

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



## 769th PLENARY MEETING

 Friday, 3 October 1958,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

### CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Agenda Item 9: General debate ( <u>continued</u> )	
Speech by Mr. Palamarchuk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) . . . . .	301
Speech by Prince Aly Khan (Pakistan) . . . . .	306
Speech by Mr. Palamas (Greece) . . . . .	311
Speech by Mr. Rifa'i (Jordan) . . . . .	315

**President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).**

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, Gentlemen, by a happy chance the Ukrainian delegation is speaking in the general debate on the eve of the anniversary of the launching of the first earth satellite into outer space. This event of world-wide importance took place in the Soviet Union on 4 October 1957.

2. This penetration into outer space gave rise to many important problems both in science and international politics which remain to be studied and evaluated thoroughly, and this will obviously take some time.

3. Now that the third Soviet satellite, incomparably greater in weight and scientific importance, is making its two-thousandth flight around the earth and can be easily observed, even here in New York, we must indeed pay a tribute to the ability and daring of the Soviet peoples who have blazed a path into outer space and have opened a new and splendid chapter in the history of mankind.

4. The satellite is circling the earth at an unheard-of speed, enriching our knowledge of the universe and extending man's potential mastery of the profound secrets of nature. But it also makes us think of something else—how important it is for all of us to seek the path of co-operation, of peaceful coexistence and of the application of the great discoveries of science and technology for the good of man, and not his harm.

5. The Ukrainian delegation feels that it is its duty to make these observations on the first anniversary of the launching of the earth satellite because the activity of the United Nations is still not on a level with the tasks mankind is facing through the rapid development of science. Do we really need to convince anyone here that the appearance of earth satellites, both Soviet and American—and we may see satellites launched in other countries as well—makes it more urgent than ever for us to answer the question: how can we turn our United Nations Organization into an effective instrument of

peace, how can we prevent a development of events by which the greatest discovery of the human mind—the release of nuclear energy—can be used by the imperialist forces for the harm instead of for the good of mankind?

6. We have only to ask that question to realize what a noble task it is which confronts the United Nations and how inadequately it is being carried out. And this, I may say, is not fortuitous. There are still forces in the West, primarily here in the United States, to whom the peaceful development of mankind is distasteful. They want conflicts, wars and international tension in order to maintain a war economy and to prevent a fall in the profits of monopolies.

7. What record of "achievements" have the United States and Britain brought to this session of the General Assembly? The intervention in Lebanon and Jordan! Their blunt refusal to admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations! Provocative measures against peace in the Far East! These are truly unenviable achievements.

8. The Soviet Union and the other peace-loving States have made and are still making every effort to improve the international atmosphere. They have done everything they could to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. An example of this was the resolution of the twelfth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1236 (XII)]—"Peaceful and neighbourly relations among States"—which called upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and co-operative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means. In everything they do the Socialist States are setting an example of the practical application of these important principles.

9. The Soviet Union has presented certain proposals for the establishment of a security system in Europe; it has called upon the United States to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship and prevent intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East; it has ceased its own nuclear tests unilaterally, and it has called upon the United States and Great Britain to do the same. These are only some of the Soviet Union's proposals aimed at extending the sphere of peaceful coexistence and strengthening peace and good-neighbourly relations between all States. The Ukrainian people naturally supported the Soviet Government's measures unanimously since they regard them as a manifestation of true concern for the preservation of international peace.

10. It can certainly not be said that the efforts of United States official circles and the efforts of the State Department have been directed towards the same aim. No, it cannot. Last year the United States voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution which I have mentioned, but this year that resolution was trampled underfoot by the American Marines in Lebanon.

11. The Soviet Union aims at devoting its scientific progress solely to peace. It has called and is calling upon the Western Powers to come to their senses before it is too late and, instead of engaging in an armaments race, to vie with one another in peaceful pursuits, in improving people's living conditions, in stamping out disease and in promoting culture and science. As a powerful State the Soviet Union would like to base its relations with other States on principles of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. The Soviet Union is striving for the peaceful solution of disputed questions, founded on the mutual respect of countries for each others' interests.

12. The same cannot be said of the United States. The United States and its closest associates in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are not pursuing the same aims. Everyone can see how the American whirlwind of blackmail and threats first strikes in one place and then in another all over the world.

13. Scientific and technical discoveries can be used for the good of the present and future generations, or they can be used for a war unequalled in devastation and mass annihilation. Peace is the greatest gift man can have. But the world we live in is becoming a world of gloomy anxiety as a result of the increasing concentration of radioactive matter around us which can lead to serious illness and which threatens the normal development of our progeny. The process of radioactive concentration can be halted only if the atomic Powers halt the testing of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons forever.

14. I have already pointed out that the Soviet Union, actuated by its concern for peace and the fate of future generations, ended the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons on 31 March 1958, on a unilateral basis. Similar steps have not been taken by the United States and Britain. The Governments of the United States and Great Britain are avoiding the immediate cessation of nuclear tests by looking for all possible loop-holes and producing all sorts of reservations and preliminary conditions.

15. The Soviet Union made a considerable unilateral reduction in its armed forces. Everyone possessed of good will hoped that the Western Powers would follow the USSR's example, but that was not the case. The United States has even halted the slight reduction which had been previously announced. Are not the American soldiers in the Near East and in the Taiwan region the very ones who could be sent back home to their families?

16. The Soviet Union has proposed a top-level meeting between Eastern and Western statesmen to discuss urgent international problems. The United States and Britain, however, have done everything they could to prevent this meeting. Have they not played this part a little too crudely? A meeting of this kind should be held in an atmosphere of honesty and frankness without reference to problems which cannot be settled at it or which should not be discussed. By bringing up matters involving the situation in the countries of Eastern Europe the United States and Britain are asking for the impossible.

17. These are all facts. They show that the Soviet Union, having achieved striking successes in the scientific field and having consolidated its might, has

acted in international politics in keeping with the interests of peace and international co-operation. And it is the good fortune of mankind that there is as powerful a State in the world as the Soviet Union with aims no more ambitious than the desire to preserve peace and prevent another war.

18. The same can certainly not be said of certain other States Members of the United Nations, notably those countries that are accustomed to wield the "big stick" and that attempt to force other countries to adopt a line of action of benefit to NATO.

19. With the appearance of inter-continental ballistic missiles and satellites in outer space, with the formation of a powerful camp of peace-loving Socialist countries, the need for reappraisal of the nature and methods of the policy of the United States and the other members of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc is more pressing than ever before. But the Western Powers are still acting as before and ignoring the dictates of common sense.

20. For instance, the official propaganda of the West has ascribed non-existent aggressive intentions to the Soviet Union for many years. This slanderous propaganda makes it rather easier for the United States to rouse some sort of community spirit and solidarity in other countries under the flag of NATO and to impose upon them colossal military expenditure. The arms race, dictated by the profit-seeking interests of the capitalist monopolies, has assumed a particularly alarming scale since science penetrated into outer space.

21. Enormous sums of money are being squandered on the arms race. The States belonging to the North Atlantic bloc have spent more than \$400,000 million on military preparations. This sum has been exacted from the population in taxes and by other means, which has naturally reduced the purchasing power of the population. If this amount of money had been spent on wage increases, public education and health instead, more favourable conditions would certainly have been created for overcoming many of the difficulties which the capitalist countries are now experiencing. Abandonment of the arms race would have kept prices down and prevented inflation, which has now become one of the most unhealthy problems in these countries.

22. The military and political leaders of NATO assert against all truth that orders for military supplies stimulate the over-all production of those countries. But we know that it is precisely the NATO countries which have been experiencing a serious depression for some time, and further militarization of the economy will not help to solve these economic problems, but will only aggravate them.

23. Certain political economists in the West apparently find consolation in the fact that the arms race will make the Soviet Union and peoples' democracies spend ever greater resources on defence measures and thereby slow down their economic development. Such calculations are unfounded. We should naturally like to use all our resources and possibilities for peaceful purposes, but the need to strengthen the defence of the socialist countries does divert a certain amount from the path of peaceful construction.

24. However, the circles in the West that have not given up their hopes of slowing down the economic development of the socialist countries, are measuring

us by their own yardstick—a yardstick which is not applicable to socialism. It is enough to note that the industrial output of these countries last year exceeded the pre-war level by almost four and a half times. The countries of the socialist camp, especially in the last few years, have made great strides in increasing agricultural output and in supplying the population with consumer goods. Every coming year will yield better and better results.

25. In stepping up the arms race certain officials in the NATO countries are making every effort to justify the doctrine of interrelationship and interdependence. It seems that all is not well in the house of NATO if this new doctrine has now proved necessary. The aggression of Britain in Jordan and the United States in Lebanon leaves no doubt as to the foreign political essence of the so-called doctrine of interrelationship and interdependence, widely advertised from this platform.

