was envisaged to make the problem cease to be a problem. In the words of the representative of the United States, uttered in 1947 [124th meeting], partition offers "the best practical present opportunity and possibility of obtaining, in a future foreseeable to us now, a peaceful settlement in Palestine". Now, I suppose, we have reached that future.

124. Today, in 1958, we find the problem still outstanding as a United Nations problem and with more grievous dimensions. Partition was decided upon and Israel was created, but there is no peace in the area. On the contrary, peace has become more remote than ever. The picture is simple and easy to present. A million refugees are still living in exile, and the Holy Land, with all its religious and sacred shrines, is always exposed to becoming the scene of destruction and desecration.

125. Yes, gentlemen, the problem you have attempted to solve is still the burning problem of the Middle East. Just consult the records of the Security Council in the last decade and you will find that the problem of Palestine is still the very same one you have endeavoured to tackle.

126. Thus, it becomes obvious that the assumptions which you took as a basis in the creation of Israel have been vitiated, not by one or two events but by a lengthy series of condemnations of Israel by the Security Council, a long history of tension, insecurity and instability through a whole decade. What was the main object of the establishment of Israel and of partition? What was the premise upon which partition was decided? The United Nations aimed at bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. The boundaries between Israel and the Arab States, it was forcefully argued in 1947, again by the representative of the United States speaking in defence of partition, "will be as freely crossed as the boundaries which separate the individual states within the United States".

127. That is the premise upon which the whole resolution was based; that is the assumption upon which the whole advocacy of the partition plan was based; and that is the premise upon which Israel was founded. Now, after ten years of United Nations efforts, there is still a great deal of talk about a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question. Well, that goes to prove that the 1947 "settlement" did not lead to a settlement. Having drawn this conclusion, we are left with the only remaining alternative: the United Nations should reverse the course it has adopted.

128. Yes, it is a policy of reversal which offers the only chance for peace in the Middle East and in the world as a whole. And reversal is a healthy policy to avoid the evils of a bad policy. In the United Nations reversal is provided for in our procedure as a rule to reconsider defective resolutions already adopted.

129. Doubtless, we have reached the stage when the United Nations must reconsider the position and the resolutions that gave rise to Israel. We have reached the stage where the United Nations should undo its own doing, for the whole experiment has proved to be a fiasco.

130. That it is a fiasco hardly needs any corroboration. Having received assistance in the amount of \$2,000 million—and what a gigantic figure that is for a tiny little territory—Israel is still as unviable as when it started. Israel now has no frontiers; the demarcation lines are still armistice lines. Recognition of Israel by the Arab States has not come and will not be forthcoming, now or for all time to come, even should Israel survive for all time to come.

131. Thus all the elements for a reconsideration of the creation of Israel are more than abundant. At one time a slogan was coined for circulation in the Middle East to the effect that Israel is there to stay. Nothing is so empty as this empty slogan. Israel is not there to stay and is not going to stay, and I will explain why in a moment. In spite of the recent arms shipment provided by certain Western Powers, Israel is not going to stay, and the reason is simple; it is not a question of action by the Arab States but, rather, action within Israel. Israel is undoing Israel; and here is where United Nations intervention is called for. The United Nations can help to bring about an orderly undoing of Israel, lest it should take place in a disorderly manner and cause confusion to the area.

132. The question may be asked, however, how this process of the undoing of Israel is taking place. That is a valid question and the answer is quite simple to give. The best I can do is to cite a Jewish source which speaks from the heart of New York. Only a few days ago, on 22 September 1958, the Jewish Newsletter—as though meaning to address the General Assembly—revealed to the world this process of the undoing of Israel, and I now read some passages from that Jewish Newsletter:

"The Middle East crisis has obscured an important internal problem in Israel which would have occupied the front pages of the newspapers in normal times. Even now it is one of the big stories in the country and is the cause for anxiety among the top leaders. A recent emergency meeting of the Department of Immigration of the Jewish Agency, attended by Premier Ben-Gurion, revealed official figures showing that immigration to Israel for the first half of this year has reached an all-time low."

