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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. KISELYOV (BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC), MR. ANAK AGUNG GEDE AGUNG (INDONESIA), MR. LAWRENCE (LIBERIA) AND MR. BASAGOITI (URUGUAY)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Kremer (Luxembourg), Vice-President, took the Chair.

1. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR deems it necessary to give its views on a number of basic questions relating to the present international situation and on the work of the United Nations during the period under review.

2. My delegation agrees with the views expressed here that during the past year some significant events have taken place which have brought about favourable changes in the international situation and have led to an appreciable relaxation of international tension. We consider that all the necessary conditions now exist to make the "spirit of Geneva" the basis for a constructive approach to the settlement of international problems in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. The peoples of the whole world attach great importance to this session of the General Assembly and expect from it decisions which will not only reinforce the "spirit of Geneva", but will also help to reduce international tension further and to strengthen peace throughout the world. The chances of the peaceful settlement of controversial international problems are greater now than they have ever been before. It is our duty to profit by this favourable atmosphere and to bring about a further relaxation of international tension.

3. We have on our agenda some important and urgent questions which must be settled. To solve these problems successfully, the United Nations must show in its deliberations that spirit of mutual understanding and practical co-operation which led to the success of the talks between the Heads of Government of the four Powers at Geneva.

4. Of the outstanding international problems which arouse the concern of the peoples of the whole world, none is more important at this time than that of the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydro-

gen weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war.

5. The proposals which the Soviet Union submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London on 10 May 1955 [A/2979] contain a number of new provisions which would promote the settlement of some controversial questions in this field. These proposals are an important contribution to the cause of peace and open the way to a really practical settlement of the problem of disarmament.

6. In this connexion, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the letter which Mr. Bulganin, the Head of the Soviet Government, sent to Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States of America, on 19 September 1955. In this letter, Mr. Bulganin stated that the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission during the first few weeks had not yet yielded the expected results. He pointed out, moreover, the reasons for the situation which had arisen in the Sub-Committee, and the aspects of the disarmament problem on which agreement had already been reached among the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Mr. Bulganin stressed the fact that conditions for reaching agreement now existed, and that the present task was to make further efforts to find methods of breaking the deadlock in the disarmament problem, which was vitally important to the peoples of the USSR and the United States, as well as to the peoples of the whole world. Now it is not for the Soviet Union, but for the Western Powers to show a spirit of co-operation in this matter.

7. We fully realize that the participants in the debates of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four Powers who are to meet at Geneva in October will have to make great efforts and overcome many difficulties in order to find a mutually acceptable settlement of the whole problem of disarmament. Nevertheless, the participants in these deliberations must find ways of narrowing further the gap between the positions of the great Powers; they must show great patience, wisdom and goodwill, and a desire to reach agreement; above all, they must show faith in the "spirit of Geneva".

8. We know full well that what the peoples of the world need is not an armaments race and the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs. They need peace and tranquillity; they want atomic energy, the greatest scientific discovery of the twentieth century, to be used for raising the standard of living of nations and for the further progress of mankind. The question whether atomic energy will be used for peace and construction or for war and destruction causes anxiety to all peoples, whether they live in America or in Europe, in Asia or in Africa. In this connexion, I should like to recall that the first scientific and technical conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy was held at Geneva in August this year. We can look upon this conference with satis-

faction; it discussed problems which are of concern to everybody, and it was brought about by the desire of the peoples to ensure the use of atomic energy in the interests of peace and progress.

9. The peace-loving peoples of the world are urging ever more strongly that the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons should be prohibited and that atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes only. That is why we cannot delay the settlement of the problem of disarmament and of the prohibition of atomic weapons. The United Nations, which was set up as an instrument of peace, must make every effort to promote agreement among States and, above all, among the great Powers, on the question of the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. That is one of the most important tasks of the United Nations.

10. The Soviet Union has recently taken practical steps to reduce its armed forces, and has given up military bases on the territories of other States. This initiative of the USSR was supported by the peoples' democracies, which also reduced their armed forces to a considerable extent. All this will undoubtedly promote the settlement of the whole problem of disarmament and the strengthening of confidence among States. My delegation hopes that the noble example of the Soviet Union, which backs its words with deeds, will induce the Western Powers to take similar action.

11. The sole purpose of the Soviet proposals on disarmament is to save mankind as a whole from a new war, to ease the strain in the relations between States and to free the peoples from the heavy burden of taxation which the armaments race places upon them. The Soviet proposals relate to the most vital questions which are causing profound concern to every nation. The Byelorussian people warmly welcomes the new proposals and practical measures of the Soviet Government with regard to disarmament, and expresses the hope that they will be supported by all the Member States of the United Nations.

12. The Byelorussian people is also vitally concerned with the settlement of the important problem of securing peace in Europe, for, in the first half of this century alone, Byelorussia has twice been the victim of unprecedented destruction. We all know that both the first and second world wars began in Europe. We consider that stable and lasting peace in Europe can be achieved by the establishment of an effective system of collective security. That was the purpose of the proposal for the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe submitted by the Soviet Union delegation at the Geneva Conference. The establishment of a system of collective security in Europe would undoubtedly improve the international situation and would ensure normal living conditions for the peoples of Europe. The problem is to reach an agreed decision on this most important matter.

13. We must also bear in mind the fact that the solution of the problem of European security and the settlement of the German question are indissolubly connected. As one of Germany's closest neighbours, we cannot remain indifferent to the re-militarization of Western Germany which is now taking place in accordance with the Paris Agreements. The experience of history has taught us to be vigilant, not to sit with folded arms, but to take all the steps that we can to prevent the outbreak of another European war. We must remember that hostility and war between the Soviet and German

peoples brought untold disaster, privation and suffering to millions of Soviet citizens and Germans in the last two world wars. As we know, this hostility and warfare served the purposes of aggressive circles in certain States, which were only too willing to take advantage of the clash between Germany and the Soviet Union.

14. If we wish to maintain and strengthen peace, we should actively encourage the development and strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet and German peoples, in the interests of world peace.

15. The Soviet Union has made every effort to establish normal political, economic and cultural relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Henceforth, the Soviet Union will have diplomatic and other relations with both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. This step taken by the Soviet Government will undoubtedly help to restore normal relations among the countries of Europe. The Byelorussian people welcomes and approves the measures taken by the Government of the USSR to establish normal relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We also welcome the recently-concluded agreement on the relations between the USSR and the German Democratic Republic. This agreement will strengthen the friendly relations and close co-operation between the two States on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

16. All these measures taken by the Soviet Government have a far-reaching international significance; they are in conformity with the interests of both the Soviet and the German peoples, they will contribute to the restoration of a united Germany as a peace-loving, democratic State, and they will help to ensure a further relaxation of international tension.

