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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): We offer to the President a most cordial and heartfelt welcome. He combines in his person qualities of integrity with the mental accomplishments of his illustrious race, which has produced so many politicians and writers. Ireland is a chapter to itself in the history of the world, one with which we in Spain have been associated for centuries; I might also say we have been accomplices. To this day there are to be seen in Spain some fine Irish houses—as they are commonly called—where, not long ago, were educated the sons of the green isle of saints, who were driven by the political turmoil of their times to seek refuge in our country, linked to theirs by so many bonds of religion and outlook. When, therefore, the Spanish delegation sees an eminent Irishman assume the presidency of the Assembly, we must greet him, not with reserved silence, but with warm affection.

2. Nor is the fact that an Irishman is presiding over the fifteenth General Assembly of purely formal significance; the President's country is an example of how, even in the face of age-old difficulties, a people with a true sense of nationhood not born of fantasy or of baseless agitation, may win through to its objectives and fulfil its high purposes in the world. It is a particularly relevant example today, when the representatives of several new nations, most of them African, have just taken their seats, nations raised to the higher status of independent countries by a continuing process which promises well for the future of mankind. This great event, rather than others which may seem more important or may cause more stir, will probably go down in history as the highlight of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly.

3. The story of the peoples of the world is not yet a closed book. This meeting of the United Nations, attended by eminent Heads of State and important leaders of so many countries, bears a resemblance to the Congress of Vienna—to different music and with

a different score—in so far as history changes, which is in fact very little—a wider, less exalted, Congress of Vienna, in which the new countries, whose flags now fly before our doors, are rightly occupying their places.

4. What could be more heartening to Spaniards and to others who, like us, believe that human development is divinely ordained and who share our firm and unshakable faith in the equality of all men and in their capacity to develop the same faculties and to achieve the same goals in life, than to see so many nations seated here today in this world forum of the United Nations?

5. We had, perhaps, become accustomed to a small ruling world, walled off from large sections of mankind living in areas remote from the centre of the stage. The monopoly of Europe, of the Congress of Vienna, lasted a long time. But now the world, politically (but not culturally) has become non-European and has taken over the stage. Countries of ancient civilization, those of Asia, formerly cut off from the ruling centre, have moved into the forefront. The American States, throughout most of the nineteenth century, were newly independent and more inclined to isolation than to participation in world affairs. But now they, together with the Asian and African peoples, are playing the predominant role in the making of history.

6. I should like to say—and even to dwell on the point a little—that, for Spain, this final emergence into the sunlight of world political life of these peoples who have acquired the status of new nations represents a moment of justice. An eminent British historian, Arnold Toynbee, whose opinions deserve attention, whatever one's estimate of his work or even of the system underlying his work may be, wrote on 7 August 1960 in The New York Times magazine:

"Among the Western Christian peoples, those that speak Spanish and Portuguese are conspicuously free from race consciousness. Is this a heritage of their Islamic past? For about 500 years the best part of the Iberian Peninsula was under Moslem rule. Islamic culture was at the time higher, and therefore more attractive, than the contemporary Western Christian culture. Consequently, the Christian subjects were deeply influenced by the culture of their Moslem rulers, and this cultural influence lasted after the Moslem rule in Spain and Portugal had passed away.

"It is no accident, I believe, that those Western peoples who have had the closest contact with Islam should also be the Western peoples with the best record in the matter of race relations.

"Anyway, the freedom of the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking peoples from race feeling is an unquestionable fact whatever its historical origins may be."

This is a complimentary opinion, and I am grateful for it as far as Spain is concerned—Portugal has an authorized spokesman here who can speak for his country—and I think there is much truth in it.

7. I believe, however, that a different interpretation should be placed on Spanish motives from the one given by the British historian. It is true that the Spanish and the peoples of Spanish origin gained much—and I have made this very point both here and in the First Committee—from the culture and way of life of the Moslems during their centuries in the Iberian Peninsula. Things of beauty, moral qualities, spirited words incorporated in our language—these are the legacy of the tremendous conflict, which was followed by co-existence in many parts of Spain, and now there remain a cultural heritage of which we are proud, and a sentimental bond between us and the Arab and Moslem peoples as a whole, a bond of which we have been conscious here in the United Nations. But I do not believe that it was the Moslem conception of the equality of man which determined our attitude to people of other races with whom we came in contact, as Toynbee says in the passage I have just read. That attitude was typical of, and innate in, the Spanish people when America was discovered—the great occasion on which our principles were put to the test—and the creative process, which might be described as colonial in the finest Roman sense of the term, was initiated by the first Spaniards transported to the continent recently discovered by Spain; it was the Spanish instinct, the Spanish outlook, Christian, Catholic and filled with the humanity that is always alive in us, which revealed to us the equality of all men.

8. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Father Montesinos, of the Order of Preachers, defended the rights of the Indians faced with Spanish settlement in America in the following words "Are they not men? Are they not rational souls?" Here, then, were the rights of man being served by the thought of the Spanish jurists and theologians of our golden age, and of other ages. I quote Domingo de Soto, whose words must be read in the light of his age and of his religion: "The Christian, sanctified by grace, does not possess an iota more natural right than the savage infidel, white or black." The great Spanish Dominican, Francisco de Vitoria, the father of international law, held that the Indians were the lawful owners of their lands and estates, that their princes and lords were legitimate rulers, and that other princes should respect them and not use their unbelief and their customs as a pretext for imposing domination over them. "War and conquest, therefore, are not legitimate, even though they refuse to believe, and persist in their unbelief and idolatrous practices", wrote Vitoria.

9. My distinguished colleague of the Madrid Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Father Venancio D. Carro, of the same Order of Preachers as these great theologians and jurists, has written some excellent studies of the Spanish theologians and theologian-jurists and their views on the conquest of America, which I should like to see better known by cultured and experienced representatives of Spanish America, such as sit here. His work has been most useful to me in clarifying my ideas, which were too general and even confused, about this phase of Spanish thought and activity.