The Jewish Newsletter goes on to say:

"Immigration figures...show that there is considerable and growing immigration of Jews from all European countries to South America, Canada and the United States, while Israel, which is much nearer to these immigrants, is being studiously ignored, despite the free transportation and other inducements it offers."

Having said this, the Jewish Newsletter proceeds to bring the most telling figures:

"It was revealed that 6,000 Jews officially registered as immigrants have left Israel this year; 150,000 have left since the establishment of the State. A great many more, whose number cannot be ascertained, have left the country as tourists. According to official information, the number of people expected to leave Israel this year will reach 30,000. At the Polish Consulate—and everyone knows how the Israelis view Poland—"in Tel-Aviv alone, 6,500 immigrants have registered for emigration."

As to Israeli students, the publication states:

"The most painful fact is that Israeli students who are sent by the Government to study at foreign universities, as well as instructors and other emissaries, do their utmost to remain in foreign countries rather than return home. Of 3,000 students who were sent abroad at Government expense, only 600 returned. In short, while practically all sources of new immigration have been closed, the flow of emigrants from Israel is steadily rising."

Finally, the Jewish Newsletter ends by saying: "In short, the de-Zionization of Israel has begun."

133. This is how the undoing of Israel, by Israel, is taking place, and this is how we can get hold of the master key to the problem. The solution lies in the de-Zionization of Israel. It lies in a return to the situation which existed in 1947, when the legitimate Jewish inhabitants lived in a flourishing community as fellow-citizens with the Moslems and Christians of Palestine. It is a return to a decade ago, rather than to a three-thousand-year era of obscurity and wilderness.

134. This is a most revealing situation. The graph that has marked immigration into Israel now shows a decline. Another graph is now being drawn, a graph showing migration from Israel, a process which must be supported by the United Nations to help Israelis go back to their former homes. It is on these lines that the United Nations should reconsider the General Assembly resolution of 1947 which recommended the creation of Israel. To be more specific, and in the light of past experience, the United Nations should undertake the necessary steps which will lead to the following five principles: first, the restoration of the geographic and historic unity of Palestine; second, the repatriation of Arabs and Jews—this is a principle which must apply to both, a principle of repatriation for every citizen in the world—the Arab refugees to their homes in Palestine and the Jewish newcomers to their former countries; third, the constitution of Palestine as a democratic State, a United Nations Member, where all the inhabitants will have equal rights and duties—Moslems, Christians and Jews alike; fourth, the disarmament and demobilization of all troops, the demilitarization of the whole country—and particularly Jerusalem, which the United Nations agreed to make a corpus separatum, an international entity—and also its neutralization, all guaranteed by the Security Council; fifth, the appointment—and I think that this would respond to the interests of religious communities all over the world—of a United Nations representative to report to the General Assembly on matters pertaining to the status quo of religious shrines and free access to the Holy Places.

135. In putting forward this plan for the solution of the Palestine question, we are not led by passions or emotions, although all aspects of life—the United Nations included—are lifeless without emotions or passions. We are guided by the natural, the normal, the healthy course of history. Palestine is an integral part of the Arab homeland, and such it has been since time immemorial. The Arab nation, now on its march towards final liberation, will not give up one single inch of its sacred territory. Let no one be mistaken on this matter. This is the final position, from which we shall not recede, now and until the end of time. It is

not only the million Arab refugees who clamour to redeem their homes, but with them shall strive each and every one of the 80 million Arabs to whom Palestine is home.

136. This attitude on our part is not an adamant one; it is realistic. For there is only one road that leads to peace. It is true that all roads lead to Rome, but for peace there is one road and one road only. It is justice, and nothing but justice. In the history of political settlements one major absolute truth has stood the test at all times. Solutions based upon justice have lasted and survived, but solutions devoid of justice have met with failure and misery and frustration.