17. With regard to Asia and Africa, it should be noted that in these areas too there are many extremely important questions which urgently require solution. These include the Korean question, the question of Indochina, the Moroccan and Algerian questions and the question of West Irian. These problems cannot be disregarded, and they must be solved in accordance with the national interest of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and in the interests of international peace and security.

18. As in the past, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR advocates the peaceful settlement of the Korean question as quickly as possible. It is our duty to draw the General Assembly's attention to the grave fact that the attitude of the Government of South Korea to the Korean problem accentuates the division of Korea and is fraught with the danger of another war. In August 1955, Syngman Rhee called for the dissolution of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea and expressed his intention of seizing areas to the north of the demarcation line. The United Nations should categorically condemn such statements and actions on the part of the Government of South Korea. The peoples of all countries are awaiting the peaceful settlement of the Korean question at the earliest possible time on the basis of the recognition of the national right of the Korean people to the re-unification of their country.

19. Neither can we disregard the attempts of the South Viet-Nam authorities to disrupt the agreements concluded at Geneva in July 1954 which led to the cessation of hostilities in Indochina. The free elections provided for in the Geneva Agreements on Indochina must be held throughout the territory of Viet-Nam next

year, in accordance with the national interests of the peoples of Viet-Nam.

20. A major event this year was the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries, at which more than half the population of the world was represented. This Conference took a decisive stand against colonialist oppression. It decided, among other things, that "colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end". The participants in the Bandung Conference expressed their support for the cause of peace and independence of all colonial and dependent peoples. The United Nations cannot fail to take the opinions expressed at this Conference into account when it examines a number of important Asian and African problems.

21. The success of the Bandung Conference was to a very great extent due to the participation of the People's Republic of China, whose role in the settlement of Asian and Far Eastern problems is steadily growing more important. It is impossible, now, to think seriously of settling these problems in the absence of the People's Republic of China. Nevertheless, the representatives of 600 million Chinese people are still refused admission to the United Nations. In refusing to admit China to the United Nations, some States do not wish to face the fact that this great State is growing and becoming stronger, and that its lawful Government, which enjoys the full support of all its people, exercises authority over an enormous area. Those who continue to insist that the Kuomintang representatives speak for China in the United Nations are ignoring historical facts and are attempting to preserve an unreal situation in our Organization.

22. Another reason which prevents the United Nations from functioning normally is that many countries are still not represented in it. Certain representatives who spoke here said that the problem of the admission of new Members to the United Nations could be solved only after the Charter had been reviewed. However, it is quite obvious that the fact that the problem of the admission of new Members has not been resolved cannot be blamed on the Charter. We believe that the best solution of this question would be the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the 16 States which have applied for membership.

23. We are witnessing a sustained attack on the principle of the unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council, designed to bring about a review of those Articles of the Charter in which this principle is contained. In the opinion of my delegation, such attempts to have the Charter reviewed, to strike at its very foundations and to undermine the principle of unanimity, weaken the United Nations and thereby hamper it in its efforts to carry out its basic task of maintaining peace and international security. The United Nations should do everything to ensure that the Security Council again becomes an organ capable of bringing about the peaceful settlement of any kind of dispute and dangerous situation, and the elimination of any circumstances which prevent the strengthening of friendly relations between nations striving for peace. The United Nations must remain faithful to its Charter and to the principle of the unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council. It must encourage constructive co-operation among all States. My delegation considers that the United Nations Charter in its present form is perfectly adequate to its task, which is to strengthen world peace and promote international co-

operation; it therefore sees no need for calling a general conference to review the Charter.

24. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares the views expressed by the Chairman of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Molotov [520th meeting] and supports the draft resolution which he submitted on "Measures for the Further Relaxation of International Tension and the Development of International Co-operation" [A/2981]. Mr. Molotov's statement and the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union illustrate the earnest wish of the peoples and Government of the Soviet Union to live in peace and friendship with all nations, to strive for a further relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of confidence between States. We hope that the General Assembly will adopt the Soviet Union draft resolution; by so doing it will make a valuable contribution to the development of international co-operation and the strengthening of international peace and security.

25. One of the surest and most promising ways of achieving mutual understanding between nations and strengthening friendly relations and peace between States is by establishing firm international bonds. The United Nations should declare itself in favour of close and permanent contact between people of different nations and professions, contacts between individuals, exchanges of scientific, social and parliamentary delegations, theatrical and sports groups, and business delegations, the expansion of international travel, the organization of festivals and so forth.

26. The Soviet Union is doing its best to establish closer and better contacts with the peoples of all countries. The relations of the Byelorussian SSR with other States are also being extended and strengthened. For example, in the period from June 1952 to September 1955, 60 delegations and individual representatives from foreign countries visited Byelorussia. These people, of different callings, ages, political opinions and religious faiths, all desired an extension of cultural relations between countries, and their attitude was widely welcomed and supported by the Byelorussian people. It should also be noted that every year thousands of persons representing our social, scientific, artistic, cultural and sports associations travel to various countries of the world in order to become better acquainted with the life of the peoples of those countries. We advocate a broad expansion of friendly contacts between countries because we recognize the fact that the peoples of all countries are vitally interested in a further relaxation of international tension.

27. However, it would be a naïve delusion to rest on our laurels and overlook the other difficulties in the way of a settlement of outstanding problems. Neither should we disregard the fact that in some countries there are forces which do not want to relax international tension. They oppose the peaceful settlement of controversial international problems, advocate interference in the affairs of other countries and nations and endeavour to force their will on other States. Attempts are also being made to discredit the principle of peaceful co-existence between States with different social and political systems, which is generally recognized and has received legal sanction in a number of international documents. Unfortunately attempts of this kind are being made even within the United Nations itself. Certain representatives at this very session of the General Assembly have asked the countries which have undertaken to build a new life for themselves to fulfil

certain "prerequisites" of peaceful coexistence, at the same time distorting the purposes and goals of the internal and foreign policies of these States. My delegation considers that the General Assembly should condemn the attempts made by some representatives to revive the policy of the "cold war" in the United Nations.

28. We have heard the Chiang Kai-shek representative make the usual stereotyped statement, full of slander and insinuations against the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. I consider that his statement was too devoid of substance for me to join issue with him.