26. The third emergency special session of the General Assembly examined in detail the events of the Near and Middle East as a result of which the international situation greatly deteriorated and the peace of the world was threatened. More than a month has passed since the Assembly, on 21 August 1958, adopted a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] calling for the withdrawal of United States and British armed forces from Lebanon and Jordan. Yet the troops of the interventionists are still on Arab soil, pressure is still being exerted on the Arab countries and interference in their internal affairs continues.

27. Remembering the universally severe condemnation of their aggressive policy at the third emergency special session, the United States and Britain are now doing everything they can to justify somehow or other their non-compliance with the resolution.

28. Mr. Lloyd, British Foreign Secretary, said here on 25 September 1958 that "it is our earnest desire that the good words of the resolution of 21 August should be translated into action" [758th meeting, para. 54]. But from Mr. Lloyd's subsequent arguments we are supposed to conclude that the withdrawal of troops is being prevented by the Arab countries themselves (with emphasis on the United Arab Republic) which are violating the terms of the resolution of 21 August. We then come logically to the conclusion that inasmuch as the Arab States are violating the resolution (though there is no proof of this), the withdrawal of troops becomes, for Britain, extremely problematic. Let us say quite bluntly that this ruse is not a very original one.

29. The United States Secretary of State also expatiated on the "responsibility of the Arab States". Once again, if this refers to the withdrawal of American forces from Lebanon, the Arab States have nothing to do with it. Their wish, like that of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, is clearly expressed in the resolution of 21 August and states, as is well known, that the Secretary-General should "make forthwith... such practical arrangements as would help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan in the present circumstances, and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal of the foreign troops from the two countries". But the interventionist forces are still in Arab soil, and Mr. Dulles lays the blame for this on the Arab States which have been victimized by the aggressive policy of the United States.

30. On 29 September 1958 the Secretary-General gave his first report [A/3934/Rev.1] on implementation of the resolution of the third emergency special session. It is not clear from the report which of the practical steps recommended by him with regard to Lebanon and Jordan will further the withdrawal of foreign forces or when it will take place.

31. Instead we are given samples of what I would call masterly vagueness in which the question of withdrawing American forces from Lebanon and British forces from Jordan is tied to a whole number of conditions such as when "the situation in the area allows", and "provided the international security situation with respect to Lebanon continues to improve". It may be pure chance or it may be by a coincidence of points of view, but the notion of the "line of action" of the Arab States mentioned in the speeches of Messrs. Dulles and Lloyd also runs through the report; according to it, the Arab States themselves are making the prompt withdrawal of foreign troops difficult. This political camouflage should deceive no one.

32. The situation in the Far East arouses serious anxiety about the future of peace. Representatives not only of African and Asian countries, but even of those countries which have not yet found enough courage to reject the United States policy of negotiating from "a position of strength", have expressed deep concern at what is happening off the coast of the People's Republic of China.

33. The real causes of the existing tension in that area were explained in a statement by Mr. Chen-Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on 20 September 1958. He said; inter alia:

"The United States has invaded and occupied our territory of Taiwan. Recently it has concentrated there further armed forces of considerable size in order to prevent the Chinese people from recovering the islands of Quemoy and Matsu and the other off-shore islands and thereby to create a serious threat to peace in the Far East and in the whole world."

34. Some people here have tried to juggle with various dates. The events in the area of the off-shore islands did not begin in August of this year, but when the United States Fleet was transferred to Taiwan and the other Chinese islands, on the false pretext that the islands must be held for the sake of United States "security". Having interfered in the civil war and taken Chiang Kai-shek and his followers under its wing, the United States then declared Taiwan a State, if you please, and even concluded a "treaty" with it. That is aggression pure and simple, though not new in form. This concern for "security" has been used by the United States as an excuse before. Was it not on this pretext that United States troops were landed on Soviet soil in the first years of the socialist State's existence?

35. Can the People's Republic of China look on these actions of the United States as legitimate and just? Of course not. No one who does not want to fly in the face of truth will recognize them as such. The Chinese people has a right to extend its sovereignty over the whole of Chinese territory, and it will do so. Aggression is committed, not by those who defend a righteous cause, but by those who hinder them, those who arm the followers of Chiang Kai-shek, those who send their aircraft and warships to the coast of the People's Republic of China.

36. The People's Republic of China is engaged in a just cause. Injustice is being done by those who seek to turn an internal affair of China into an international question and to provide some basis and justification for their aggressive infringement of the sovereign rights of the People's Republic of China over Taiwan and all the off-shore islands, and for their aggression against the great Chinese people. It is thus no accident that a State Department memorandum on the United States policy of non-recognition of the Chinese Communist régime openly proclaims that the United States is striving "to hasten the passing" of the People's Republic of China.

37. As we all know, the aggressive imperialist policy of the United States towards the Chinese people has deep, very deep roots. It is rooted in the notorious "open-door" policy proclaimed by John Hay more than half a century ago. From time to time United States representatives refer to this "open-door" policy as a proof that it has always been the policy of the United States to protect China from foreign domination. But those who know their history are aware of the imperialist nature of the "open-door" idea. It was based on a desire to loot the natural riches of China, to ill-treat and humiliate the Chinese people, to perpetuate its feudal backwardness and to keep the country in colonial status.

38. We may remind the United States delegation at the United Nations that Mr. Conger, the United States diplomatic representative in China at that time, saw in the Hay policy a means of keeping China in a state of impotence; I repeat: in a state of impotence. Is it not to this state that the present protectors of Chiang Kai-shek's clique of venal traitors want to return China?

39. Who better than the Chinese people recalls that painful period in its history when the imperialist skillfully took advantage of its weakness, its disunity, its impotence and dismembered the living body of China, dividing it into spheres of interest and setting up puppet régimes and a State within the State. The United States proclaimed its "open-door" policy, and through the open door rushed the United States tycoons, great and small, anxious not to be left behind in the plunder of China.

40. Since that time much water has flowed under the bridges. Today the People's China, a giant freed from chains, has forever closed its doors to imperialist brigands. But it opens them to friends, to all those whose intentions are good and who respect its independence and sovereignty. Of course, this China does not suit the aggression-minded groups in the United States. They have not enough sense of reality to recognize that historical changes have taken place in the life of the great Chinese people. They have still not abandoned the wild dream of once again opening the door to China by force of arms, using Taiwan and the other off-shore islands as a bridgehead for aggression. They clutch at the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the vain hope of stemming the tide of history.

41. In order to mislead world public opinion, the whole vast propaganda machine of the United States, as at a word of command, has been publicizing the story put out by Mr. Dulles, that normalization of the situation in the Far East depends on a cease fire. In the General Assembly heart-rending appeals have been made for a renunciation of the use of force as an instrument of foreign policy. Mr. Couve de Murville, the French

minister of Foreign Affairs, stated, in particular [758th meeting], that in his opinion "resorting to force is never a good way of settling political conflicts". Mr. Lloyd spoke in the same vein [Ibid.] when he said: "The whole international community should join in insisting that this matter should not be settled by force".

42. These are odd remarks, coming as they do from representatives of those States which not only extol the policy of negotiating from "a position of strength", but also apply it in international relations. But in point of fact, those who have suddenly been seized with such a love of peace proceed from the view that relations between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan are international, that they are relations between States. If that were the case, the principle that the use of force is forbidden would indeed apply. But their view is clearly distorted; in China there are not two Governments, nor, consequently, two States, and therefore relations between them cannot be subject to the above rule of international law. There is only one China and it alone can be concerned in international affairs.

43. In China there has been a revolution which has set the people free. The corrupt Kuomintang régime was overturned and the People's Republic of China was firmly established in its place. Its power now extends over the whole territory of China, with the exception of Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the other off-shore islands, which for many centuries have been geographically and economically part of mainland China. The Chinese people demands the return of territory which has been its since time immemorial. It is fully entitled to take whatever measures it considers necessary with respect to Chiang Kai-shek's forces entrenched on the off-shore islands.

44. The Chinese people is not at war with the United States, so that the question of a cease fire does not arise. For nearly nine years Chiang Kai-shek's forces have bombed China from the off-shore islands and from Taiwan, and no one—not Mr. Dulles, not Mr. Lloyd, not Mr. Couve de Murville—let fall one word of regret on that subject. When, therefore, the representatives of France and the United Kingdom condemn the retaliatory action of the People's Republic of China against the Chiang Kai-shek group, it is the duty of all who still remember the meaning of justice to condemn, not the People's Republic of China, but the United States, for causing tension where it would not exist if the United States stopped interfering in the internal affairs of the Chinese people.