"Neither in respect of Indians, nor of any other people, do the sins of the subject race give to foreign Powers the right of intervention," said Vitoria.

"Provided no offence is committed against foreign and sovereign Powers, there is no justification for a war of conquest. The only cause for a just war is an offence by one people against another, which can be expiated only by arms, in cases where no higher authority can be invoked."

10. Remember that this was written early in the sixteenth century, and that it was Spanish thought which guided and enlightened governments and kings. Translated into the language of today, it is a complete indictment of those who, in the name of a more progressive way of life or of allegedly superior principles, conquer and occupy foreign territories or remain there contrary to justice and right. Take the idea further and you will find implicit in it the right of these peoples to form states. And does not the sense of a need for a higher authority to adjudicate among the nations, which emerges from Vitoria's words, foreshadow world-wide international organizations such as the United Nations?

11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, the Chairman of his country's delegation, and Mr. Amadeo, the Argentine representative on the Security Council, have both recalled this Spanish sense of justice and have said that they count it part of their country's moral debt to Spain. We thank them from our hearts.

12. Was the work done by Spain in America actually in keeping with these principles? Broadly, yes, in spite of some mishaps and acts of violence. We created about a score of nations of our tongue and culture by a fusion of races mingling with the indigenous population. When the peninsular Powers ceased to exercise their authority as rulers, they left behind their piety, their culture, their language, their love of beauty, their creative capacity and a generally recognized high standard of life. These qualities were absorbed and fabulously enriched in the development of the new countries, which today form one of the strongest bastions of the free world against barbarism.

13. The truth is that the Spanish forged not only new cultures but new men. Thus, a race, at once old and new, the mestizo, came into being and we are proud of this contribution to the improvement of mankind. Throughout our history we have produced mestizos, and ideas of racial purity have been, and still are, foreign to us. *Felix culpa*, if indeed it be a fault to give practical effect, here in our life on earth, to the eternal truth of the equality of man. And what I have said of the past still holds good today.

14. I would point out, in passing, that our Spanish past was not entirely American and, as is very well known, the same process occurred in other continents where the Spanish settled. The Spanish system and way of life persists today wherever Spaniards are found. Spaniards are equal whatever the colour of their skins in all continents. What a vital philosophy in contrast to the cold geometrical approach of those who would separate human beings and confine them to areas of land with purely geographical names!

15. It may seem surprising that I am dealing at such length with a topic that is apparently of no

practical importance and far removed from our present preoccupations. It may be thought that I am simply trying to calm an atmosphere that sometimes becomes overheated, but that is not so, anxious though I am that it should become calmer and more serene. Some may be surprised that I should quote humanitarian and liberal friars of the sixteenth century in a debate on immediate and urgent matters. But my delegation believes that the words and the states of mind of peoples are a decisive factor in maintaining peace and the dignity of men. Our basic moral attitudes are sound and, as Toynbee recognized, they are reflected in the way of life of the new peoples the Spanish have brought into being. If reference is made to possible lapses, this must be our ultimate justification.

16. Despite such possible collapse, there will remain, to quote the eloquent words used in the debate by a man of our race and language, the distinguished President of Uruguay, Mr. Haedo: "a handful of free men who would survive the fearful catastrophe and raise again the banners of liberty, independence, and justice, under which all material progress and the amazing advances of science have been achieved, for they are the watchwords of God." [875th meeting, para. 7] And there can be nothing more practical or pragmatic than these watchwords, the supreme guide of the peoples.

17. It would be idle to deny that the appearance of new peoples causes concern, and perhaps fear, to some. In every period of history men become accustomed to a particular political trend, and when time brings new developments, it is understandable that they should give rise to surprise and more than surprise. We had been accustomed to a fairly stable existence in the United Nations with an established distribution of votes, and now an unknown factor has appeared. But there is no cause for alarm, and I am confident that the spirit of the United Nations will be little changed.

18. We must have faith in the ability of mankind at large to act as the circumstances require; we must not cheat it, for the benefit of the entrenched minority, of its legitimate right of participation. To the Spanish people, whose civilization is essentially Christian, such lack of confidence in the potentialities of man is not Christian. For us, with this spiritual conviction, there are no masses; the multitudes are not a dark mass nor a crowd in the background of a picture, but the sum total of individuals. In improving the lot of these individuals, we believe that we shall be improving the political situation as a whole. The responsibility for this task cannot remain for ever in the same hands. As man, created by God, grows and rises ever higher, new and more complete projections of His will and His purposes are needed, and these will follow from the participation of the new actors on the stage of history in the most responsible activities.

19. The recently established countries will certainly be subject to the temptations of organized demagoguery in its present communist form. They will hear enticing speeches, full of violence, real oratorical intoxicants, designed to divert them from collaboration with the other free peoples of the world. Their good sense will show them the extreme self-interest of these proposals, as dangerous to them as they have been to others, and basically insulting to their natural ability and experience of life, they are capable of

resisting the sterile and deceptive blandishments of revolutionaries.

20. To address the former colonial peoples in this somewhat extravagant style is to treat them as infantile, which, thank God, they are not. Let not the tempters deceive themselves; if, at some stage in the process of emancipation, these peoples show weakness or seek the help of those who, in contrast to the Western countries, seem to be helping them, this is a mere accident, a slip by the way. In view of their moral integrity and of the helpful attitude of the former colonial Powers, they will, we are sure, come to occupy a position of freedom and respect for international law in keeping with their highest qualities.

21. World politics today are dominated by concern for material progress, which is also spiritual improvement, since it gives man the means of self-perfection. We have not always recognized this. The representative of Panama has said in this debate [876th meeting], in plain words of which we should take note, that poverty in these days is an injustice, and that the reasons traditionally given for its inevitability are no longer valid. This is a sound comment.