29. The task of the United Nations is to bring about the earliest possible settlement of important questions, and to assist other States in solving outstanding international problems. The United Nations should do everything in its power to preserve and strengthen the "spirit of Geneva", and bear in mind that the paramount duty of all States, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, should be to take effective steps to strengthen confidence in the mutual relations between States. The United Nations should call upon the Governments of all States to make greater use of the method of negotiations in the settlement of outstanding international problems. It should appeal to all States with large armed forces to make substantial reductions in their armed forces and military budgets now, as a token of goodwill, without waiting for the conclusion of an international agreement on the implementation of an agreed programme for a general reduction of armaments, and at the same time not to relax their efforts to bring about the conclusion of an agreement of this kind. We should call on the Governments of States which maintain air and naval bases on foreign territories to follow the example of the Soviet Union and to dismantle such bases at the earliest possible time. The peace-loving nations expect the United Nations to fulfil the hopes which they placed in the Organization when it was set up ten years ago.

30. My delegation is quite convinced that agreed decisions to strengthen peace and international security can be adopted within the United Nations. However, in order to settle any important international problem satisfactorily, we must first of all establish within our Organization a normal situation, based on confidence, mutual understanding, respect for the sovereign rights of nations and for their social and political systems. It is to this end that all the future activities of the United Nations should be directed.

31. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is confident that the United Nations will fulfil its duty, do everything necessary to carry out the noble purposes and principles of the Charter, take all steps to eliminate the threat of another war, promote the establishment of the necessary confidence between States and endeavour to maintain and strengthen international peace.

32. Mr. ANAK AGUNG GEDE AGUNG (Indonesia): Before proceeding with my statement, I would like to associate myself with the many sincere expressions of congratulation which were extended to our President, Mr. Maza, by the members of the General Assembly on his being elected unanimously to the high office of President. I am confident that he will discharge his duties in a most able and impartial manner.

33. My thoughts at this moment are also with the President of our host country, the United States of

America, whose present illness is a matter of grave concern not only to the people of this country but also to the world at large. My Government and people whole-heartedly endorse the expressions of concern and best wishes for a speedy recovery which the President of the General Assembly has sent to President Eisenhower on behalf of the United Nations.

34. If I have the honour today to address my fellow representatives in this great Organization, the United Nations, I do so with warm feelings of esteem and remembrance. It was on this very day, five years ago, on 28 September 1950, that my country, the new-born Republic of Indonesia, was admitted by acclamation as the sixtieth Member of this eminent community of nations for peace [289th meeting]. The sincere words of welcome and understanding extended to my country and people on that auspicious occasion have always been for us a source of deep gratitude and strength. The fight for independence and freedom, the struggle to regain and to re-establish the national sovereignty of our people was indeed consonant with the highest principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, principles which our national movement for independence has always cherished. The recognition of the right of my people's struggle, as shown by the timely intervention of the United Nations in our cause, and Indonesia's subsequent admission to this august body, transformed the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter into a reality in my country.

35. The entry of Indonesia into the United Nations came, however, at a time when the world was already beset by serious international disturbances. The high hopes and expectations for peace and security, for more justice and understanding among nations, raised by the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, were again obscured by threatening clouds of international tensions and conflicts. The war in Korea had broken out. The "cold war" was moving in an alarming and unpredictable direction. Fears had superseded the hopes.

36. It was in this difficult and controversial climate that the young Republic of Indonesia began its life in the international community, seeking therein to find its proper and useful place in the service of humanity and peace. The policy we chose to pursue was inevitably one of scrupulously avoiding entanglement in the grave controversies, which might be detrimental to my country's young and delicate life. On the other hand, we realized full well that, as a Member of the United Nations, we had duties and responsibilities to the world at large, the fulfilment of which is a sacred mission for all of us.

37. It is with some satisfaction, therefore, that I can say that the Republic of Indonesia, facing all the difficulties and obstacles inherent in the pursuit of a new life, has been able, through its active independent policy, successfully to make its way in our exigent times. The Indonesian Government will now continue this independent policy positively and, indeed, in the most reliable and practicable way, guided by the real needs of our peoples for peace and welfare and international co-operation.

38. Tomorrow, 29 September, my country will carry out its first general election, accomplishing further its task for democracy. The absence so far of a general election cannot, of course, be construed to mean that there has been no democracy in Indonesia and in its governmental system. Democracy is an old institution in the life of our people, expressing itself for centuries in

the administration of Indonesian villages and in the democratic election of village heads.

39. Following the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, it has always been the constant endeavour of the Government and people of my country not only to practise and strengthen further our democratic ideals, but naturally, also, to promote by these democratic means the welfare and well-being of our people. Education has been greatly improved, and a vigorous, nation-wide programme has been undertaken to combat illiteracy. Indeed, in Indonesia, democracy means a way to improve the well-being of our people, to be practised in the fields of social and economic endeavours as well as in the political field of government and administration.

40. The general elections to be held tomorrow, never held before in the history of our people, mark, therefore, the further determination of the new Indonesia to strengthen and consolidate the democratic practices of our people.

41. On the international plane, too, we have not only adhered to the principles and purposes of the Charter, but also, in co-operation with all other nations, rendered a contribution, however small, to upholding those high purposes which guide our efforts for a better world, for forging a world in which mankind can live in peace and harmony, mutually co-operating for the common good.

42. The constant and consistent efforts of all of us, pursued with patience and determination, have certainly not gone unrewarded. How dark the world looked only five years ago. Today Korea, though still divided, is no longer the scene of war and carnage. The Indochina war, though not directly through the efforts of our Organization, has been brought to an end in a manner consistent with the spirit of peaceful co-operation and negotiation enshrined in our Charter.

43. Improvements in the international climate were perhaps most apparent in Asia, but they certainly affected the whole world. Further sincere efforts towards the relaxation of tensions were imperative if the relative and delicate peace which the world had achieved was to be preserved and promoted. Realizing the special responsibilities falling upon them, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Indonesia met in Colombo in the spring of 1954, concurrently with the Geneva Conference on Indochina. They exchanged views and discussed problems of common concern to them in the interest of international peace. The Colombo conference emphasized the contributions which the Asian countries could make in preserving the peace, stressing among other things the urgent need for bettering relations among all nations. They encouraged, above all, the new spirit of seeking by peaceful and conciliatory means to resolve outstanding international issues.

44. It was the Colombo Conference which gave birth to the idea of convening an Asian-African conference, so as to pool and to rally the goodwill and understanding of all the hundreds of millions of peoples of Asia and Africa — indeed, of the vast majority of mankind — in the service of and for the benefit of this fresh avenue to peace.