45. If we want to be true to the United Nations Charter and to preserve peace in the Far East, we must obtain the early withdrawal of United States armed forces from that region and put a stop to United States interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China.

46. The reckless policy of the United States is not confined to the off-shore islands or the Near East; it is applied over the whole world. It is scarcely possible for anyone to retain any illusions on this point since the United States Secretary of State, speaking to the Atlantic Treaty Association in Boston on 27 September 1958, declared for all to hear that the very same principles underlay United States policy in the Taiwan region and NATO policy in Europe.

47. As in the Far East, so in Europe, the policy of the United States harbours a threat to peace, for its

corner-stone is the transformation of the western zone of Germany into a militarist atomic Power. The militarization of Western Germany and the formation of the Bundeswehr, armed with the latest weapons of destruction, are being brought about through the efforts of those industrialists and financiers who have concentrated economic power in their own hands, and who are now seeking to instil in the German soldiery the idea of a revanche. Memories of the bitter years of the Second World War are still too fresh for mankind to forget that the German industrialists—those barons of the factory chimneys—were the very people who brought Hitler to power and plunged the world into war and Nazi atrocities.

48. Now these same monopolists impose their will on the present politicians of Western Germany. Once more patrons from across the ocean are putting weapons into the hands of Germans intent on their revanche; this time the weapons are atom bombs. At first (and this was set down in the treaties of Bonn and Paris) the ruling circles of Western Germany stated that they would forego atomic weapons. Lately they have been asserting that the entry of the Federal Republic of Germany into NATO would impose specific obligations on it, and that it must therefore have these weapons—whispering all the while in the ears of the gullible that this would be in the interests of peace and disarmament! At present the Federal Republic of Germany demands unlimited possession of atomic weapons. Well, gentlemen from NATO, are we not fully entitled to call this a revival of the Munich policy?

49. Will not such patronage put too great a temptation in the way of the revanchistes and of all those who have learned nothing from past experience? There are not and cannot be any guarantees that politicians who think only in military terms, having at their disposal not merely fleets of tanks, but also nuclear weapons and rockets, will not precipitate a war in order to satisfy their longing for a revanche.

50. As past experience shows, not eastern Europe alone but western Europe too would be engulfed in the tide of war if the German revanchistes were to embark on such a venture. This is especially true in our time, when any armed conflict threatens to grow into a worldwide conflagration. It would be dangerous to forget that fact.

51. The Ukrainian people, of course, cannot and will not forget the lessons of Hitler's invasion. We have not forgotten, either, that we must learn to recognize a catastrophe while it can still be prevented, and not wait until it bursts over the heads of millions of people.

52. Such is the record of events merely for the single year since the appearance of the first artificial earth satellite. It is not difficult to see who is responsible for aggravating the international situation. Despite this complicated situation, the peoples of the world have not lost faith in the success of the peace policy followed by peace-loving States. The United Nations might suddenly take on new life if it freed itself of the trammels that now doom it to impotence, and devoted its energies to curbing the forces of imperialist aggression.

53. The General Assembly can and must promote that end at the present session, for its sacred mission is to promote the maintenance of peace. There are a number of important questions on its agenda a positive solution

of which is in the vital interests of all States Members of the United Nations. First and foremost among them is, of course, the problem of disarmament. The need to solve that problem has never been so pressing as it is at present. The armaments race grows daily more menacing, until there is but a desperately small step left between piling up weapons and using them. It is absolutely essential to reach an agreement on the partial measures of disarmament submitted to the General Assembly for consideration in the USSR Government's memorandum [A/3929].

54. One measure, both simple and easy to carry out, would be to stop tests of nuclear weapons once and for all. The Ukrainian delegation supports the USSR delegation's proposal [A/3915] to discuss this question at the current session of the General Assembly independently of other disarmament questions. The General Assembly must take an acceptable decision, without any conditions or reservations, and without making agreement on the cessation of tests dependent on satisfactory progress regarding the problem of disarmament as a whole.

55. A positive decision on another important disarmament question, introduced as a separate agenda item by the USSR delegation [A/3925], would also be a considerable achievement on the part of the United Nations. We have in mind the item entitled, "The reduction of the military budgets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France by 10 to 15 per cent and the use of part of the savings so effected for assistance to the underdeveloped countries". For the sake of security and the development of peace-time economies, there must be a substantial decrease in the military budgets of all States, and first of all of the great Powers whose military expenditure provides the main stimulus for the armaments race.

56. Such a measure would, without doubt, lead to a general rise in prosperity and increase the ability of the great Powers to assist the economically less developed countries. The urgent need to expand such assistance is obvious to everybody. Other ways of expanding it must, of course, also be used. With this in mind, the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic intends to participate in the United Nations Special Fund now being established, an organization which can greatly broaden the scope of international technical assistance to the less developed countries. Useful activity by the United Nations in this sphere could be expanded considerably, making use of the funds which would be freed through a reduction of the military budgets of the great Powers, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

57. One of the most important aspects of United Nations activity is the solution of international economic, social, health, and related problems so as to promote social progress and higher standards of living. This offers unlimited possibilities for fruitful co-operation between all nations.

58. In our time, the united efforts of all peoples and countries to master the secrets of nature and to create fitting living conditions for men have acquired unprecedented importance. The need for further expansion of international co-operation to these ends is obvious. Such co-operation will, without doubt, also have a favourable influence on the political climate in

the world and contribute to greater understanding between peoples and States. In this connexion we may note the collaboration which has begun and is developing in the peaceful use of atomic energy; the United Nations deserves all credit for this. Considerable success has attended the collaboration and co-ordination of activities of the world's scientists in carrying out the International Geophysical Year, 1957-1958.

59. On the instructions of the Ukrainian Government, our delegation has submitted for consideration by the General Assembly at its present session a proposal [A/3920 and Add. 1] for the organization of an International Public Health and Medical Research Year in 1960. The primary purposes of the Year would be: first, to unite the separate efforts of individual countries in the battle against dangerous diseases, to co-ordinate scientific research, and to expand the exchange of advanced medical experience among all countries; secondly, to provide increased aid for setting up public health services in the under-developed countries.

60. Despite the considerable achievements of medicine in recent decades, the peoples of the whole world still suffer from disease. Unfortunately, no effective means has yet been found of combating many illnesses, such as cancer and cardio-vascular ailments. Such major diseases as malaria, tuberculosis, smallpox and poliomyelitis are also widespread.

61. We cannot but note the fact that certain diseases which have been entirely, or very nearly, stamped out in some countries, continue to rage in others. Malaria, for example, has been practically eliminated in most European countries, including the Ukraine, but in other regions of the world, particularly in southern countries, according to the statistics of the World Health Organization, 300 million people contract this disease every year, and 3 million of them die. Other major diseases claim many lives. The invisible world of microbes, viruses and other micro-organisms, some known and others as yet unknown, wages a veritable war on mankind.

62. The time has come to unite the various groups of scientists, doctors and health workers which now operate in relative isolation, and to co-ordinate the activities of the different countries in an organized campaign against these ruthless and insidious enemies of man. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR hopes that the organization of an International Public Health and Medical Research Year will prove a most useful measure for this purpose. We are assuming that the World Health Organization, which has considerable experience in co-ordinating joint activities by the different countries of the world in the struggle against disease, will take part in the organization and execution of the International Year. We trust also that all States will respond to an appeal by the United Nations and will co-operate in every possible way to solve important scientific and practical problems in the field of medicine and health.

63. The experience of the United Nations shows that the key to its success lies in strict and unfailing observance of the Charter. The attempt of some Powers to turn it into an instrument for achieving their own ends renders the United Nations powerless. It is constantly taking decisions which do not reflect the real situation in the world. We hope that at its present session the General Assembly will choose the best

course, that of strict observance of the Charter and the solution of international problems in the interests of maintaining peace and international security.

64. Prince Aly KHAN (Pakistan): The Government of Pakistan, which my colleagues and I have the honour to represent at this thirteenth session of the General Assembly, has constantly adhered to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and has consistently pursued a policy designed to safeguard international peace and security and to promote economic prosperity and social progress.

65. We are not unique in this regard nor with regard to the numerous and complex problems that confront our country. Most important of these are problems of economic development and financial stability, of education, health and social welfare. It is obvious that the solution of such problems must depend in the first instance on the wisdom and hard work of our people and our Government. But it is equally obvious that achievement of the economic and social objectives, which their Government cherishes for the people of Pakistan, depends in a very large measure on the general state of international affairs. This is so because of a factor which has been very aptly referred to by the President of the Assembly, by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom and other speakers, that is, the interdependence of the nations of the world.