22. It is the duty of the more advanced and wealthier nations to assist the poorer ones and it is only fair to say that they are doing so to a very considerable degree. I certainly noticed, in the statistics cited before the Assembly [877th meeting] by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, that the Soviet countries are doing so much less than the others. The large loans granted by the United States, economically the most powerful nation in the world, and the help it gives to those in need, have shown the way and have helped to improve or rebuild the lives of other peoples after periods of crisis. When the time for polemics has passed, it will remain one of the fine and comforting signs of conscience in our day. I have already had the honour of telling the Assembly with what unconcerned frankness our delegation dares to praise the work of the powerful nations, not caring whether what it regards as a just tribute and enlightenment for the future may be considered by some to be adulation.

23. That sense of world responsibility on the part of those who, after all, attained their advanced economy and high standard of living through their own efforts, must spread throughout the international organizations and be one of their major concerns. Spain, midway in economic development between the present-day industrial countries and those that are relatively backward, has also experienced such assistance and is eager to express its gratitude. I myself cannot forget the \$62.5 million voted ten years ago, when I was Spanish Ambassador to the United States, by the Congress in Washington under the Mutual Security Programme to assist Spain in solving its economic problems. After that, further large sums were allocated to us, as also to other countries of the world, particularly the European countries. We found relief from our always troublesome economic problems and today we can present a distinctly satisfactory picture of progressive accomplishments. It is only right to express our gratitude for this and I recall with emotion the words of the eminent senators who voted at that time to authorize economic aid, which was then continued by the United States Government and Congress. It is our wish that the specific example to which I have referred, as also similar efforts which have been made on a

much larger scale in other countries, should be known to everyone and should promote further results of the same kind. These programmes of world economic assistance are obviously designed to promote peace and prevent subversion. That object does not detract from the gratitude of those who have received aid and have no reason to conceal that fact.

24. To those countries which have long been Members of the United Nations and to those recently admitted to membership, the world presents a spectacle that is very far from reassuring. To us, the world appears to be divided into two great blocs with different political objectives; at any moment, through any careless act, the conflict between them may erupt into a universal cataclysm of incalculable dimensions. How well Dr. Belaúnde, the former President of the General Assembly, expressed it when he spoke of the huge Swiss glaciers, where a vibration or the echo of a voice is enough to unleash an avalanche, and with it catastrophe!

25. That may happen. Let us not, with more dry logic than humanity, think that fear of such overwhelming evils may prevent the impassioned clash of war. Back in 1939—how well I remember it—the danger and the destructive capacity of the machinery of war were tremendous. The risk was apparent at that time and even if it was perhaps slow in making itself felt, the possibility was recognized from the very day that war broke out. In 1939, at the beginning of the war, we were protecting our buildings with simple sandbags and, armed with gas-masks, we who lived in the various threatened capitals went about in dread of the conclusion, essentially the same as that which we now anticipate, the possible total destruction of all that we personally care for. Yet the military preparations did not cease on that account, nor did the nations hold back from the final breaking-point of war. Why should the same thing not happen today, if a tremor in the glacier, an accident, can provoke cosmic catastrophe? No, we do not place complete confidence in the fear of peril, since mankind in its folly has overcome that fear many times.

26. Our delegation considers that nothing can do so much to prevent war as the strengthening, with full support and co-operation, of that one of the contending groups which is animated by a desire for peace; whose resistance, already put to the test, has so far prevented violence; and whose superiority will, we trust, be able to make violence impossible in the future as well. In saying this, we are thinking of the so-called Western group, which, spread over several continents, is armed, thank God, with all the necessary weapons of war to ensure respect and success for its designs for peace. My delegation considers it bad policy to vacillate between one group and the other, or to be remiss or hesitant in doing, each one of us, what we can to support the peace-loving group. It was once said: whosoever is not with me is against me. When we lack decisive strength of our own, the only way in which we can help to avert those dangers which may perhaps destroy the human race is to show full confidence in those who serve our cause and to assist them with the means at our command, whether they be bases—~~and~~ ^{or} bases, since we in Spain have honourable and satisfactory obligations in that respect ~~for any form of military preparations or other special measures that may be indicated.~~

27. In our view, simply to leave any doubt about our enthusiastic adherence to the great force defending world order and peace is harmful to the peaceful aims we pursue. For the very reason that we respect the intentions of the neutralist countries—we have many excellent friends among the countries that are so called—and appreciate the special situation in which many of them find themselves, and that they too may have the same peaceful aims as our country and our delegation—we say this with deliberate plainness, as one should in speaking to friends—we respond more readily to the appeal of the Powers who stand for good than to the appeal of the powerless neutralists.

28. The opposing group, that of the Soviet, today represents the only threat to world peace. At this very time, we have seen how, in the Congo (Leopoldville), that group has unleashed a campaign to discredit the world organization, the skilful work of the Secretariat and the combined and capable intervention of neutral armed forces. What is even more disturbing, we have witnessed the imperialistic sending of agents of the Soviet Powers to split the country and deliver it into the hands of the oppressors. The United Nations reacted well in its votes; in particular, the attitude of the African-Asian nations has been a lesson in judgement and responsibility, which fully justifies my optimism, as a Spaniard, in welcoming them here fraternally. But the danger of Soviet imperialism is not restricted to Africa; it is beginning in Europe itself. We Europeans may have sinned in the colonial past, but we are paying for it now in full measure with the Soviet colonization of Europe. There can be no clearer case of the infringement of the historical rights of a country than the occupation of East Germany, which divides one of the oldest and best defined nationalities on earth into two. And there are threats to Berlin; they have been made known here upon the highest authority. The fate of the Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, still cries out to the heavens. And what about Hungary? We cannot rise to speak in the United Nations without remembering, in the midst of so many earlier achievements, that grievous Hungarian misfortune, which we do not regard unmoved, even though normal caution and the fear of unleashing immeasurable evils may prevent the adoption of decisive measures.

29. The United Nations Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, former President of the General Assembly, has not yet succeeded in entering Hungary, which is occupied by Soviet troops. When we see him walking through these corridors and consider the obstacles to that journey, which is normally not unduly difficult, we cannot say that the European world has regained its freedom and its non-colonial status. We think, too, in face of the wave of Soviet violence, of the Tibetan affair. We have already mentioned the Congo.