45. The Colombo Powers next met in Bogor, Indonesia, in December 1954, to determine and finalize their plans for the proposed Asian-African conference. Indonesia was accorded the honour of being host to this historic conference. And in April 1955, the Asian-African Conference was held in Bandung.

46. Twenty-nine countries of Asia and Africa, representing about 1,400 million people of this earth (approximately 600 million more people than are represented in this General Assembly) sent their top representatives to this great meeting — a meeting unprecedented in the history of our peoples, if not in the history of the world. We realized the heavy responsibilities we had assumed in the face of the tremendous burdens weighing upon mankind in this troubled and divided world. It was a great undertaking. It marked also the fundamental and significant changes — social and political — which have taken place in the community of nations today. As President Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, stirringly told the opening session of the Asian-African Conference:

“Asia and Africa have been reborn; nay, a new Asia and a new Africa have been born!”

47. It is not for us alone to evaluate the importance of the Bandung Conference. It was, true, only a beginning, a modest effort to inject a new spirit in the world, a fresh approach which we felt would be of the greatest benefit to mankind and to peace. And indeed, not only were the deliberations conducted in a spirit of brotherhood and mutual understanding, but the results of the Conference, as embodied in the final *communiqué* of Bandung, show that in our own way we can render a significant contribution to the efforts of mankind for peace.

48. It is also gratifying that the Bandung Conference gave such strong support to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, which all the assembled representatives — of Members as well as of non-members of the United Nations — acknowledged and upheld as the proper international guide for securing genuine peace and the well-being of all mankind.

49. But again, it must be recalled that this dawn of a new spirit in international relations is still in its initial stage. Deep and fundamental controversies among nations continue to exist. Conflicting interests — even in the same name of peace — still divide many of us. Ideological differences continue to thwart the implementation of the precept of “live and let live”. But the dynamics of man’s mind opens also the opportunity for the birth of new ideas, new approaches, new ways of thinking. The world does not stand still. The avenues to peace have never been closed. It is only for us to find them or to rediscover them, or even to invent new, inspiring, ones. This is the challenge to man in every age of history.

50. The tenth anniversary commemorative meeting in San Francisco in June 1955 recognized this challenge which lies before us. Everyone in fact agreed that the prospects for a real and lasting peace, in the past ten years, had never been more encouraging than they were then. The significance of the Bandung Conference in this respect also, happily, did not go unnoticed. It was really heartening to hear at San Francisco the unanimous reaffirmation to work further towards the realization of the high purposes and ideals of our Organization.

51. It was in the wake of all this that the Geneva Conference took place in July 1955. The great significance for the world of this meeting between the Heads of Government of the four big Powers is of course beyond any doubt. It has not only strengthened the hopes for peace which have been rekindled in the past year, but it may well be decisive for ushering in the long awaited era of universal peace and security. It may lead to the

end of the "cold war" which has plagued and troubled the world for much too long. True, the Geneva Conference did not resolve any of the basic controversial problems, but it undoubtedly laid down the best means for seeking peaceful settlements of all controversial issues, that is, in a climate of peace, of conciliation and of goodwill.

52. This, I believe, is the most valuable and felicitous result of the Geneva Conference. And, in common with every representative here, I wish to pay a tribute to all those who have made this possible. In the first place, our gratitude goes to the great leaders who participated in the Conference. But it is with no less feeling of thanksgiving that we remember all the men and women throughout the world who consistently have preached the necessity of goodwill and conciliation in the relations among nations as the only way to secure universal peace and co-operation in this complex and many-sided world.

53. Politics and power have always been inseparable in the conduct of world affairs. War and peace have always been determined by these factors. There seemed to be no other alternatives in international political life. Power was bound to express itself by military force. Armaments and armament races were inevitable, leading ultimately only to wars. Not only war, but peace too was determined by this way of thinking. One spoke of peace as merely the absence of war. And comfortably hand in hand with peace went the piling up of armaments by the opposing sides for the supposed prevention of attacks by one against the other.

54. The development of nuclear weapons to the most alarming proportions has, however — I would almost say luckily — radically changed this state of affairs. If in the pre-atomic period war might have been calculated to gain something worth while, this idea has now gradually become an absurdity. If there is something good which the invention of these terrible nuclear and thermonuclear weapons has given to mankind, then it is this: the realization that today war will not pay, that war, which inevitably will be a thermonuclear war, will not gain anything for anyone.

55. That is why, more than ever before, the need for disarmament is so deeply felt by everyone, and indeed — and perhaps ironically — by those who themselves possess these deadly weapons of destruction. Man is now afraid of his own creation. But if the discarding of war as a means to an end, along with the wide-spread realization of the deeply-felt need for disarmament, marks a fundamental and radical change in man's way of thinking, then I must say that the invention of these terrible weapons of mass destruction is not so much a tragedy, but may turn out to be a blessing for mankind.

56. It is now being recognized more and more that disarmament — or at least the substantial reduction of armaments — is an inescapable "must" if mankind is to survive. The "renunciation of force" has become a popular adage for meeting the present exigency. But this does not, of course, affect the fundamental problem. In this case, again, I am afraid that the thinking is solely on military lines. If force is to be renounced as a means of national policy, then it should certainly not be merely military force, but also economic, and indeed political, force. Do we condemn military force as an instrument of national policy only as a matter of expediency in the particular relations between powerful nations, or do we do so as a matter of principle? Force is apt to lead to oppression and war. But this is certainly true

not only of military force, but also of the use of economic or political force by powerful nations. The history of colonialism bears witness to this truth.

57. Indeed, the only force that we can sanction is moral force, the force of goodwill in achieving genuine peace and prosperity for all nations and peoples. That is today's fundamental issue. And I think that it should be the duty of every one of us to make the United Nations, with its lofty Charter, the united moral force so desperately needed in the world today. It is in this light, in this frame of mind, that we should view the problems before the United Nations.

58. Besides the question of disarmament, in connexion with which the deep-felt need for an urgent solution is in itself a matter for rejoicing, there are many important problems before the Organization.

59. The threatening aspect of atomic power makes it imperative that that power should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of mankind. We therefore hailed the convening and the successful proceedings of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, which was held in Geneva in August 1955. My country's delegation certainly gained a great deal from participating in that Conference. This international undertaking was a landmark of untold promise for a new era of scientific, social and economic activity and welfare, unprecedented in the annals of mankind. To make this promise a reality, however, our present and our future leaders must display the highest sense of social responsibility and humanitarianism. It imposes upon us the duty to see to it that this great international enterprise is not drowned in the whirlpool of politics. We must be vigilant so as to ensure that this energy, capable of bringing to mankind incalculable opportunities, does not create a new world of "have" and "have not", generating tensions so dangerous to peaceful relations among nations.