66. Whatever happens to disturb the peace of any area of the world is bound to have repercussions throughout the world. Although the effects vary from country to country and from time to time, they are likely to be most sharply felt in the case of disturbance of the peace and to have the most adverse consequences. Such consequences fall not so much on the larger and more powerful countries but on the smaller and medium-sized nations, like Pakistan, which are not endowed with great riches and which can ill afford to maintain vast military establishments equipped with fantastic weapons of mass destruction, but which must diligently husband their limited resources to meet the immediate and pressing economic and social needs of their peoples.

67. Keenly aware of this factor of interdependence my Government, in considering the general position of Pakistan in world affairs, recognizes that its first obligation is to protect and defend the security of its people from all external menaces, and it is determined to maintain to the fullest extent of its ability the strength necessary to this end.

68. Defence, like peace, is indivisible and, as is well known, Pakistan participates in a certain number of collective defensive arrangements such as the Baghdad Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, which are fully in accord with the United Nations Charter, and it is also a member of that great community of nations, the Commonwealth. Its participation in such organizations unites Pakistan with a considerable number of other countries in various parts of the world and with varied cultural backgrounds, but all are devoted, like Pakistan, to the defence of freedom and the preservation of international amity.

69. There is another group of countries with which Pakistan is united by the closest ties of brotherhood, based upon centuries of a common cultural and

spiritual heritage. Sharing in the inheritance of Islam with all the Arab States and all other Muslim States, Pakistan, proud of the great contributions which the Muslim people have made to the development of human civilization, will continue, as the future unfolds with its promise of even greater achievements, to extend to all of these States its whole-hearted support and co-operation.

70. The complex structure of organized international relations is perhaps the most significant characteristic of today's interdependent world. Almost all nations, including Pakistan, are members of a great many international organizations dealing with the numerous and varied relations among States. Pakistan will continue to give its strong support to all of those organizations which deal with the international aspects of such problems as food and agriculture, health, education, science and culture, labour, and finance. All of these organizations, which we commonly refer to as the specialized agencies, are not only part of the fabric of the organized international world; they are also, of course, closely affiliated with the United Nations. In this way, they are a vitally important part of the structure for peace that mankind, in its often halting and imperfect way, has been trying to build through the centuries.

71. While the specialized agencies have been able to accomplish much good work for the benefit of mankind, it seems clear that these agencies, in order to achieve the fullest measure of success in the tasks for which they were established, must draw a large part of their strength from their association with the United Nations. All of us here have the honour of representing our own countries in this great Organization. But we must not forget that we also have the even greater honour, certainly the greater responsibility, and the greater challenge, of representing all the peoples of the United Nations.

72. As the great "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", this Organization is also the focal point for the achievement of world unity. The importance of this objective in terms of peace, security and the welfare of the human race cannot possibly be exaggerated, particularly now that we are opening new horizons of outer space. For these reasons, Pakistan renews its pledge of loyalty and devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

73. More specifically, we desire to reaffirm most solemnly Pakistan's continued adherence to the fundamental Charter obligations. We shall continue to do our best to settle any international dispute in which we may be engaged "by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered".

74. Considered as a centre for harmony, the United Nations has been perhaps most successful in the economic and social fields. However, much yet remains to be done for the under-developed countries, whose populations constitute the greater part of mankind and whose standard of living is so woefully below that of the rest of the world.

75. The under-developed countries have been faced with a combination of adverse circumstances which has defeated all their efforts to improve their economies. A standard of living that leaves no margin of savings for investment, a growing population, de-

pendence on production of a limited number of commodities, whose earnings are subject to fluctuating prices—all these have militated against industrial development and diversification of the economies of the under-developed countries.

76. It is a sad fact, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/3844/Add.1], that the volume of resources which is absorbed each year in military uses considerably exceeds the total resources available for economic development in all the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even a first step towards disarmament would result in considerable savings, and if the countries effecting those savings were prepared to channel a part of them towards assistance to the under-developed countries, a considerable boost in the economies of those countries could be achieved, and with no additional drain on the taxpayers of the developed countries.

77. I should like to say here how much we appreciate what is already being done, not only through the United Nations but also through other regional organizations such as the Colombo Plan and by direct assistance such as that given by the United States International Cooperation Administration. However, much more is needed to put the under-developed countries on the road to a steadily progressing and expanding economy. Such a development would not be in the interest of the less developed countries alone, though the benefit to them would, of course, be direct and obvious. It would have beneficial effects on the world economy as a whole. Increased production would lead to increased demand for goods and services throughout the world.

78. A step during the current year which we fully believe is in the right direction is a plan to establish the Special Fund, under United Nations auspices, for the development of under-developed areas. The need for such a body has been long apparent, and its possible establishment in the near future is a matter of gratification to us.

79. The Pakistan delegation views with satisfaction the progress made during the past year towards the objectives laid down in the Charter for Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. We look forward to the independence in 1960 of both Somaliland and Nigeria. The Cameroons under British administration, closely linked as it is with Nigeria, will soon, we hope, achieve independence. We also look forward to a achievement of full cabinet government in Western Samoa in 1960.

80. All this is encouraging, but we are confident that all the Member States here represented, and in particular the Administering Authorities themselves, will not rest content until there remain no dependent peoples. That must be our ultimate objective, to be achieved with all possible speed.

81. Here I would repeat what has been said by my delegation before. The entire concept of dependent peoples ruled by foreign Governments—however benevolent—is fundamentally wrong. It gives rise to two distinct classes of society: the rulers and the ruled. It is inconsistent with self-respect. It is a negation of the basic human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The entire system must be abolished as soon as possible.

82. In the broad field of the basic human rights and the self-determination of peoples there are a considerable number of very difficult and complex problems which have thus far defied solution. As long as they remain unsolved they will continue seriously to impair good relations among States and weaken our efforts to build, through the United Nations, a truly unified and harmonious world.

83. Enjoying as they do their own independence and freedom, the people and the Government of Pakistan sympathize deeply with all those peoples who have not yet attained their freedom or who have been deprived of it. We shall support all efforts to bring about, by peaceful and just means, achievement of their basic right of self-determination.

84. Many of the problems in this field may be surcharged with political overtones, but they are essentially, in our view, problems concerning human rights and self-determination. Our views on certain of them are as follows.

85. Among the items on our agenda is the question of Cyprus. My delegation has noted with interest the seven-year interim plan put forward by the United Kingdom. This is evidently a carefully considered plan which takes account of the interests of all the parties. It will give time to go ahead in a constructive way and, in the light of the experience gained, to find a solution acceptable to all after the expiration of this interim period. We would commend the plan to the serious consideration of all the parties concerned. A solution in a general spirit of compromise and conciliation in accordance with the principles of the Charter, can, we are sure, be found. Such a solution must, of course, take into account the equal right of the Turkish Cypriots to self-determination, and must be acceptable to the Turkish Government. We are confident that the Greek Government animated by this same spirit of tolerance and good will and reflecting its deserved reputation for high statesmanship, will co-operate with the Governments of Turkey and the United Kingdom in current efforts to achieve a prompt, peaceful and just solution.

86. It is not for the Pakistan delegation to formulate a plan for settlement of the Algerian question, but it would seem entirely proper to express the most earnest hope that a peaceful solution of this difficult problem might very quickly be found. It would seem essential that a solution be sought in the spirit of all of those provisions of the Charter which are concerned with human rights, the self-determination of peoples and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

87. It would seem equally proper to make a most solemn appeal to the people of Algeria and their leaders, as well as to the Government of France, to enter as speedily as possible into arrangements which will ensure cessation of the further use of force. The Pakistan delegation hopes that, whatever may be the specific lines along which a settlement is sought, renewed efforts will be made by all concerned to find a quick solution. Solutions which might have been feasible yesterday are no longer so today and solutions which may be feasible today may no longer be so tomorrow.

88. We are not unmindful of the difficulties confronting the Government of France in its efforts to

find a just, prompt and peaceful solution of this problem. We are, however, confident that the people of France and their leaders will act in the settlement of the Algerian problem with all the tolerance and justice and all the greatness that has been associated with the name of France.

89. We have the strongest sympathy for the welfare of all the peoples of South Africa who are being denied their basic human rights. We deeply regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has not yet listened to the voice of world opinion as it has been expressed in the United Nations, and that it has not yet seen fit to deal with the racial problem in the Union in a manner consistent with the solemn obligations it undertook in the Charter.

90. The tide of independence has been flowing strongly in Africa. In another decade or two the African will become master in his own house throughout the entire continent. Can the Union Government then hope to hold down its largest population in semi-serfitude when across its frontiers the African world of approximately 250 million people has broken its chains? It is the path of wisdom to read the signs and portents of the times and to adjust national and international policies so as to make possible the peaceful coexistence of all races on the African continent; otherwise, the future will be dark with shadows of looming disaster.