30. Nevertheless, our view of the possibilities for peace is not pessimistic. We believe peace is possible, even with political forces so incapable of inspiring us with confidence as the Soviet world led by the USSR. We are speaking in a purely political sense and with the respect which we owe to all its representatives and institutions. The internal principles of the Soviet system, its organization and its history have never concerned us from the international point of view. As many speakers have urged, it should be one of the principles of United Nations procedure to refrain from

statements implying moral meddling, still less sharp criticism, and least of all any direct or indirect action with regard to the internal political systems of any nation. There we join hands with countries as different as Brazil and Yugoslavia, whose opinions on this point we support. It was with sincere emotion and intellectual assent that we listened to much of the eloquent and well-informed speech of the eminent Head of State of Indonesia [880th meeting]. Indeed, there is nothing more wearisome than dogmatic assertions concerning the systems which each country has adopted in accordance with its history and requirements, or definitions, by inclusion or exclusion, of such systems. Let us, like President Sukarno, reserve the right to political originality, without foolish acquiescence, which is sometimes purely superficial and intended to flatter. The Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed this point very ably at a private meeting of Members of Parliament in London this summer. Therefore, let the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the countries associated with it continue under a system which we disregard except to pay it all due international respect.

31. It is their proselytizing activities outside their borders, their eager intervention in the politics of other nations, their imperialist ambition and their lack of scruple in using violence far beyond their own borders and in imposing their power indirectly, through infiltration, that make us suspect their public action. It is that that leads us to unite with those who defend the Western cause and to mistrust the appeals of the neutralists, despite our great regard for them. Such appeals are more to be feared by the Western Powers, which are joined together voluntarily in a world of order and freedom and are not bound, as are those of the other group, by the rigid relationship of subjugation to a dominant country. If those who freely support the West weaken, the hour of peace will be delayed and its attainment and maintenance may be seriously endangered.

32. Nervous appeals for conciliation strengthen the aggressor countries and, by placing them on the same moral plane as others, add to their stature and influence. As people who do not belong to that exalted brotherhood, we find—and I say this with due respect for contrary opinions—this idea of relinquishing our duties and going as defenceless suppliants to the powerful countries, asking them to be good and condescending in return, somewhat humiliating. I am well aware that some of the most war-hardened and indomitable peoples on earth, whose heroism we have always respected, are following that path. But we think they are mistaken; we are not prepared to relinquish our rights and duties, to efface ourselves and to hand over life itself and its problems to gatherings of powerful countries. Nor do we think we can appeal to these overbearing conquerors with cries and lamentations. It would not seem fitting to us that Members of the United Nations, which have obligations with respect to all problems, should wash their hands of these problems or delegate them. Here no one can be neutral with respect to any problem; we must think, act and decide on all problems according to well-considered standards.

33. When we review our country's position, we find its attitude towards neutralism irreproachable, and we have no desire to change or modify it. For instance, we are a nation of Europe and sometimes European-

ism is spoken of as a distinct or special force within the Western defences against communism. What do we think of it? If Europeanism means a belief in the unity of our European civilization and a desire to strengthen its might in unity with that of other countries inspired by the desire for peace and freedom; if it means making more effective and coherent the will to resist of 250 million free Europeans, many of them at a high economic and, in particular, industrial level, with great traditions and stability in the service of political causes, sharing common frontiers, moreover, with the Bolshevik nations, then the strengthening of Europeanism seems to us reasonable and useful. We should not find Europeanism so attractive if it were merely used to provincialize the great civilized resistance, to give it local colour and to weaken Western unity, even with thought and concern.

34. An excessive emphasis on Europeanism may conceal the resurgence of local preferences of parts of the old continent, preferences based on a long history which has been both glorious and harsh. The co-operation of Europe and America, above all, and of other countries from different areas—as will undoubtedly be the case with the new countries—is too fortunate a circumstance to be jeopardized by such exercises. The world, threatened since 1945 with destruction as a free and civilized entity, has been saved by the unity of America and Europe. A common culture unites the two continents. The differences are slight, and the extent of agreement on objectives and similarity of outlook is almost unlimited. It is a fact, moreover, that the strength throughout these last fifteen years has resided, and still resides, particularly in the American continent and it has been used to contain aggression and to preserve the peace.

35. We Europeans are wont to cherish some pretension of greater diplomatic maturity and to ascribe to ourselves the wisdom of Nestor, born of time and experience. I doubt whether there is any truth in this. All nations are responsible for the violent events of the last five decades; no special American responsibility is apparent in them, nor has the experience of Europe helped to avert them. Let us Europeans, then, give up the illusion that we are better experts in international affairs and devote ourselves with all our hopes to this unity, which one day will be the unity of the whole world.

36. Nothing that we have said excludes the desire for peace and for agreement. On these points we feel as do all other delegations. Who can want anything else? Who can love violence for the sake of violence and reject the use of specific measures to prevent it? To recognize the enemy in a war, including a cold war, and to ascertain his intentions is the principle of wise strategy and, at the same time, the only basis on which peace, even a cold peace, can be established. We want a guaranteed and solid agreement, with adequate precautionary provisions to make it durable and effective. There is usually more bargaining and negotiating between nations which are competing and seeking the same objects, which do not like each other and have fought for a long time, than there is between close friends. Why then should we delude ourselves about others? Why should we misrepresent a bitter reality as a sentimental comedy? To speak of disarmament without control is to misrepresent the problem and to give free scope to preparations for violence on the part of countries which find it con-

venient to prevent the world observing their movements.

37. I have confidence in the result of this harsh procedure. I believe that, after many disillusion and under the confused pressure of universal discontent, the Soviet leaders, like others in history who were driven by similar impulses to threats and fury, will finally give up their aggressive intentions and will concentrate happily on their own national affairs and on improving the lot of their people, instead of thinking constantly of violence. Their authorized representatives are sitting with us today. We listen to them with all due respect, in the hope—for they are human, like the rest of us—that they will soften as a result of contact with others, when they discover better qualities than they had expected in the other peoples sitting with them in the General Assembly Hall.