60. The problems of colonialism are, of course, of particular interest to us and to the peoples of Asia and Africa generally. The Asian-African Member States, strengthened by the Bandung resolutions, have again this year brought before this Organization colonial problems such as the questions of Morocco and West Irian, and have for the first time brought before the Organization the question of Algeria.

61. Naturally, we hope that the General Assembly will decide to include the question of Algeria in its agenda. Such positive action is undoubtedly warranted by the present situation in Algeria. Certainly one cannot regard with equanimity the growing toll of lives lost every single day in Algeria. In the past year alone, the unremitting struggle there has accounted for well over 3,000 lives. How many more must be sacrificed, how many more must languish in prison, before something constructive is done to restore peace and freedom? Nor can one calmly stand by and watch while the basic human rights guaranteed in our Charter to all peoples are relentlessly crushed and repressed in Algeria? It is surely for the United Nations, as the "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of" the development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", to take proper cognizance of the aspirations of the entire Algerian population for an Algerian nation. This Assembly must, in our view, do its utmost to bring about an end to the current wave of bloodshed and repression in Algeria and to restore justice, peace and freedom there.

62. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity once again to urge the Government of France to consider the question of Algeria with justice, reasonableness and understanding, in order to promote a peaceful settlement through negotiations — in the interests of both France and Algeria and of the peace and stability of that entire region of the world.

63. In Morocco, recent developments have fortunately moved in the direction of a peaceful settlement. But the approaches have come only after much violence, and, even now, there is painful hesitancy and faltering in the steps towards final implementation. In fact, the situation remains explosive. Violence continues to erupt in Morocco, and the prospects for a negotiated settlement are unhappily fading. There is, in short, no reason for complacency or "do-nothingness". On the contrary, we must do everything to encourage and assist the parties concerned in finding the long-sought peaceful solution to the question of Morocco — a solution which all of us hope will not be long in coming. This is, indeed, the proper time for the United Nations to reaffirm, in the strongest possible terms, its abiding interest in the attainment of a satisfactory solution in Morocco, a solution arrived at by means of negotiations between France and the true representatives of the Moroccan people. Morocco presents a challenge, which this Assembly must meet with courage and foresight.

64. My delegation hopes that the present session of the General Assembly will be capable of recommending the right ways and means for the peaceful solution of these colonial problems. But if it does not, the Assembly will appreciate that we shall not cease to present them to it again and again, until freedom and justice have been secured for the peoples concerned. The only force we seek in the solution of these problems is the only force tolerable in our pursuit of peace: moral force. And I venture to believe that, although this Assembly — or, rather, some of the Powers concerned — may feel disturbed by our actions, the United Nations congratulates itself on the fact that we have sought that moral force in and within this Organization, guided by the noble principles and aims of the Charter.

65. I have a few specific words to say on the question of West Irian and on our present relations with the Netherlands. We are happy that we can now view this question, also, within the general trend of the relaxation of tension in the world today. It was on the basis of such a consideration that the Asian-African Conference in Bandung adopted the resolution which not only supported Indonesia's position in this matter, but also recommended seriously to the Netherlands Government that it should find ways and means of reopening negotiations for a solution of this outstanding dispute, which has impaired good relations between the two countries concerned. Moreover, the Bandung Conference resolution appealed most earnestly to the United Nations to assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

66. It has been of great satisfaction to us that the Asian-African States Members of this Organization have, in the same spirit, furthered the Bandung Conference resolution by presenting the question of West Irian to this General Assembly once again. It is the Indonesian Government's earnest hope that the General Assembly will respond by including this question in its agenda, in a spirit conducive to the desired negotiated settlement of this serious dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Indonesia's position on the question

of West Irian is, I presume, already known to everyone here, and I therefore do not think that I need to restate it. The Indonesian people is, of course, determined to seek a satisfactory solution to this problem.

67. I am glad to note that, in recent weeks, the Indonesian and Netherlands Governments have been able to create an atmosphere which may lead to better understanding between them on this problem, within the framework of improving mutual relations and settling other outstanding problems still pending between our two countries. The Indonesian delegation is well aware of the difficult phase in which our two Governments find themselves at this moment. For our part, I can assure this Assembly that our course of policy on the question of West Irian will be conducted in such a manner as not to impair the improved atmosphere in the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

68. It is the conviction of my Government — I repeat: it is the conviction of the present Government of Indonesia — that the placing of this item on the agenda of the General Assembly, in a dispassionate and calm manner, will certainly improve the chances of finding practical arrangements towards the solution of the problem of West Irian in a peaceful and friendly way.

69. The encouraging political atmosphere in which we find ourselves at this moment may also be of benefit in regard to finding further solutions to the economic issues before this session of the Assembly. As peace is indivisible, so is the economic welfare of the nations of the world. It is difficult, I know, to "internationalize" national policies in the economic sphere, but the gradual breaking down of national barriers is at least a step in the right direction.

70. Economic tensions are unquestionably as disastrous to peace as are political tensions. With the improvement in the political climate, ways and means could also be found to relax tensions due to economic causes. Therefore other problems, such as the stabilization of prices, the flow of capital to under-developed countries, technical assistance and the creation of food reserves are certainly of tremendous importance and deserve the earnest attention of this Assembly. The flow of capital into countries industrially less developed is an essential requirement for their economic reconstruction. Its necessity found clear expression, among other things, in Bandung this year, where 29 countries from Asia and Africa passed a resolution to recommend to the United Nations the founding of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development and the International Finance Corporation.

71. It is in the light of this necessity that we strongly hope that the United Nations will come to the setting up of such bodies as SUNFED and IFC. For it is institutions such as these that will make a fruitful contribution to the economic welfare of the world population and to the improvement of peaceful conditions among nations at the same time. It is the hope of my Government that these problems will be dealt with on the basis of a sincere desire to spread economic welfare and stability to all areas and peoples of the world, in the interest of co-operative peace.

72. Despite the general relaxation of international tensions, some problems are stubborn ones, due to the deep-rooted ideological conflicts involved. For the solution of these problems, we must combine patience with determination. But they demand speedy solution.

73. One of these problems is the question of the admission of new Members. The attitude of the Indonesian Government on this matter is known to all of you. We consistently support the application of the principle of universality so that the United Nations may become, in reality, a universal, all-embracing world organization. Every nation, we believe, should be given the opportunity actively to work and live in the framework of the ideals of the United Nations. Not only should our Organization be a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", but its ultimate aim should be to invite every nation to contribute to, and be moulded by, its moral world force.