91. My delegation greatly deplores the executions of Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter and their associates which were announced by Radio Budapest on the night of 16 June 1958. Despite formal assurances, as soon as the group left the Yugoslav Embassy, they were arrested by the Soviet authorities, taken to Romania, and interned. Within two years they were executed.

92. We also deplore the fact that the Hungarian authorities have refused to co-operate with Prince Wan Waithayakon, the General Assembly's Special Representative on the Hungarian Problem, and were encouraged in this attitude of non-cooperation by some countries—Members of the United Nations.

93. Among the almost forgotten peoples of the world are the Arab refugees from Palestine. Events following the partition of that unhappy land drove them from their homes and deprived them of their possessions and, indeed, of their fundamental human rights. We have the most profound sympathy for them in their tragic plight. We urge in the strongest terms fulfilment of the 1948 resolution [194 (III)] guaranteeing their right to return to their homes in Palestine, or, if they choose not to do so, to receive just compensation for the properties left behind them. Until this question is settled on a just basis, the Arab world of the Middle East will never achieve tranquillity. The problem of Palestine lies at the root of Middle East instability.

94. There remain the longer-term causes of disquiet in this area of the world to which I drew attention at the third emergency special session [740th meeting]. It must be recognized that the basic cause of trouble here is the partition of Palestine. The problems arising out of this partition cannot be ignored; they cannot be side-tracked; they cannot be shelved. They must be squarely faced. We have on record the Assembly resolutions of the past ten years, but no determined effort has been made to



secure compliance with them. We must start by implementing those resolutions. Only then can we proceed to a settlement of the outstanding issues, among which the plight of the Palestine refugees remains a tragic and most urgent one.

95. Meanwhile we note with satisfaction plans for the early withdrawal of American and British forces from Lebanon and Jordan. We hope that these plans may be carried out promptly and that withdrawal of these forces will lead to restoration of complete peace and harmony among the Arab States and the achievement of Arab aspirations in a peaceful and democratic manner.

96. However, there must be a mutual respect for the lawful Governments established in the area and there must be no incitement from outside by means of radio broadcasts or otherwise to the overthrow of established authority in neighbouring countries. Until this is done, good-neighbourly relations are impossible.

97. Two other problems fall generally in the category of those which concern human rights and the self-determination of peoples, and they would therefore seem to merit a few comments at this point.

98. We deeply regret that the German people have not yet been able, through no fault of their own, to achieve the unification of their country. We appeal to those who have hitherto blocked efforts to bring about unification to modify their stand so that the German people may determine for themselves, by free and democratic process, their future status. It is our earnest hope that the unification of Germany may soon be achieved and that we may welcome Germany into the United Nations so that we may all avail ourselves more fully of the contributions which that great country might make to world peace.

99. The question of Kashmir has been before the United Nations for ten years. There have been numerous attempts by the Security Council to resolve the dispute by prolonged negotiations as well as by the appointment of commissions and mediators. More than a dozen directives and recommendations have been made from time to time by the Security Council. All have been accepted by Pakistan. All have been rejected by India. Progress has been barred by a veto of the USSR, a veto which, I would point out, has been exercised entirely contrary to the spirit of the Charter, and the main effect of which has been to frustrate a peaceful settlement of this very serious dispute.

100. This deadlock has caused deep frustration and exasperation in my country. The Assembly will recall the recent re-arrest of that great Kashmir patriot Sheikh Abdullah who, in spite of his four years in an Indian jail, refused to give up his demand for a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices in Kashmir. Recently, the formation of a Kashmir Liberation Movement by thousands of refugees from Indian-occupied Kashmir has led to an extremely tense situation, and the Government of Pakistan has had the greatest difficulty in restraining the Movement and its leaders, including that great patriot Chaudri Ghulam Abbas, who sought to cross the cease-fire line along with thousands of his followers.

101. If a just solution of this problem is not found promptly, the people of Pakistan and of Kashmir—and

indeed, people throughout the world—will not only lose faith in the effectiveness of the United Nations, but a situation might well arise which would threaten the peace of the whole sub-continent and perhaps that of the world.

102. Turning now to the problem of tensions among the great Powers, it must be admitted that the United Nations has thus far failed to alleviate these tensions to any very substantial degree. It would certainly be a gross exaggeration to claim that in this respect our Organization has been "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations".

103. Basically, tensions among the great Powers arise from differences in their political, economic and social systems. Words and slogans may sometimes serve useful purposes, but they are all too often worked to death in callous efforts to divert the minds of men from the realities of life. Differences between the political, economic and social systems of the great Powers are apparent, but the fact of these differences must not be allowed to obscure the determination of the world's populations to survive in peace and freedom and to pursue their quest for economic and social welfare.

104. Despite the apparently complete deadlock on both the procedure and substance of the disarmament negotiations in the United Nations since the twelfth session of the General Assembly, the prospect for reduction of armaments is not a picture of unrelieved gloom.

105. It is encouraging to take note of three developments outside the United Nations in the field of disarmament: first, the successful conclusion of the Conference of Experts<sup>1/</sup> affirming the technical possibility of setting up an effective supervision and enforcement system to detect nuclear weapons tests; secondly, the agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other to join on 31 October 1958 in negotiating an agreement to ban further tests and to establish an international control system based on conclusions of the Conference of Experts; and thirdly, the accord between the two sides to start technical talks on the measures of inspection necessary to reduce the possibility of surprise attacks.

106. These developments entitle us to a measure of optimism in viewing the prospects for a reduction of armaments despite the discouraging failure to utilize the machinery of the enlarged Disarmament Commission for the purpose of negotiations.

107. During the course of the debate on resolution 1148 (XII), adopted by the General Assembly at its twelfth session, my delegation expressed doubts<sup>2/</sup> about the wisdom of interlinking the various components of the first-stage plan and making it a five point "package" to be implemented or rejected as a whole. Our doubts pertained not to the substance of the package but to the rigidity of procedure that was implied. The Assembly will recall that under that resolution separate agreements on the suspension of

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

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, First Committee, 881st meeting.

nuclear tests or measures against surprise attacks were ruled out unless simultaneous agreements were also reached on the questions of production of fissile material for weapons purposes, the reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons and the reduction of armed forces and armaments. The developments since then that I have mentioned have served to confirm my delegation in the stand it took last year, namely, that the "package" in resolution 1148 (XII) should be untied in order to achieve limited agreements on the different components of the first-stage or partial disarmament plan. This approach holds out greater promise of success than the attempt to come to an agreement over the entire broad field of disarmament measures envisaged in the plan. While we remain firmly convinced that cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes and the reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons must form indispensable components of this plan, there is no reason why a ban on nuclear tests, measures against surprise attack, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments should be made to wait on simultaneous accords on the two former components pertaining to nuclear weapons.

108. In short, the Pakistan delegation believes that the most promising approach to negotiations in this field is that of gradual disarmament on a basis of reciprocity which would leave intact the equilibrium of power between the East and the West.

109. Underlying all the disarmament negotiations during the past few years have been, *inter alia*, the following two essential principles: first, each stage of disarmament must increase the security of all the parties and not the security of one of the parties at the expense of the others; and secondly, a disequilibrium of power is to be avoided which would be dangerous to international peace and security.

110. I need hardly emphasize the overriding necessity of an accord on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces if these two basic principles are not to be ignored, especially if an agreement to ban nuclear tests enters into force. In that event, Soviet preponderance in conventional strength is bound, in the years to come, to upset the equilibrium of power, unless some parity is established between the conventional armaments and armed forces of the East and the West. Herein lies the crux of the problem of disarmament. It is encouraging to note that there has been sufficient *rapprochement* in this field between the positions of the Soviet Union and the West. Would it be too much to hope that, in the coming year, the two sides would set up, after further exchanges, groups of technical experts to study inspection systems for disarmament measures in the conventional field? It is precisely with this in view that the delegations of Norway and Pakistan introduced the amendments<sup>3/</sup> embodied in paragraphs 3 and 4 of resolution 1148 (XII) proposing that expert groups should be constituted to make technical studies of inspection systems for the various components of a first-stage disarmament plan.

111. During the twelfth session of the General Assembly man first sent missiles into outer space. Appropriately, we have on the agenda of this session

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/3729, para. 20.

the matter of the control of outer space. I am sure we are all agreed that outer space should be used only for peaceful purposes. The question is how this is to be achieved. No detailed proposals have yet been made. But it is evident that man may one day be able to use outer space to rain destruction upon the earth with the already terrible arsenal of weapons at his command.

112. At all costs this must be prevented, and the time to act is now. We already have before us the experience of opportunities missed in the field of nuclear weapons when the problem was still one of controllable dimensions. This experience must not recur in the field of outer space. We must now, before the problem gets out of hand, achieve such international control of outer space as will ensure that it can never be used for destructive purposes or against the very existence of mankind.