137. Failure and frustration are not our aim. Our aim is to seek peace based upon justice, and to seek justice based upon the real dictates of justice. To this end we are dedicated, and from this end we shall never deviate. So help us God.

138. Mr. WIGNY (Belgium) (translated from French): I, too, would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the highly deserved confidence which the General Assembly has placed in you. This compliment, which is no less sincere for having been paid you by many of the speakers who have preceded me, would have been still further enhanced if it had been addressed to you in the setting of the splendid Brussels International Exhibition. We would have seen the wonderful pavilions, representing the majority of nations gathered here, peacefully coexisting side by side, and we would have been able to imagine the fairyland—no longer the mere setting of a temporary exhibition, but an everyday reality—which we could create if the United Nations, successful in its vital task of maintaining peace and creating confidence, enabled this peaceful competition in the arts and sciences to exert its full beneficial effects.

139. This general debate, which is customarily an occasion for an examination of conscience, fills us with a feeling of remorse. Even if we go back further than the past year, so fraught with conflict, and survey the whole period of our existence, the general conclusion will still be disappointing.

140. The United Nations has not even partially accomplished its mission, which, as set out in Article 1 of the Charter, is the maintenance of international peace and security. We can certainly be proud of the record of the specialized agencies which, as provided in the same Article, are achieving international co-operation of an economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian character, but our satisfaction on this score should not be allowed to delude us. If we had ensured peace, the resources made available through disarmament would have been so great that even such secondary activities could have been developed in a manner that today is inconceivable.

141. What is the basic reason for this failure? The founders of our Organization believed they were improving upon the Covenant of the League of Nations by giving the great Powers a decisive role in the Security Council. These hopes have been dashed because the great Powers have not been able to agree on even a small number of political principles. If some of the illusions had been cleared away, perhaps it could have been foreseen that States maintaining large armies with continually improved equipment would be more inclined to intransigence born of the conviction of

being in the right and strengthened by the sureness of force, than to forms of compromise based on mutual concession.

142. In face of a record of failure, of which the immoderate use of the veto is symptomatic, the smaller nations must become more aware of their role and importance. This is the main theme that I would like to develop today. In this Assembly, the smaller nations are in the overwhelming majority, and their presence here can be said to constitute a democracy of States. They represent world public opinion in all its diversity. We have here a means of action which is worth more than entire armies, provided we know how to use it and how to discipline ourselves in order to do so.

143. Our opinions must not be based on emotion, prejudice or even on sentimental attachment. The sober, calm and reassuring voice of reason is sought for by all, and the smaller nations, if they speak in unison, can make this voice universally heard.

144. The smaller nations are not, of course, free from commitments and cannot claim the complete impartiality of a judge or an arbiter. We do not live on another planet, and we know that unless a miracle happens, the next war will affect the whole world. Even though Belgium has never had any territorial ambitions, nor been coveted by any country, it has been invaded twice in the first half of this century, and I, myself, have spent ten years of my life under foreign occupation. These are experiences which are not easily forgotten. We are convinced that there are moments when honour, attachment to a way of life and the mere concern for existence make it necessary to take up arms and that this distressing eventuality must be prepared for even in time of peace. However, being smaller nations well aware of their weakness, we also know and we realize more than the others that war, even if defensive, is only a decision taken in despair and that we must look for a peaceful solution without losing hope. It is in this spirit that the new Belgian Government in a recent official statement defining its traditional foreign policy stressed two points: firstly, its implicit faith in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which, in this divided world, is a necessary factor of equilibrium and our greatest protection in the event of a catastrophe, and, secondly, its desire to consider without bias any reasonable proposal for peace, from whatever camp it may originate.

145. Let us speak first of disarmament. Belgium has always adhered to two principles that make good sense. The first is that disarmament, even partial disarmament, cannot be unilateral. It is pointless to ask your adversary to lay down his arms because he is frightening you and to keep your own because you know in your own mind that your intentions are peaceful.