74. In the region of Asia and Africa, we have a special responsibility with regard to the sincere aspirations of our Asian-African friends — Ceylon, Nepal, Cambodia, Laos, a united Viet-Nam, Japan, Jordan and Libya, all non-members of the United Nations — to gain admission as soon as possible to the community of nations. It will be our constant endeavour to help them achieve this end. We are, of course, no less concerned with all the other applicant States, whose admission will certainly promote the development of close understanding and co-operation among all peoples.

75. In this respect, too, the better relations between the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, should help to bring about the admission of all those States. It is our earnest hope that this vital problem of the admission of new Members will continuously occupy the attention of the big Powers in all their present and future deliberations.

76. The idea of promoting a greater exchange of visits and ideas in the interest of furthering international understanding is, in our view, a very commendable one. The world has already shrunk so much. Direct personal acquaintance with men and ideas and conditions of the differing regions of the world can only serve to enrich mankind. Artificial barriers — or curtains, as they are called today — have no place in this undertaking. We have heard in this Assembly encouraging voices in recognition of this fact. Let us, indeed, nourish this endeavour towards wider contacts and closer understanding for the benefit of all peoples.

77. It is in this light, too, that we should view the representation of the People's Republic of China, which we earnestly hope will be seated in the United Nations as soon as possible.

78. I heard with interest the suggestion made by the representative of Ecuador a few days ago [*519th meeting*] that the next session of the General Assembly should be held in Moscow. This, I am sure, would be of considerable benefit to our endeavours to know and to understand one another better. The proposal made by the representative of Ecuador can, in fact, be carried somewhat further. I would suggest that the exchange of ideas between peoples would be greatly enhanced if it were possible for the General Assembly to meet every five years in a different country. Undoubtedly, this would serve to bring the United Nations and its ideals, in a direct and practical manner, closer to the peoples all over the world. Some day in the future, I hope, the city of Bandung, in Indonesia, will be in a position to enjoy the honour of acting as host to this great Organization for peace. At this time, I would like also to suggest that leaders of the Secretariat take time out to visit the countries of Asia and Africa, in order to forge closer contacts between themselves and the peoples of that part of the world.

79. With respect to encouraging the interchange of ideas among peoples, I am thinking particularly of the new relationship between Asia and the West and the need it presents for closer mutual understanding and acquaintance. Most of the leaders of Asia have had personal contact with the ideas of the West. They have travelled in Western countries, and some have spent considerable years there. But it would be a fortunate fact if more leaders of the West would grasp the opportunity to visit the countries of Asia, to meet the peoples of Asia and personally to acquaint themselves with the ideas which are the driving force of the teeming millions of Asian peoples today. Their visits to our countries would be most welcome, and I am certain that they would be of mutual advantage to Asia and the West.

80. Most areas of the world are, indeed, still spiritually separated from each other. Ignorance and misunderstanding are still very much prevalent between different regions of the world. We certainly admit that there is still insufficient knowledge of each other between the countries of Asia and those of Latin America. We have the fortunate opportunity of meeting here every year the delegates of the Latin American countries, representing a rich and fascinating continent. Yet real and direct contacts between the peoples of the Asian and Latin American continents are, I believe, negligible, although the need for them is, I am sure, mutually recognized. We therefore look forward to opportunities for closer relations between our peoples and leaders, since we share many common interests and, in the light of our struggle for freedom and justice, a common heritage. Such close contacts and co-operation can therefore only be of mutual benefit in building a real United Nations world.

81. The tenth session of the General Assembly meets, indeed, at a time of great hope and expectation. The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles, in his speech from this rostrum a few days ago [*518th meeting*], suggested to us to look forward to an era of peaceful change. A similar expression of hope was, I believe, voiced by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Molotov [*520th meeting*]. It is, of course, the duty of all of us gathered here for deliberations and actions to do our share in bringing about this peaceful change, necessary for the creation of a better and more secure world.

82. The emphasis should be not only on the word "peaceful", but certainly equally on the word "change". It is not only a matter of spirit, but also a matter of the conditions in the world today. There are many changes for the better needed in the present world structure or conditions. I am naturally thinking of the relationship between the colonial Powers and their dependent territories. Radical changes are sometimes needed to secure peace and friendship. The relations between the large and small nations may need certain changes, too, in order to make their relationship more democratic, not only legally but also spiritually.

83. This tenth session of the General Assembly faces a great and inspiring task. We are on the threshold of a new and fascinating era. Let us start this second decade of the United Nations with the determination, the goodwill and the co-operation which is demanded of us by this crucial time in history. It is a great privilege for the Indonesian delegation to participate in and contribute to that tremendous enterprise. The Indonesian people wish you all well in your coming deliberations and actions.

84. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia takes this occasion to congratulate Mr. Maza upon his unanimous election to preside over this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations — a fitting tribute to his long and tireless efforts, in this Organization, dedicated to world peace and human fellowship.

85. During the last ten years, since the founding of the United Nations, we have witnessed a change from the co-operative spirit at San Francisco to the hardening of positions, resulting in heightened tension in the relationship between nations, which ultimately assumed the ugly proportions of what has been known as the "cold war".

86. As we commence this session of the Assembly, however, we are happy to note what appears to be a change of climate — a relaxing of tension. Perhaps this new atmosphere is due, in some measure, to the meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Powers in Geneva in July 1955, to the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, and to the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

87. The purposes of these conferences were, among other things, to bring about a relaxation of tensions and to promote world peace and security. The measure of their success may, in our opinion, be assessed to a considerable extent by the moderation and restraint which characterize this year's debate. This appears to us a good omen, and it is our hope that we will do everything to improve this atmosphere and open wider the doors of opportunity for calm and deliberate discussions of the more immediate and burning questions on our agenda.

88. During the latter part of the past year, the Governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan extended invitations to a number of African and Asian countries to meet and discuss certain problems peculiar to the peoples of the two continents. Liberia, with 28 other nations, responded to the invitation and met at Bandung in April 1955.

89. There, for the first time in recorded history, the representatives of over half the world's population living in Africa and Asia met on a basis of equality to do what no one else is willing or able to do for them — to discuss and find means for their mutual uplift and betterment, and thus promote world peace. There, the representatives of peoples of different races, colours, religions and ideologies met and discussed their mutual problems, harmonized their varied points of differences and expressed their agreements in resolutions unanimously carried — resolutions which were sober and restrained, although they dealt with such exciting questions as colonialism, racialism, sovereignty and human rights. We must here record, before this Assembly, our appreciation of the wisdom and foresight of the sponsoring countries and their courageous leaders. Truly the historic Conference at Bandung will be recorded in history as one of the greatest political landmarks of the present century.