113. Not unrelated to the general problem of disarmament is the question of establishing a stand-by United Nations police force. The views of my Government on the need for a stand-by United Nations police force have been frequently expressed in this forum in recent years. For reasons which are well known, the United Nations has been deprived of the services of the armed forces envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter. This vacuum must be filled. A modest beginning could be made on the lines of the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East, which has amply demonstrated both the need for, and the feasibility of, a permanent stand-by police force. The essential feature of such a force is that it should at all times be available for immediate deployment. This does not mean that it must at all times be kept in being. All that is necessary is that national contingents be continually held in readiness to go into action immediately on call. Such an arrangement, too, would keep costs to a minimum. My delegation looks forward with interest to the Secretary-General's report on the experience derived from the establishment and operation of the United Nations Emergency Force,<sup>4/</sup> which, we have no doubt, will furnish a most useful guide in our deliberations on permanent stand-by arrangements.

114. In considering the very critical situation which has arisen in the Taiwan Strait today, we are relieved to note that representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China are still engaged in their crucial discussions at Warsaw and we ardently hope that these talks may be successful. Whatever their outcome, Pakistan, although it has no formal treaty commitments with regard to Taiwan, has a vital interest, as a Member of the United Nations and as an Asian country, in the achievement of a fair and peaceful solution. The talks at Warsaw, however, might be more fruitful if, while they were going on, the guns were silent.

115. In the evolution of the policies of the Governments directly concerned in this very serious crisis in the Taiwan area, there would seem to be signs of progress towards more reasonable and conciliatory attitudes. Sharing the world-wide concern that exists on this issue at present, we welcome this recent development and we hope that it meets with the response it deserves. It may well be that the peace of

<sup>4/</sup> Subsequently distributed as document A/3943.

the world may itself depend on the turn to be taken by this most dangerous dispute.

116. In their general consideration of the problem of relieving tension among the great Powers, the Members of the United Nations should constantly recall the possibility that our Organization might have a useful role to play. Either through the Assembly itself or through chosen representatives, the United Nations might well be able to provide a neutral ground and contribute to the creation of an atmosphere in which solutions of even the most difficult and complex problems might more readily be found.

117. Using the United Nations for the purposes for which it was created would not, of course, rule out the possibility that the leaders of the great Powers might find it convenient to meet together for high-level talks whenever suitable opportunities presented themselves. Such conversations might not always bring about definitive solutions or even the beginnings of solutions of the major problems dividing the great Powers. They might, however, contribute something to the relaxation of the tensions that cause such anxiety among the less powerful countries.

118. Allusion has been made to the generally adverse effects upon the smaller countries of the continuing high level of tension among the larger Powers. The smaller countries, of course, constitute by far the large majority of the membership of the United Nations, and the great Powers are in fact a rather small minority.

119. Collectively, the smaller countries are in a position to play a very constructive role in moderating the policies of the great Powers. They are in a position, collectively, to exercise great moral influence on the larger Powers towards the settlement of their differences and the reduction of tensions among them, in the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Charter. However, if the smaller countries are divided amongst themselves, not only will their influence be ineffective, but they will risk losing their independence and freedom in the maelstrom of big-Power rivalries.

120. It is well known that the smaller States meet together occasionally in various groups, reflecting to some extent the geographical division of the world or common cultural and historical backgrounds. But the allegiance of the smaller countries to the Charter must over-ride and transcend their regional solidarity if the United Nations is not to become a house divided against itself.

121. Pakistan will continue to work in closest co-operation with all the other members of the Asian-African group of countries, with which we are so closely related because of geographic location, common ideals, aspirations and deeply rooted cultural and religious ties. We shall also continue to work in close co-operation with our allies and associates in the Baghdad Pact, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and the Commonwealth. We also offer our whole-hearted co-operation to all of the Latin American countries, which have set for all of us such a fine example of nations living together as one great family and yet retaining their rightful liberties of thought and expression.

122. Above all, our actions will continue to be guided by the primary loyalty and devotion of Pakistan to the United Nations itself, and to its high purposes and principles. Pakistan will continue to do its best to contribute its full share to the progressive relaxation of tensions and the achievement of peace and stability throughout the world.

123. We have been fortunate in the past in having leaders of such stature as Sir Leslie Munro, President of the twelfth session of the Assembly. We are fortunate also in having chosen Mr. Malik to lead our deliberations at the present session. We of the Pakistan delegation warmly congratulate him and are confident that, relying upon his knowledge and experience, the Assembly will be able to carry out fully its heavy responsibilities. To the very distinguished Foreign Minister of the Sudan, His Excellency Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, we extend our warmest greetings. The ability which he demonstrated so well at the third emergency special session of the Assembly is a happy augury for the great contribution we know he will make to the present session.

124. The statesmanship with which our Secretary-General has dealt with so many intricate problems also inspires us with great confidence in his future contribution to world peace. Let us all devote our best energies to bringing about the harmony, the unity and the peace which our Charter promises to the peoples of the world.

125. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): Now more than ever man is facing the challenge of changing times. Through the concept of Heraclitus "all is flux, nothing is stationary" is not a new one, it is a fact that the world is now moving faster than ever towards new forms of social, political and economic life. We are standing between the dusk of a passing era and the dawn of the atomic age.

126. In this predominantly transitional period, the international community is faced with problems of exceptional gravity and far-reaching implications. Some of these problems are related to the liquidation of the past. Others are concerned with the building-up of the future. In many cases these two aspects are interrelated and constitute two different facets of the same issue.

127. In dealing with such problems there are two ways of approach: the static way aims mainly at the preservation of the past and resists the pressures even for normal evolution and orderly change; the dynamic way brings the new forces into action in an effort to destroy the past and shape the future as envisioned by a great section of the peoples of the world.

128. It is clear that a synthesis of these two ways of approach offers the only possibility of dealing efficiently and constructively with this problem. As it will never be possible to save the past, it is important to save from destruction, to the benefit of all, the permanent values and the material accomplishments of the past. This can be achieved only if both the peoples and the Governments realize that they have to respond with understanding and good will to the claims and the expectations surging from the hearts of the peoples and to consent to make sacrifices to this end.

129. A great European statesman who lived some fifty years ago enunciated this fundamental truth when he said that from the past we should keep the flame and throw away the ashes. It is sad to see that on many occasions there is a tendency to keep the ashes and to put out the flame. Such a tendency is responsible, to a certain extent, for the existing tensions, and it prevents the risk that, should it persist, it might lead to major misunderstandings and even to conflicts.

130. In the present unstable and constantly changing predicament, it becomes even more necessary for the international community to spot all the existing points of friction and sores and to keep under close attention and control all the major unsettled problems. Those problems constitute potential dangers to the peace and security of the world, even when they are not in an eruptive state.

131. We all know that many very serious problems remain unsolved. The existing state of affairs creates, in many instances, a false impression of stability. Anything can break the precarious equilibrium and revitalize the underlying crisis. To mention but one example we may say that the present situation in the Formosa Strait could have been prevented had the Peking Government, instead of resorting to force, initiated the proper action to bring about a negotiated settlement of the problem. Now, an emergency treatment is always a more dangerous and complicated enterprise.

132. In this connexion I would like to refer to the valuable suggestion made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway in his highly interesting statement from this rostrum a few days ago [765th meeting]. Mr. Lange submitted the idea of affording the Powers directly concerned—should the present talks in Warsaw be inconclusive—the assistance of a small group of nations acceptable to the parties or the assistance of our Secretary-General, with a view to bringing about a peaceful settlement. My delegation welcomes this suggestion and considers that under the circumstances it deserves to retain the attention of the Assembly.

133. There are many other, so to say, dormant problems. Who is not aware of the fact that without the reunification of Germany and the liquidation of the present abnormal situation it will not be possible to establish conditions of stable peace in Europe?

134. Against this rather dark background of anxiety and insecurity, enhanced by the accumulation of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the United Nations offers a brighter prospect. This world Organization makes it possible for the presence and the will of almost all the peoples of the earth to stand up against adventures and aggression. As each year goes by it becomes more evident that the United Nations constitutes, in the last analysis, the international instance before which are brought all the differences that may endanger peace. A universal conscience is gradually developing throughout the world. In all the cases under dispute, and regardless of the geographical areas in which they may occur, this universal conscience weighs on the chances of war and peace and passes judgement on the good and the bad of the opposing theses. Despite its weaknesses and limitations, the United Nations offers the only means of expression of this universal conscience, which has thus come to be no longer an abstraction but a living political factor for peace.