146. The second is that disarmament must be controlled. It would be naïve to imagine that the other party will be reassured by your mere declaration and that his concern will not be made worse by your refusal of any kind of inspection.

147. These principles have not been applied so far because of the complete lack of confidence among the great Powers. Each time a proposal is made by one of them, the other is less concerned with understanding what has been said than with looking for what might be hidden. Might not partial disarmament disturb the balance of forces and might not mutual inspection conceal intentions of espionage and subversion?

148. It is here that we, as smaller Powers, could play a more active part. Every suggestion that is made by either side should be subjected by us to an initial judgement which, if unanimous or supported by a majority, should exert a great moral and even political influence. We would strongly reject any proposals obviously aimed at weakening the other camp and would make it clear that propaganda of that nature is not only ineffectual with regard to others but also detrimental to the prestige of those originating it. On the other hand, we should support constructive proposals and should recommend, and if necessary employ the weight of our numbers to insist, that they be studied objectively.

149. Politicians undoubtedly have more responsibility than they have technical knowledge and therefore cannot be reproached for not understanding at once all the implications of an invariably complicated disarmament plan. When in doubt, the obvious course is to abstain; but rather than hide behind inaction, might we not resort more widely to a procedure that has recently been tried and found to have merit? If politicians are reluctant to engage, even conditionally, in perilous negotiations of uncertain outcome, let them at least entrust to experts the technical aspects of the problem. In negotiations of this kind the judgement of scientists must be relied on, for these men are vouched for not only by their scientific reputation but also by their intellectual integrity.

150. In this spirit the Belgian delegation supports a number of recent proposals. Although general disarmament programmes may at present be too ambitious, the more modest projects, which at least have the merit of accustoming the great Powers to negotiation and co-operation, should not be ignored. In the beginning, only limited risks would be involved, but if success was forthcoming, there would arise a feeling of trust, of that trust which is so sadly lacking, and bolder types of action could gradually be taken.

151. The first proposal relates to the cessation of nuclear tests. The experts at the Geneva Conference^{3/} have just shown that in the event of agreement unlawful explosions would be detected by a small-sized international organization. The Belgian delegation realizes full well that this would not even be partial disarmament as long as States remained free to manufacture and stockpile bombs, but at least it would have the effect of reassuring the peoples who fear for their health even in peacetime, and it would show that our Organization is capable of results. If certain nations felt that the discontinuance of such tests might be detrimental to them, either by imposing upon them a unilateral military disadvantage or by preventing them from obtaining information necessary for the peaceful use of atomic energy, they should give a clear account of their complaints and make their agreement subject to temporary reservations.

152. A further proposal concerns cosmic space. It is high time to ask the experts whether and how it will be possible to prevent its utilization for military purposes. At one time a proposal to demilitarize the polar regions was put forward and scornfully rejected, but only a few months later the ocean depths beneath the ice-fields were found to have military importance.

Let us not repeat the same mistakes and the same delays.

153. The Soviet delegation links the problem of cosmic space with that of foreign military bases, by a process of reasoning which is not quite clear to the Belgian delegation. Launching sites for atomic missiles could doubtless be established at these bases, but the Soviet Government, which is justifiably proud of its sputniks and the inter-continental missiles which are their dangerous offspring, has stated officially and repeatedly that these terrible weapons could be launched from the USSR itself and could reach any town in any continent. This raises the whole problem of nuclear disarmament, the solution of which will take time. Why should the scientific examination of the use of cosmic space have to await that solution?