38. This time the Soviet leaders came in quite a spectacular manner, looking rather like a naval expedition, in a ship filled with doctrinal theses and important men of their group, and they cast anchor on the democratic banks of the Hudson. As a Spaniard, with a strong sense of history, I could not help thinking—it was not the pleasantest of thoughts, but I have such faith in the history of my country that gloomy memories do not affright me—of the "Invincible Armada" which Philip II once sent on a warlike mission which I need not describe. I saw the Baltika as a great galleon in that fleet and, thinking of the Armada, I reflected how fate cheats such arrogant ventures of success. I hope this reminder will be some consolation to those who fail to take a foreign shore by storm. Such misadventures can be followed by useful lives and valuable reconciliations. Perhaps—and I say this with all respect and consideration—God will touch the hearts of the aggressors against mankind.

39. From time to time unexpected signs appear. They are probably irrational—"There are more things in Heaven and earth, Horatio . . .", as Shakespeare said—but who knows whether those signs may not have some meaning which is beyond our powers of observation? I say this because, in yesterday morning's debate, I heard with emotion some beautiful words on sowing the seeds of peace: "The young shoots", it was said, "may encounter drought, storms and hurricanes. And it may even happen that some of these seeds will simply fall on stony ground." [882nd meeting, para. 61] And the speaker added that some of the seeds would grow and develop into the tree of life. But, I thought to myself, is this not the parable of the sower in the Christian Gospel, a little changed, of course—to make it more optimistic, but on the same lines and even in the very words of the sacred text?

40. I turned at once to the Gospel according to St. Luke and in chapter 8, verses 6 to 8, I found the following, in the parable of the sower: "And some [of the seed] fell upon a rock; and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it. And other fell on good ground" and these are the seeds which will grow and flourish and develop into the tree of life. Then the Evangelist explained that the good ground was those who, having heard the word of God, kept it and brought forth fruit with patience.

41. I was impressed by the similarity of ideas and I must say that this quotation from the Gospel, intro-

duced into our debate for a solemn purpose, was not in the speech of a representative whose religious beliefs or practices would have led one to expect such a quotation. It was, and it appears in the records, in the speech made by the Chairman of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

42. It seemed, I thought, as if a Christian sub-conscious—not surprising, considering the religious tradition of his country, Holy Russia—had led him to seek inspiration in the Gospel, though he did not mention the source. I have given the text and the chapter and verse. It is a paradox that this is the only quotation from the Gospel which I have heard in the debate. Only one representative, speaking my own language—although much more eloquently and at far greater length—began a quotation of the same kind but he quickly cut it short. It was the Soviet delegation which quoted the Gospel. Let us therefore seize on this good sign. It is certainly very different from other anti-religious declarations which have sometimes come from the same source, but which, we like to believe, considering the great authentic heritage of centuries of Christianity, are only the last vestiges of the Voltairian attitude which is so typical of bourgeois civilization, which the Soviet leaders themselves have not yet been able to shake off.

43. No organization is as well placed to produce these happy results as the United Nations, with its very special position—due largely to its most discerning Secretary-General—whom we warmly admire and sincerely support. The United Nations oscillates between authority and advice on the one hand—and, on the other, the vision of the abyss into which we shall fall if we do not make use of this mechanism, which is often unique and irreplaceable. Our delegation has complete faith in the United Nations. It is a body made for lofty tasks, scrupulously respecting the sovereignty of its Members, as established by the Charter, and not an instrument to be used in settling petty quarrels, which are beneath it. When we speak of armament and disarmament, let us not be discouraged by the weakness of those who are not armed and who can make little direct contribution to the task. Enthusiasm, resolution and the spirit of sacrifice for a cause are also useful weapons.

44. The Soviet hurricane we are experiencing these days, and to which I referred earlier, is like those which are now baptized with proper names and it might well be given one. It is trying to sweep away the United Nations, under the pretext of eliminating its Secretary-General. Until this imperialist storm dies down, as I hope it will, in a return to Christianity, perhaps already foreshadowed, the United Nations must inevitably be an organ standing for the respect and protection of law. The emancipated peoples owe so much to the Secretary-General that he must of necessity be the target for any attack by those who at present stand for violence. As the Assembly has shown several times by its warm applause, it is our duty to support and sustain our Secretary-General in this struggle, in which there can be no compromise solution, and not to go into more or less technical questions of organization, which are only a cover for very definite and dangerous purposes.

45. In this survey of the situation I should like to say how much we are reassured by the position of those who, like the President of the United States, now have at their disposal the greatest strength, fortunately on

the side of justice. In this hall we have heard President Eisenhower's speech [868th meeting] containing straightforward and impressive offers of peace, of the abandonment of nuclear weapons and of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes alone. For all these he offered firm, unquestionable international guarantees, which could be supervised by all and in the application of which the United Nations would play an important part. The President offered to begin the task of financing the new Africa and to help the United Nations forces to maintain the freedom of the African peoples. In another region, that of outer space, we may say that he has literally renounced national sovereignty, warlike activity and the means of destruction, and has invited international co-operation in using it for meteorological purposes and for communications. The President plainly proposed an agreement for complete disarmament. He proposed that the scientists of the nuclear Powers should stop producing nuclear weapons and should dispose of their stocks of fissionable materials, which his country is prepared to transfer to an international stockpile. The President also asked, in the clearest terms, for effective and reciprocal international inspection. Secrecy, he said, is not only an anachronism—it is downright dangerous. President Eisenhower does not call for a super-State—but for a community. What more can we say, if we have nothing but our fervent approval and our good wishes to offer? Let us give them sincerely, and let us hope that grace will move all of us to co-operate for the common purpose, for which the peoples long so eagerly. Let there be no more hasty meetings, which imply a certain injustice and coercion towards those who now defend the cause of order.

46. These words of the President of the United States and their full endorsement in the speech by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom [877th meeting] have so far been the most encouraging incidents in the fifteenth session of the General Assembly and allow us to face its future with optimism.