135. As I have just said, the United Nations stands, to a certain degree, in the way of war. But the barrier is still frail. In this respect the possibilities of the United Nations are still limited. We must pursue our efforts with a view to ensuring peace and to reinforcing international security. Among these efforts disarmament—or, more properly said, the limitation of armaments—is by far the most important. It is necessary to find means to reactivate the machinery for studies and negotiations. The United Nations must pull disarmament out of the quicksands in which it is actually sinking. The Greek delegation is ready to place its modest contribution at the service of any initiative aiming at this goal.

136. It is encouraging to note that the Conference of Experts held in Geneva<sup>5/</sup> has yielded satisfactory results. We can now look forward with hope to an agreement on the suspension of experimental atomic explosions.

137. My delegation would earnestly like to see the question of the creation of a permanent United Nations police force studied without delay. The creation of such a force, ready to enter into action in any part of the world, would have a twofold effect: on the one hand, it would have a preventive function by discouraging the potential aggressors and the trouble-makers; on the other hand, it would provide immediate and real help to those recognized by the United Nations as in need of this help. The idea of a "fire-brigade", not a fighting force, should be, in our opinion, at the root of any initial project for the creation of a permanent United Nations force.

138. There is so little freedom and justice in the world and so much talk about them. This might well shake the faith which the peoples have placed in these two great human values. It could even destroy their illusions about them. Yet, in the rather dim picture of today's world there are some bright points.

139. We particularly rejoice at the great progress accomplished by the peoples of Africa. Something great and constructive is at present going on in that continent. As everywhere else in the world, in the continent of Africa too, which is both old and young, economic development and political emancipation go hand in hand. This is why it is our most fervent hope that the economic measures taken by our Organization for the well-being of the African peoples, and particularly the Economic Commission for Africa, will bear all the fruits we expect of them. We also hope that racial discrimination, which is still a factor troubling international relations on that continent, will soon disappear.

140. There is no longer any doubt that colonialism has now entered the phase of its final liquidation. In many parts of the world the régime of colonial domination is on its way out. Everywhere the peoples are waking up and, in spite of the obstacles and delays, they are well on the way to national emancipation. In certain areas the change is manifest. The negative attitudes of yesterday are being succeeded by initiatives full of light and courage. To quote but one example—an example, however, which is particularly significant—I must say that it is with

<sup>5/</sup> See note 1.

gratification that we note the initiative of the French Government regarding the Non-Self-Governing Territories administered by France. Only yesterday France was still hesitating. It gave evasive replies. Today France has granted the peoples of its colonies the possibility of exercising their right to determine freely their destiny.

141. It is true that the solution of the Algerian crisis, which is causing so much bloodshed, is still not in sight. However, we consider that the prospects are more hopeful now. The Algerian people has the right to determine freely its own future. France cannot but acquiesce to the demand for freedom of the Algerians. Both the French and the Algerians will then find their way to the substitution of friendship and co-operation for strife and bloodshed.

142. We fervently hope that Indonesia and the Netherlands, friends of my country, will find a settlement for their conflicting views regarding the question of West Irian.

143. The situation in the Middle East and the difficulties arising in that region derive mainly from the liquidation of the past. For what gives rise in the Middle East to the successive crises, through which we all live, is less the existence of irretrievable differences between the Arab States than the fear of the offensive return of colonialism, which exacerbates the nationalism of the Arab countries and leads them to reactions which are perfectly understandable. The day when the methods of the past are abandoned, the day when the interests and the freedom of the Arabs are given treatment equal to that which we grant to our own interests and freedom, then will the Middle East enter into a period of stability and peace, a peace which could be no other than that of the consolidation of the Arab positions within the frame of the Arab world. This world, such as we know it, will remain staunchly independent and completely impenetrable to foreign interferences and political influences, but it will always recognize the legitimate interests of all. It is mainly in this sense that we value the resolution [1237 (ES-III)] adopted by the General Assembly at its third emergency special session, a resolution which goes to the credit of the United Nations as one of its positive accomplishments; for the unanimous agreement of all the Arab States in the political field and the hopeful and constructive message of President Eisenhower in the economic field are, in our opinion, valuable achievements of that session.

144. Much has been said in the course of this general debate about the necessity of promoting international co-operation by the display of a greater sense of understanding and tolerance in international relations. We do believe that nothing can stand in the way of friendly co-operation between nations if such co-operation is based on mutual respect and confidence. In the course of its long history, Greece has experienced and tested the soundness of this principle.

145. During the Second World War, the day when Italy, rejecting the fascist yoke, joined the free nations in their struggle against totalitarianism, the Greek people, which was one of the first victims of fascist aggression, initiated, in co-operation with the Italian people, a new era in the field of Greco-Italian relations. Since then, the two peoples have been living in close and sincere friendship.

146. Another example, conveying indications of a more general character and interest, is contained in the present state of relations between Greece and Yugoslavia. While the world is divided in two camps and the cold war goes on between the communist countries and the liberal ones, ties of close friendship and fruitful co-operation link Greece and Yugoslavia in spite of the fact that they belong to radically different social systems and régimes. The concept of sincere mutual respect and the principle of non-interference constitute the foundations of such an achievement, which is beneficial both to Greece and to Yugoslavia. The observance of such a concept is necessary for the maintenance of good and friendly relations, even in the case of countries with identical social and political régimes. Whenever principles are not upheld and mutual respect is not properly shown, it is only natural to see the relations between nations strained to the detriment of peace.

147. I now turn to the problem of Cyprus. In his statement before this Assembly [758th meeting], the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, presented the views and plans of his Government on Cyprus. We all know that, upon the conclusion of the Second World War, the United Kingdom responded to the wishes of many dependent peoples in Asia and Africa by granting them freedom and self-determination. It is, indeed, sad to see that the British Government is unreasonably still denying to the Cypriots these same rights to which they are no less entitled. What is more, the British Government persists in considering the question of Cyprus through the prism of aims and purposes alien to the people of the island.

148. The Cyprus problem is now reaching a critical point. For years the Cypriots have striven for their freedom. They now have to face the deadly threat of seeing their island carved into pieces, in order to satisfy unreasonable expansionist claims. This, seen in perspective, is the grim picture to which the so-called new British seven-year plan leads. The British Foreign Minister extolled what he claimed to be the virtues of this plan in a very able but unrevealing way. He was silent on the fact that in its essentials this divisive plan sets the cast for the partition of the island between three Governments. It calls upon two of these Governments to share in the administration of Cyprus by appointing government representatives.

149. The Greek Government, as was natural, refused to appoint such a representative. The appointment of a Turkish representative in the circumstances is a one-sided arrangement. Furthermore, any functions of any nature which he may be called upon to exercise in the affairs of the island would be contrary to Article 27 of the Treaty of Lausanne, which is specific on the point.

150. To this I wish to add that the British plan in effect puts on an equal footing the 80 per cent of the Greek majority and the 17 per cent of the Turkish minority. The British Foreign Minister's allegation that this solution is only temporary, leaving its final issue open, is contradicted by the plan itself which prejudices the future by preparing partition. The British thesis was and still is that there are three Governments having interests in Cyprus, the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. Cyprus should therefore be used to satisfy the in-

terests of these three Governments. On this point may I submit the following:

151. First, the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom are not the only ones having interests related to Cyprus. If we had to consider the problem from the viewpoint of the interests of outside parties, we must admit that other Governments too, within the region, have in certain respects even greater interests which should be taken into account. This makes it clear that the thesis founded on the interests of foreign factors runs counter to reality and fact.

152. Secondly, if foreign factors have interests, it is the population of Cyprus alone that has the rights. These rights are established in the Charter. Neither the Cypriots nor any other population living in a Non-Self-Governing Territory can be dispossessed of them by the administering Power in the interest of any third party. The future of Cyprus is a matter for its own people. Any solution, any compromise or adjustment between the rights of the Greek majority and those of the Turkish minority which might be advisable in a spirit of good will and co-operation should be worked out in Cyprus by its people without the interference of outside parties and the injection of foreign claims.

153. Thirdly, there is also another point of importance on which I wish to draw the particular attention of the Members of this Assembly. The British Foreign Minister contended that the Cyprus question is a tripartite problem. If it is so, logically a tripartite problem cannot be settled otherwise than by a tripartite agreement. Now, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd stated from this rostrum [758th meeting] that his Government intends to put into effect its seven-year plan in spite of the fact that Greece and the Greek Cypriots have rejected it and oppose its implementation. This makes it abundantly clear that Prime Minister Macmillan's "partnership" plan aims at imposing the will of two parties against that of the third and is inconsistent even with the thesis of tripartite agreement.

154. If the British Government persists in carrying out its seven-year plan without the consent of the Cypriots, it will have to rely for its implementation solely on repression and police action. This will make things even worse and will amount to a total disregard of the United Nations. It would have been only too natural for the United Kingdom to wait for the advice and recommendations of the General Assembly, as the item is already on its agenda.