154. The third proposal deals with the prevention of surprise attacks. This proposal concerns the small Powers, since although with guided missiles the entire world would be in the combat zone from the outset, States having small territories in strategic areas could be occupied and even annihilated at a stroke. For them there would be no tomorrow, no possibility of retaliation. For the great Powers, too, armaments are heavier and more costly if they have to be available from the first moment and if too much reliance cannot be placed on conversion of the machinery of peaceful production. Sudden attacks likewise diminish the effectiveness of our Organization because it needs time to act and is practically powerless when faced with a fait accompli. For all these reasons, between the threat of war and war itself there should be a period of grace which would enable calm to be restored and goodwill to be brought into play. The Belgian delegation does not know whether it is possible to distinguish between a sudden attack and an ordinary attack or, if so, whether the former could be effectively prevented by appropriate controls, but it is convinced that, quite apart from the substance of the question, there is an urgent need for placing the technical aspects of the question before the experts.

155. Until disarmament has become a reality, our planet will remain divided between two worlds separated by different ideologies and interests. There will continue to be a series of dramatic events all along the frontier. Well-meaning people each time urge one side or the other to abandon a disputed point in order to ensure lasting peace at a modest price. That is a simple and even credulous point of view. How can anyone believe that the mere shifting of the line of demarcation will suffice to abolish the tension between two worlds which face each other in a spirit of active rivalry, at the mercy of a mistake or a misunderstanding?

156. Unfortunately, at least for the time being, we can hope for nothing more than to prevent these conflicts from spreading. In each case, however, the small nations, most of which, because of their number and their geographic dispersal, are not directly concerned, can and should support solutions which are dictated neither by passion, nor by prejudice, nor even by reasons of prestige.

157. In the Middle East the situation became so acute that we were obliged a few weeks ago to meet in emergency special session. We had at least the consolation of adopting unanimously a proposal drawn up by the Arab States themselves [resolution 1237 (ES-III)]. Can

^{3/} See note 1.

the general principles it embodied be translated into political reality? In this regard, we expect that the Secretary-General's report [A/3934/Rev.1] will provide much valuable material. It has only just been distributed, and it should be studied with care. The Belgian delegation has no desire to render a delicate negotiation even more difficult by premature remarks. It will, however, make two observations which concern that part of the world, where Belgium has nothing but friends, but which have also a much more general scope.

158. The first observation is that Belgium, which is anxious to respect the wishes of every State to organize itself as it desires, will not confine itself to respecting the *status quo*. In view of the fact that the political organization of certain regions is unstable, it wishes to reaffirm the principle of non-intervention. Similar discretion should be practised by all countries. Progress should be peaceful and should correspond to the true wishes of the peoples concerned. We denounce not only armed intervention and internal subversion, but also propaganda, which can be lethal. My Government noted with interest that part of the resolution of the Arab countries which calls upon all Member States to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conforms to the principles of non-aggression and non-interference.

159. The second observation is that the Middle East, like many other regions, can achieve peace only through prosperity. This, however, implies immense investments. Where is the capital to be found? Gifts can be obtained in the name of world solidarity, but they can never be sufficient and must be supplemented by investments. Technical progress is now so rapid that the capital exporting countries are afraid to interrupt the continuous modernization of their basic equipment. They are not likely to be encouraged by the addition of political risk to economic speculation. The new countries, in their own interests, should respect the legitimate interests of those who have contributed and will contribute in future to their development. That would be the surest way for them to obtain the benefits of a prosperous economy and thus to reinforce their political independence.

160. The crisis in the Middle East is not yet settled, and now in the Far East the voice of cannon is heard—and not only in diplomatic notes. We all know of the conflict between the two Governments which dispute the right to exercise sovereignty over China. We know that an ancient empire has undergone a civil war and is today divided. We are familiar with the geographical, historical, political and legal arguments advanced by either side in connexion with the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. But how does the Peiping Government confirm its claims by firing over a hundred thousand shells on to these islands, which are inhabited also by civilian populations? That Government should remember that when dealing with the United Nations it should be careful to follow the rules if it wants some unfortunate precedents to be forgotten.