47. We Spaniards have greeted the new countries of the United Nations with high hopes, as indeed—and I say this with no false modesty—our history entitles us to do. May they begin their work by joining in this enterprise and may they be united in the common effort for improvement. As I said before, we are living in an age which is alive to the need to struggle against human poverty, backwardness and degradation. This public concern represents one of the advances of our age. Let us all join in this noble struggle, even those of us whose means are more limited. Let us do what has to be done and make whatever sacrifices may be necessary. The new countries can be given economic and cultural aid. As several speakers, including the President of the United States, have said here, the essential instrument for the life of a State is a trained civil service. Spain can provide this by means of its School of Administrative Experts and Civil Service Training, through the United Nations Programmes of Technical Co-operation, and we have the advantage in regard to Africa, of knowing the continent and having some affinities with the African temperament.

48. We think that the question of technical assistance, with which many delegations have dealt here, is of particular importance. Economic aid would be of little use if it did not, at the same time, go to the root cause of this state of under-development from which the world still suffers—namely, the lack of adminis-

trative and executive officers properly trained to promote economic and social progress.

49. Spain is not rich in material resources, but it has a glorious tradition of education which it is happy to offer to all peoples, especially to its brothers in Spanish America and the Arab world, to whom it feels bound by the closest ties. Spain is ready to co-operate actively in the United Nations Programmes of Technical Co-operation.

50. Let us co-operate in every way, to show our gratitude for the help we are receiving, both from the powerful nation which is responsible for this action—Spain had occasion to draw attention to it in the Economic and Social Council—and from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I mention this as a specific example, since this body, in co-operation with the International Monetary Fund and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, is helping with the process of stabilization which is being carried out so successfully in Spain. Among so many generalizations, you must forgive me if I cite a specific example, which is very important for my country.

51. I have spoken in generalizations, but man lives by generalizations. In this very hall we are affected by currents of thought and doctrine, by principles and philosophies. We are not afraid—through any false concern with immediate results and dry utilitarianism—to pass beyond these things to whatever lies beyond and above immediate experience and governs the development of national life, leading nations to obey the dictates of justice and to avoid aberrations, which, as history shows us, are always punished. On the contrary, let us boldly take the higher way in this great experiment, carried on through so many practical, executive bodies but inspired primarily by idealism, which is the United Nations.

52. Mr. NASH, Prime Minister of New Zealand: I welcome this opportunity to offer to the President the warmest congratulations of the New Zealand delegation on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. The honour paid to him is also an honour to that great country, Ireland, from whose shores have come millions of people of Irish descent now living in so many countries of the world. I can assure him that many thousands of people of Irish descent in New Zealand learnt of his election with considerable gratification. To preside over this session is a challenging and demanding task. I know the distinguished part the President has played in the United Nations. I know, too, the outstanding personal qualities he brings to his high office. His responsibilities at this time are not easy to discharge, but I am sure that the Assembly will be more than satisfied and more than justified in the choice of him as its President.

53. The leaders of many nations have gathered here at a crucial moment in the history of the United Nations. Upon their decisions the future course of international organization may depend. I have come as the leader of the Government of a small nation dedicated to the purposes and principles upon which the United Nations was founded. The Government of New Zealand looks upon this Organization as the principal force for peace in the world today. They regard it as the mainstay of the freedom and independence of all its smaller and less powerful Members. I have

come to reaffirm in this Assembly our confidence and faith in the United Nations.

54. New Zealand refuses to contemplate the failure of the united efforts of the majority of Members of this Organization to reverse the present disturbing trend in international relations. My delegation pledges itself to work towards this reversal.

55. The events of recent months can leave no room to doubt the gravity of the situation with which this session of the General Assembly must grapple. The tensions which have for so long frustrated efforts to build a secure and lasting peace have revived; and most unhappily they have spread to blight the vigorous growth of independence in Africa. New difficulties and new dangers have arisen with bewildering suddenness.

56. Despite the limitations and defects arising from its unrevised state, the United Nations Charter does provide a framework within which the broad range of human activities can be directed towards the well-being of the international community as a whole. As the experience of its early, uncertain years has plainly shown, the United Nations is essentially flexible. It is responsive to the varying needs and circumstances of a changing world. It has begun in recent months to realize its fullest potentialities; and any attempts at this stage to undermine the foundations on which the structure of this international Organization is built seem surprisingly ill-timed and dangerous.

57. During the year, events of critical importance have followed one another in rapid succession. Yet I believe that, from the perspective of the future, 1960 will be best remembered as the year of African independence. The admission of fifteen African States at this session, and the prospect of additions to that number, bear striking testimony to Africa's political awakening. I extend the good wishes and congratulations of the Government and people of New Zealand to these new African Members. I welcome, too, the admission of Cyprus, whose presence here attests the statesmanship of the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey and the Cypriot people themselves.

58. In a few days we shall be admitting yet another independent African State, Nigeria, within whose boundaries lives one-sixth of the population of the entire African continent. We welcome the great Federation as a Member of this Organization and also as a member of that Commonwealth to which New Zealand has the honour to belong. I am sure that Nigeria's presence here, and its contribution to our deliberations, will provide further testimony to the wisdom and effectiveness of the policies followed by the United Kingdom in leading the former colonial territories to stable and untrammelled statehood.

59. To all the newly admitted Member nations may I add that we in New Zealand will be very willing to share with them the experience which we may have had as a young nation and, to the extent we can, we shall be glad to offer practical help in dealing with problems which confront them.

60. I cannot help contrasting the circumstances of 1945 with those of today. When my country took part in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, we were concerned to build a secure and independent Organization. We little expected then the deep and bitter differences which have since divided the great Powers; but we did

build an Organization which has proved, through all the stresses of the intervening years, strong enough to maintain, and progress towards, its objectives. The presence of our new Members is, in a very real sense, the vindication of the trust we placed in the United Nations and our loyalty to its Charter.