90. In July of this year, the Heads of Government of the four Powers met in Geneva to see what could be done towards lessening the tension in which the world had been firmly affixed for nearly a decade, and to explore the possibilities for active co-operation among all States. So far, it would seem that some relaxation has been obtained, as is evidenced by the tone of the discus-

sions here in this Assembly; and we can only hope that it will be extended to even broader fields of contact.

91. Moved, doubtless, by the realization that an atomic war would, in all probability, be one in which the human race would destroy itself, the courageous plan to use the power of the atom for the uplift of man, rather than his self-destruction, was initiated in this Assembly [470th meeting] by President Eisenhower of the United States, for whom, in his present illness, the delegation of Liberia prays a speedy and complete recovery.

92. In August of this year the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy met in Geneva. Almost every country in the world sent delegates and observers to this conference which we hope has opened a new era — an era of collaboration for the uplift and betterment of humanity, and the opening of broader vistas for better living standards and human happiness.

93. Since 1950, no new Members have been admitted to the Organization, although 21 applicants have submitted requests to partake with us in the erection of a dynamic and universal structure dedicated to world peace. We are all well acquainted with the background of the situation which has caused this regrettable deadlock. What better sign could there be of a real and true relaxing of tension than that some compromise could be reached between the two divergent views, and an arrangement arrived at whereby at least a large majority of the applicants could be admitted, thus bringing a greater degree of universality to our Organization? The delegation of Liberia sincerely hopes that, in the very favourable atmosphere which pervades the present session, a solution of the question will be found and thus bring the United Nations nearer to the character it was intended to possess.

94. There is one quality which we cannot successfully divorce from the term "peace", and that is its universality. It follows, therefore, that although all may be at peace in the western hemisphere or in Europe, while in Africa and Asia men are giving their life's blood for liberty and freedom, peace is still something that we must strive to attain. We cannot close our eyes or our ears to the violence, massacres, death and inhumanity raging in the northern parts of the African continent. To do so would be to act like the ostrich which, when tired from the chase, shoves its head into a narrow hole and thinks that in so doing it is hiding its enormous body.

95. Neither shot nor shell has been known in history to quell or silence the desire of men to be free. We should be more reluctant in calling names, such as "terrorists" and "rebels", when we refer to people whose only crime is the yearning for freedom and liberty, who desire to have something to say about the government of their native land, who nourish an honourable ambition for themselves and their children that they might enjoy the blessings of a good education, health and the better things of life. In our various lands, I dare say, many a national hero was at some time in their rugged histories branded a terrorist and a rebel. Let us hope that the spirit of conciliation and compromise, which seems now to be abroad, will be allowed to saturate the atmosphere not only of that disturbed area, where massacres and unequal battle are taking tremendous toll in human life and suffering, but of all other areas where similar inhumanity and repression are the order of the day, so that in due course peace may in deed and in truth reign over our troubled world.

96. The delegation of Liberia, ever willing and anxious to promote the cause of peace and justice, will do all in its power to co-operate towards the realization of these objectives at the present session.

97. Mr. BASAGOITI (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): From this august rostrum, I wish to reaffirm the Uruguayan Government's support of the principles of the United Nations and its faith in the Organization's ability to accomplish its great mission.

98. The advent of a new atmosphere of peace at the Geneva Conference has awakened bright hopes in the civilized world. As Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, said here:

"It will not be an era of placidity and stagnancy in the sense that the *status quo*, with all its manifold injustices, will be accepted as permanent. It will be an era of change, and it will have its strains and its stresses. But peoples and Governments will renounce the use of war and subversion to achieve their goals. They will accept orderly evolution towards the realization of legitimate national aspirations" [518th meeting, para. 80].

99. The peace thus alluded to, an active and stable peace, commits this Assembly to a dynamic pursuit of the objective set forth in the Charter: to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

100. The United Nations, in the ten years of its existence, has demonstrated its effectiveness in assisting new States to accede to freedom without bloodshed or violence. It has increased the number of its specialized agencies in order to promote the advancement of labour, industry and trade, health and culture. It has acted decisively in applying the principles of collective defence, and in suppressing aggression. But its primary function has been to serve as an actual or potential forum for peaceful *rapprochement*, dignified coexistence and the promotion of agreements to bring about peace and security between nations with differing philosophies and political structures.

101. These principles are precious elements in our doctrine of international relations, which was proclaimed with moving foresight and wisdom by a Uruguayan statesman, José Batlle y Ordóñez at the Second International Peace Conference at the Hague, in 1907, when he defended his faith in the powers of co-operation with these immortal words: "Since so many alliances have been concluded by which to impose that which is arbitrary, it might be well to conclude another alliance by means of which justice might be imposed." My country's support of the principles of international law as governing relations between peoples and States springs from the very heart of the sovereign people, which has proclaimed in the Constitution of the Republic the imperative duty of the Government to propose the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

102. In my country, during the past 50 years, the combined efforts of Government and private initiative have built up a vigorous industrial heritage catering for needs at home and abroad, and constituting a permanent source of employment and the basis of the nation's economic security. With that end in view, my country has systematically protected the development of the national economy. By means of liberal and protective legislation, the Government has fostered the creation of new industries, and grants facilities for the free import and export of foreign capital, which enjoys equal rights

with national capital. It has encouraged the import of raw materials and equipment, for which, as also for building, liberal credit facilities are granted on generous terms by official State institutions.

103. Agriculture, the basic source of the country's wealth, is fully protected; farmers are provided with selected seeds and fertilizers at low cost, and they are given facilities for the import of machinery, incentives to greater productivity, generous loans for production, and facilities and assistance for the proper marketing of produce.

104. Economic progress has made high standards of living possible for our workers, and at the same time just protection is afforded them by laws covering minimum wages, fixed by tripartite tribunals, maximum working hours, family allowances, general retirement benefits and pensions, protection against industrial accidents and occupational diseases, the total cost of these social services being estimated at one-third of the salary.

105. Peace is the fruit of a common endeavour. We believe that, in the spirit of Geneva, it will be our common duty to promote a gradual and healthy adaptation to the new economic conditions engendered in the world by a stable peace. The principles of co-operation and solidarity must be applied in a common effort to promote economic development and peaceful coexistence.