161. Certain details have, of course, been given to this Assembly. We have been told that rather less than four shells per inhabitant have landed on the islands and that the civilian victims were less numerous than was at first thought. Even if this information is accurate, is it capable of reassuring us? Should not a single shell burst and a few dead be sufficient to arouse us?

We have also been told that these attacks were merely a retaliation for the blockade of the ports and the raids on the mainland carried out by Nationalist troops. The logical conclusion of such an argument would be that we should blame both sides equally.

162. Undoubtedly China is torn apart by civil war, but this must not develop into a world war. That would be unthinkable, especially as these small islands are not strategically necessary to either of the belligerents; their garrisons do not threaten the continent of China, nor would the withdrawal of these troops make the military defence of Formosa any more difficult. The solution which should have the moral support of the small Powers is clear enough; while reserving the political and legal claims of both parties to these minute islands, we should arrange for their demilitarization and protection against forcible seizure under the aegis of the United Nations. No one would lose face, since each party would maintain its position, its claims and its hopes, but, at least for the time being, the peace of the world would cease to be troubled by a cannonade which is capable of awakening dangerous echoes.

163. Yet another sensitive spot is in Europe, where Germany is divided by the Iron Curtain. It is strange that the States which advance historical and geographical arguments to support the unification of China under the authority of Peiping can at the same time reconcile themselves to the existence of two German Governments. Yet for the past hundred years the Reich has possessed a political, linguistic, cultural and racial unity that has not existed between continental China and Formosa. When discussing the political organization of a country, it is idle to look to the past; the people themselves should decide what régime they prefer. For the United Nations, the only valid indication of a just solution would come through free general elections.

164. Lastly, I should like to touch in a few words on the problem of Icelandic territorial waters which the Reykjavik Government, by a unilateral decision, is attempting to extend from three to twelve miles. Belgium cannot recognize such forcible legal action; it is directly concerned, since its fishing fleet is the fourth in size of those which traditionally exploit these fish-laden waters.

165. Three views have been put forward. The Icelandic Minister of Foreign Affairs has pleaded with great conviction [759th meeting] the cause of his courageous people, which possesses neither agricultural land, nor forests, nor mineral resources and whose entire livelihood depends on fish. These are strong arguments, but do they justify the decision that Iceland has taken? What is the use of the United Nations if on the ground of necessity an arbitrary blow can be struck against liberties sanctioned by international custom as demonstrated by the practice of States? As was recognized by the International Court of Justice in its judgment of 18 December 1951: "The delimitation of sea areas has always an international aspect; it cannot be dependent merely upon the will of the coastal State as expressed in its municipal law."^{4/}

^{4/} Fisheries case, Judgment of December 18th, 1951: I.C.J. Reports 1951, p. 116.

166. The Danish delegation has not contested the law in force but has suggested that it should be changed and has made definite proposals to that end.

167. The position taken by the United Kingdom appears, however, to the Belgian delegation to be the best. Without going into the substance of the matter, the United Kingdom proposes a peaceful procedure for the settlement of the dispute as called for in Article 1 of the Charter. If the law in force is to be discussed by referring, as Iceland has done, to long-past precedents, then the dispute should be submitted to the International Court of Justice. If the object is, in the name of fairness, to make special arrangements taking account of Iceland's particular economic situation, a formula of compromise should be found by way of negotiation. Lastly, if international law itself is to be modified, there must be a further United Nations conference on the law of the sea. That is the threefold proposal which has the support of the Belgian delegation.

168. Peace is a continuous creation. It cannot be guaranteed by the automatic application of a few clear principles laid down in the Charter. In each separate case, in connexion with each conflict, a solution must be based on authority.

169. We realize how difficult it is for the great Powers, because of the very magnitude of their responsibilities, to reach understanding. The purpose of this statement has been to prove that that authority can be effectively exercised in our Organization by the small nations. Their relative weakness which causes them to cherish justice, their geographical distribution which guarantees their impartiality, their number which lends moral force to their views, all enable them, if they are worthy of such a role, to render the United Nations truly effective.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.