61. The countries newly admitted to membership are the inheritors of all that was begun in San Francisco. Their march to nationhood has been encouraged by the principles of the United Nations Charter and by the growing power of this Organization to aid their development. Yet, at the very time they take their seats among us, they are exposed to suggestions and proposals that the United Nations should trim its sails and compromise with the renewed pressure of power politics. In all that I shall have to say on this question, I shall bear in mind the position of the newer Members, who are confronted by so strange a paradox.

62. If I may be permitted to strike a personal note, I should like to quote from a book—New Zealand, a Working Democracy—which I wrote here in the United States nearly twenty years ago to explain my country's views to the people at that time. My quotation is from the ninth chapter, "Why we fight". There is a new imperialism arising in a slightly different form—a little bit new, and different from the imperialism of old. But the end of imperialism is what I dreamed of and sought and worked for and fought for all my life. I quote from the book:

"If we are honestly determined to banish once and for all the imperialist idea and all it means, we must rid ourselves of the prejudices in which it has such fertile roots. We must rid ourselves of the idea that there exists or can exist an inherently superior person, superior nation or superior race. The principle must be recognized that no group of nations should be allowed to exercise political or economic domination over others."^{1/}

You will appreciate, then, how heartened I feel to see sitting in this Assembly the representatives of so many newly independent States. Their presence here, symbolizing the independence of their countries, is a source of deep personal satisfaction.

63. It is clear confirmation of my belief that there are no inherently superior persons. There are different persons—but inherently superior, no. It is a denial of all that is good that was ever taught in this universe to think that there is at any time a body of men, a body of women, always better than other people. For too long, racial differences have tended to divide peoples and nations—to divide them on issues which are the common concern of all peoples. I firmly believe that the moral force of these new nations will help us better to banish completely the spectre of racial discrimination throughout the world and to achieve the full brotherhood of man.

64. I have come to this Assembly because I believe that there are dangers in the present state of international tension which, if continued, may nullify all that has been gained. In recent weeks we have seen the cold war introduced into the African continent; we have seen the authority of the United Nations itself challenged and the integrity of the Secretary-General, who has done so much to advance the peaceful evo-

^{1/} W. Nash: New Zealand, a Working Democracy (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943), p. 207.

lution of all peoples, attacked in the torrent of cold war propaganda.

65. This is not only distressing; it is highly dangerous for the small nations of the world. I would not ask the newly independent States to align themselves with any Power bloc. There is much that is hopeful in the concept of neutralism expressed by African leaders like Dr. Nkrumah, and Asian leaders like that amazing statesman, Mr. Nehru. The world community should assist new States materially and should see that they are allowed to develop their own personality. That is what the United Nations is trying to do in the Congo (Leopoldville).

66. We must all regret the tragic events in that unhappy country. We must, however, learn from these events and from the problems they have posed for the United Nations. We ought to resolve to keep other areas which are to become independent, or which have just become independent, free from the major international conflict. And I say to these new countries that the United Nations must be strengthened by the co-operation of all, and not weakened by the self-interest of some.

67. I know the contribution that the new nations of Africa can make in their own right to the objectives of the United Nations. It is unique. They come with a new freedom into an organization of nations dedicated to fostering that freedom which could enable them to build anew their own personality with a new vision, a new potential as great and glorious, if not greater, than any previously conceived by man. This may even lead them in the future to express some ideas contrary to mine. But that does not dismay me in any way, so long as we all have the heart to appreciate the liberties and the personality of one another while expressing and defending our own.

68. We must all, and especially the small Powers, co-operate to strengthen the international Organization which we already have. Human organizations are never perfect but they can be magnificent when every member has the will to make them work.

69. May I refer again to what I wrote at the same time as I previously referred to, about the United Nations when it came into being. I said,

"The principles of the world charter drawn up on the Atlantic Ocean and to which all United Nations have signified their adherence can be worked out and put into practice only if we work them out together. We either stand together in this world, all nations, all classes, all creeds, all races, or we fall to the machination of those with power philosophies."^{2/}

70. As the United Nations approaches universality of membership, new problems, new difficulties will inevitably be encountered. If it is to keep pace with events, the United Nations will require flexibility and vitality. But there is no reason to doubt that these qualities are present. In the fifteen years of its existence, the United Nations has displayed those qualities that I mentioned in remarkable degree. The United Nations should be the shield and defender of the independence which it has helped to create. In Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa, the majority of United Nations Members have supported prompt and vigorous action where inactivity, or ineffective action, might

have led to conflict on a global scale. Recently the Security Council seemed to come to new life. Its unanimous agreement to send a United Nations force to the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) provided an impressive illustration of how the Council was meant to function and how it could continue to work if it received the backing of all its Members.

71. May I refer again to the role of the principal office holder of our Organization, the Secretary-General. In bringing to bear the full weight and authority which the Charter accords to his office, Mr. Hammarskjöld has made a signal contribution to the work of the United Nations. His ability, his integrity—and I speak from close knowledge—and his single-minded devotion to the United Nations mark him as a great and distinguished servant not only of this Organization, but for the unity of the world in which we all live. My Government expresses to him personally its profound respect and gratitude, and to his office, that of Secretary-General, its permanent support.

72. It is disquieting that an attack should be directed against the Secretary-General, in whom the vast majority of the Assembly has placed its fullest trust and confidence. It is even more disquieting to have an alternative proposal put before the Assembly to replace unity by crippling division, decision by indecision, trust by suspicion and uncertainty. It must be clear to those who study the meaning of the Charter and who place their faith in the success of its principles, that the acceptance of the proposal to which I refer could foreshadow the failure of this Organization as the defender of international peace and security.

73. It is true, of course, that dissension amongst the great Powers has hindered the United Nations; but this dissension has not been allowed to invade the Secretariat. On the contrary, the Charter and the practice of the United Nations have placed great emphasis on the exclusive duty owed to the Organization by all members of its staff.