106. Work is the most effective factor of social peace and progress; it is the *sine qua non* of civilization. The high political and social level attained by my country through its practice of active democracy requires a firm financial foundation to support it. There is no social justice unless society as a whole has access to the country's wealth, and that means that society as a whole must work. My Government considers it its primary duty to see that the necessary conditions exist to maintain full employment.

107. The immediate objective is the economic and social advancement of the peoples, and the United Nations should co-operate in developing national resources to the full. The type of action which the countries in the process of economic development expect from the United Nations is the provision of adequate technical assistance and funds for the development of their economic substructure, the production of raw materials and the furthering of industrialization.

108. The Uruguayan Government has vested in the nation the services which are basic to its economic structure, namely, electric power, roads, public transport, schools, hospitals, irrigation works, etc., on the principle that responsibility for promoting the economic development of a country rests primarily with its own Government. Our expanding economy makes it necessary to extend these services and creates a demand for funds which internal savings cannot adequately satisfy. Our Government is supporting an intensive drive for the industrialization of Uruguay in order to hasten its transformation from a raw material producer into a more highly developed country with a balance trade, permanent sources of employment and a larger national income.

109. I am not raising these problems in the United Nations out of purely national considerations. In the first place, their solution is one of the purposes for which the United Nations exists, as an Organization designed for "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly

relations among nations"; secondly, our problems are common to others, particularly on the American continent, which are serving the international and continental community with the same healthy zeal as ourselves, and which also have untapped resources and a lively and natural desire to give their peoples the same standard of well-being as we are trying to obtain for our own.

110. This American unity, a historical necessity born of our common origin and destiny, can be even further strengthened by a new economic fraternity, which, as we draw closer together, will encourage trade in goods complementary to our respective economies and enable us to go forward together in the service of our peoples' needs and the cause of international co-operation.

111. Industries in the formative, and even in an advanced, stage require the help of technical assistance, which combines international experience and skill under the systematic direction of the United Nations. The exchange of information through the medium of fellows and experts, an exchange in which my country has been both a recipient from and a contributor to the international community, and the assistance afforded to the technical plans of the national authorities out of the world's store of experience and specialized knowledge, are more than ever essential to nations in times of economic development.

112. Representing, as I do, a country in which vocational training is made easier by the institution of free education at all levels, I feel it both an honour and a duty to offer access to Uruguayan institutions and the assistance of our technical experts to all the delegations present at this Assembly, to the extent that our facilities permit.

113. Experience has shown the effectiveness of co-ordinating the investment of available capital to develop the potential resources of the under-developed countries.

114. There will be particularly wide scope for international co-operation and for the allocation of resources released by disarmament to the stimulation of production, the promotion of industrialization, and the development of the basic economic structure in those countries where both public and private enterprise are striving to carry out the technical plans dictated by the needs of their respective economies for expansion.

115. The establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development would well serve such a purpose, and my Government reaffirms its vigorous support of this institution, as well as of the proposal for establishing an International Finance Corporation.

116. Lastly, we consider that international co-operation should aim at ensuring effective technical co-ordination of production in the various countries, and at balancing the various branches of trade, so that the world's needs may be satisfied without undermining or endangering the national economic structure, the industrial system or the social organization of any particular State.

117. As regards human rights, the Uruguayan delegation reaffirms its traditional position that efforts should be made to perfect the systems for effectively guaranteeing international protection to any individual whose fundamental rights as proclaimed in the covenants have been infringed. My delegation feels that when the draft International Covenants on Human Rights are considered, provision should be made for a system of legal protection with procedures adequate to achieve the ends in view. Without the aid of flexible procedural

machinery for ensuring proper international control, the scheme may, unfortunately, prove in practice to be no more than so much pretensions and meaningless verbiage.

118. We reaffirm our conviction that these protective instruments must be backed up by flexible machinery capable of implementing the guarantee they offer and ensuring the truly effective enjoyment of the rights concerned. The proposal previously submitted by the Uruguayan delegation for the appointment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights [A/C.3/L.424] recognizes and provides a satisfactory solution for a problem vital to human dignity.

119. One of the most far-reaching and best known of all United Nations activities is that performed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). It is possible that more than 30 million children will benefit this year from the work of this United Nations body. The General Assembly has recognized the effectiveness, the scope and the importance of the protective work of UNICEF by establishing it as a permanent institution [resolution 802 (VIII)].

120. My country, true to the principle underlying the protection afforded by law to its children, has contributed \$1 million to UNICEF. Moreover, in 1954, my delegation, jointly with that of India, submitted a proposal for the proclamation of a Universal Children's Day which won the approval of the General Assembly [resolution 836 (IX)]. My delegation takes this opportunity of once again pledging support for UNICEF's work and lofty aims.

121. The systematic support of a community for the principles of peaceful and constructive coexistence, its struggle to remain true to its native setting, its capacity to create cultural and moral values, and its right to the exercise of political liberty cannot be indefinitely ignored, because they reflect the same historical traditions, the same higher impulse which won for other peoples the right to freedom and self-government. When such aspirations are brought before the United Nations General Assembly, what moral precept, what reasons of security, what higher interest can be invoked to smother this voice, to curb this immutable aspiration to human dignity, indefinitely? The United Nations, which is based on the principles of freedom, justice, peace and law, must have sufficient wisdom to decide whether, how and when freedom may be acquired without conflict or bloodshed by peoples who place their hope and trust in the verdict of the international community.

122. In this connexion, Uruguay confirms its traditional attitude concerning the scope and meaning of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. The relevance of the saving clause concerning domestic jurisdiction cannot be left to be determined unilaterally according to the views and wishes of the State desiring to invoke it. It is always the responsibility of the United Nations General Assembly to consider whether the exception invoked by one of its Members is in order and to decide whether it is warranted.

123. It is the duty of all Governments to be just, to foster full employment, the highest degree of social justice, the greatest well-being for mankind. All workers have an equal right to a fair wage and to higher standards of living. They have an equal right to see conflict give way to collaboration, isolation to knowledge, the misfortune of the few to the welfare of all, unemployment to creative activity, inertia to energy and fear to

a sense of security. This is the task of the United Nations.

124. A light of hope was kindled for the civilized world at the Geneva Conference. Faith in the ideals of civilization, in the principles of a noble and free life, in human values, in the ideals for which we live and die, is being born anew. Science is demanding an oppor-

tunity to serve the cause of life, and that cause alone. Atomic energy in the service of peace, health and work is symbolic of the ennoblement of the human race and the triumph of moral forces which seemed to have been extinguished forever in the human spirit.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.