155. As Mr. Selwyn Lloyd laid emphasis on the efforts made by the British Government to work out a solution acceptable to all, I would like to point out that the Cypriots, as well as the Greek Government, showed the greatest measure of moderation in order to facilitate agreement. Neither Mr. Macmillan, who came to Athens to discuss Cyprus, nor Mr. Selwyn Lloyd met with an uncompromising spirit from the Greek side.

156. The recent proposals made by Archbishop Makarios to the British Government for the independence of Cyprus, under the guarantee of the United Nations, after a period of self-government, offer a fair, constructive and conciliatory way of solving the problem in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter. By these proposals, the people of

Cyprus—both Greeks and Turks—are invited to work together as Cypriots for the progress and welfare of their island to their common benefit, while Mr. Macmillan's plan by enforcing division keeps differences and antagonism alive. The Greek Government has signified its consent to the Makarios plan in a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Karamanlis, who said on 29 September 1958:

"The Greek Government have never laid territorial claims to Cyprus. They did, however, claim freedom for the Cypriot people. It is in this spirit that the issue of self-determination for the people of Cyprus was raised by the Greek Government on the international level."

Greece has repeatedly made it clear that it would willingly abide by any decision of the people of Cyprus. It promptly does so now.

157. Independence of Cyprus is a United Nations solution consistent with the spirit of our times. Such a solution surely ought to be acceptable to the British nation. The fact that it has been rejected shows a regrettable and unjustifiable intransigence by the British Government. To this I wish to add that so far, conciliatory initiatives undertaken by factors highly qualified and genuinely interested in finding a more reasonable and just course of action met with the same intransigent spirit by the Government of the United Kingdom. One wonders whether the British Government is actually interested in reaching a negotiated settlement, or whether it prefers to resort to force in order to impose a plan contrary to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of Cyprus.

158. A few days ago the Foreign Minister of Turkey dwelt at some length from this rostrum on the Cyprus issue [756th meeting]. It is not astonishing that his views, specially those concerning the British seven-year plan, were parallel to those of his British colleague. Thus, by replying to the British contentions we are also replying to the Turkish ones.

159. I must, however, comment briefly on some additional specific points made by Mr. Zorlu. The Turkish Foreign Minister, in presenting the case of the Turkish minority in Cyprus said:

"Part of the population of Cyprus is composed of Greeks, whose leaders desire union with Greece. The other part of the population is composed of Turks, who wish to join Turkey and who do not accept to be placed under Greek rule." [756th meeting, para. 59.]

Mr. Zorlu, however, failed to mention that the Greek Cypriots constitute the 80 per cent majority of the population of the island and that the Turkish Cypriots are a minority of only 17 per cent. This is not a matter of detail. According to international law and practice, minorities are entitled to minority rights and guarantees. They cannot claim for themselves majority rights. Is there any State in the world which would agree to hand out majority rights to minorities? Is there any Government which would be disposed to share in the responsibility of creating any precedent in favour of such an extravagant claim?

160. May I quote, in this respect, what the representative of Ghana, Mr. Ako-Adjei, said in the general debate:

"When we call for an end to colonialism, therefore, we are doing no more than stating our belief and our firm conviction that the fact of a vast African majority should be accepted as the only basis of Government in Africa." [757th meeting, para. 8.]

"Minorities naturally fear majority rule, and we believe that safeguards and guarantees of minority rights are needed in Africa, just as they are needed in other parts of the world.

"The Africans are themselves conscious of the fact that denial of safeguards and guarantees of minority rights will bring about difficulties that may affect their own economic and social progress. However, this should not be used as an excuse for suppressing majority rights in Africa." [Ibid., para. 9.]

161. A second point made by the representative of Turkey is that the Cypriots are not a nation and cannot, therefore, avail themselves of the natural course of self-government and independence provided by the Charter. May I submit that it would be improper for anyone to say when a population is a nation and when it is not. This is a matter for the population itself. We must, furthermore, not lose sight of the fact that the Charter guarantees self-government and independence for the population of every Non-Self-Governing Territory. In this respect, I must say that it was most surprising to hear the Foreign Minister of Turkey state: "the slogan of independence has been brought forth occasionally by Greek extremist elements." [756th meeting, para. 60.]

162. In the first place, the concept of independence is certainly not a slogan, but the ideal of all peoples for which the Charter adequately provides. As for the allegation that Greek extremists have brought out the idea, it is well known that independence for Cyprus was suggested as far back as 1954 by many delegations, and, in particular, by so prominent a personality as the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, who, after all, is neither a Greek nor an extremist. On 4 October 1955, Mr. Menon said in this hall: "Our position with regard to Cyprus is that the Cypriot nation is entitled to its independence in the same way as we are." [533rd meeting, para. 105.]

163. In concluding on this point, I wish to say that we fully agree with the Foreign Minister of Turkey when he stresses the necessity for co-operation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and between Greece and Turkey for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus issue. But I wish to point out that such co-operation should be of a constructive and not a disruptive nature. It should aim at uniting and not splitting. It should be unity and not partition, the unity that has always existed in the island. This unity has been disturbed recently for political reasons and certainly not by the fault of the Greek Cypriots. These are facts that can be easily ascertained by an objective international investigation.

164. Within the boundaries of their island, independently of their respective origin and without any intention to dominate each other, the Cypriots should be called to work out, in freedom, the betterment of their lot and the progress of their common Cypriot community.

165. Concurrently Greece and Turkey, by avoiding any selfish interference and by reactivating their co-

operation, could create an atmosphere propitious to the co-operation of the Cypriots. It is in this way they will prove that they have no selfish aims but are genuinely interested in the welfare of the island. Any other course of action risks to further envenom the already very tense situation and will serve neither the interests of Cyprus, nor those of Greece and Turkey, nor the cause of peace.

166. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representative of Jordan has asked to be recognized in order to make a brief statement. I call upon the representative of Jordan.

167. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): In his statement before the General Assembly yesterday [768th meeting], the Soviet Foreign Minister deemed it necessary to refer to my Government in more than one instance and to confuse the present problem of the Middle East in more than one attempt. Mr. Gromyko dealt with three different questions: first, the Arab resolution [1237 (ES-III)] of which Jordan was a co-sponsor; secondly, the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan; and thirdly, the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of this resolution [A/3934/Rev.1].

168. Inasmuch as my delegation is mainly and directly concerned with each of these matters, I feel I should make a brief comment on the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union. I should like to thank the President for giving me this opportunity to reply.

169. It will be recalled that since the report of the Secretary-General was circulated, a number of representatives have dealt with the present situation in the Middle East as part of their main statement in the general debate. Of these, two besides the Jordanian delegation were Arab representatives, co-sponsors of the resolution under discussion. It is noteworthy that with the exception of the representative of the Soviet Union, none of these representatives took a critical stand in regard to the report of the Secretary-General or attempted to complicate the issue. Such an attitude on the part of the Soviet Union delegation is no doubt further evidence of the obstructionist policy of the Soviet Government in questions pertaining to inter-Arab relations.

170. The first point raised by the representative of the Soviet Union related to the resolution and the interpretation of its purposes. The Jordanian delegation, as one of the sponsors of the resolution, does not agree to the Soviet interpretation of it. We wish to make it clear that we consider that the report of the Secretary-General represents a correct interpretation of that resolution: I should like to point out that at the time of the drafting of the resolution of the Arab States, the Jordanian delegation knew that the Soviet delegation was not happy about the phrase which reads "and thereby facilitate the early withdrawal". But in view of the wishes of the overwhelming majority, the Soviet delegation had no choice but to withdraw its own draft resolution and support ours. Now that they find the resolution properly and correctly construed, they again feel unhappy about it.

171. The second point raised is in regard to the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan. On 1 October 1958, King Hussein declared before the Jordanian National Assembly that the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan would begin on the 20th of this

month and that it would be completed within a period which would not exceed the time required for the necessary movement of personnel, stores and equipment. This is very clear language involving no ambiguity.

172. The third point deals with the views of the Soviet delegation on the report of the Secretary-General. I can only say in this connexion that inasmuch as all the parties directly concerned appear to be in agreement with the contents of that report, the Soviet representative is left with hardly anything to say in this respect.

173. Lastly, the representative of the Soviet Union has for the second time made references to my Government and my people. I think that I dealt adequately with these observations in my last statement [764th meeting]. But as he is repeatedly attacking my country, I must tell him that the policy of fishing in troubled waters, which he follows in the present state of affairs of the Arab countries, will not achieve the ends he is seeking. The gates of Jordan and of the Arab homeland shall remain closed in the face of subversive ideologies.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.