74. If some of the proposals and suggestions now being made were adopted, that could no longer be the case. The Secretary-General, and the Secretariat, instead of taking their instructions from United Nations organs, such as the Security Council, would instead reflect the factions represented in its directorate; and the Secretariat would not then be able to fulfil the role assigned to it in the Charter.

75. The directorate itself would, in effect, become a powerful committee to supplant the established organs of the United Nations except the General Assembly itself. The consequent stultification of the activities of the Organization would be the gravest threat to its role as an independent force in world affairs; and the smaller countries would be the greatest losers.

76. What I also find particularly striking about this proposal is that it is not really new. It appears to be a revised edition of what the delegation of the USSR—and the other great Powers at that time too—pressed at San Francisco fifteen years ago. New Zealand was on that occasion one of the principal opponents of the plan put forward by the sponsoring Powers to write into the Charter a provision for deputies—as they were then proposing—of status virtually equal with that of the Secretary-General. This plan was to secure to the great Powers—as would be done if the Charter was altered

^{2/} Ibid., p. 294.

today in the way proposed—the political control of the senior positions in the Organization.

77. The New Zealand and other like-minded delegations argued that the effect of such a provision would be to contradict in actual fact the international character of the Secretariat. The deputies, who were to be elected for short terms, like the Secretary-General himself—they mentioned three years, it is five now—could hardly be expected to work under him as a team. If somebody else was appointing them for three years, and if they were representative of groups and not of the whole of the people that are in the United Nations, they would have been a sort of diplomatic corps within the Secretariat and would have felt that their careers lay much more for future periods with their own Governments or the group to which their Government belonged. This did not seem to be the right way to secure an efficient Secretariat of people with an international loyalty. The principle of objective international allegiance should guide the Secretary-General and the Secretariat. Indeed, if the idea of an international and impartial Secretariat were abandoned, I doubt if the best staff could possibly remain.

78. It seems to me that any possible difficulty arises from the lack of precise, well thought-out directions from the Security Council itself. That is the proper body to control the Secretary-General's actions, not a political directorate inside the Secretariat, and certainly not a committee instead of a Secretary-General, involving as it would a revision of the Charter.

[The speaker read Article 100 of the Charter.]

79. How could they be neutral? How could they have the dedication which is so essential to the purpose of the United Nations if they were elected by differing groups, and the Secretary-General elected by the Security Council, and this Assembly partly subject to them? It is an absurd proposal and not to be put forward by any right-thinking nation—or by persons with any integrity—that ought to be pledged and dedicated to this Organization.

80. Each of us is pledged to support the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and of the Secretariat. Article 100 of the Charter, which deals with the impartiality of the Secretary-General and his staff and their international obligations and responsibilities, is as much a part of the Charter as Article 27, which embodies the veto. Article 100 and its principles must not be brushed aside or qualified, nor should those of us who resist its violation be accused of intensifying the cold war.

81. We could spend much time, with little profit, on discussing the imperfections of the Charter. I myself do not consider that the deficiencies of the Organization itself should be explained away in this fashion. Such defects and deficiencies seem rather to be due—as was the case in the old League of Nations—to the failure of the Members of the Organization to accept their obligations and responsibilities.

82. The recent tragic events in the newborn Republic of the Congo have shown only too clearly what is bound to occur if Members ignore this Organization in pursuit of their own selfish national interests, to the detriment of the international community.

83. To small countries which, like New Zealand, depend upon the United Nations as the guardian of their

freedom, it is a matter for profound concern that, among those Powers which the Charter entrusts with particular responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security, any great and powerful State should seek to wrest a narrow political advantage from the turmoil in that unhappy country, the Republic of the Congo.

84. Nevertheless, the staunch support of the great majority for the United Nations and for the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat bears impressive witness to the vitality of the Organization. My Government joins in expressing profound appreciation of the action of many Members from Africa and other regions in providing the forces and material assistance to give substance to the Security Council's decisions. The part played by the Secretariat in organizing an operation on so vast a scale commands our respect and admiration. For its part, my Government recognizes and accepts its obligation to contribute, with other Members, to the support of the action of this Organization to restore peaceful conditions and improved living standards within the Republic of the Congo and to prevent the extension of conflict to a wider sphere.

85. There is one thought worse than any other in its possible effect upon this body and the world, and that is the thought that those men in the Congo—troops and otherwise—are under anyone's command but that of the United Nations. To suggest that any country that sent its nationals to do the will of the United Nations should have the power to tell its nationals what to do is complete anathema. As far as the United Nations purpose is concerned, they are in the United Nations service when they go there—volunteers as they are or part of a nation's forces. When they go from their own nation to the Congo, it is to serve the United Nations, not the will of the nation that sent them, but that of the United Nations. The only man who can give the instructions from the centre is the Secretary-General or his officers to whom he has delegated the power.

86. There has been an appeal sent out from the General Assembly, by its resolution of 20 September 1960 [1474 (ES-IV)], to all the Governments. I wonder whether our contribution is so small that it does not much matter; but, immediately the need was known, New Zealand—a country of 2.37 million people—decided that it would send £100,000 at once as a contribution towards the United Nations Fund for the Congo. Others can send millions, but there is just as much goodwill, power and determination behind that £100,000 as there is behind £100 million from any other source. We believe in the United Nations, and our people will do all that we can to help. The need is urgent, and it is my Government's intention to do something at once.

87. My country is privileged to belong to the Commonwealth as well as to the United Nations. We do not have divided loyalties; it would be wrong for anyone to get that idea. Our loyalty internationally is here, to the United Nations, but we have a love for the Commonwealth to which we belong. The countries of that Commonwealth, as the Prime Minister of Canada mentioned in his speech to the Assembly [871st meeting] last week, have also launched their own programme to assist the development of African countries within the Commonwealth, and this is quite apart from the appeal

in connexion with the Congo. The New Zealand Government will also play its part in this special assistance plan by providing help to the emerging African Commonwealth countries up to a maximum of £100,000 annually. Despite its geographical remoteness, New Zealand shares, in a very real and practical way, in the sense of achievement and fulfilment in the newly independent States of Africa.

88. It would at this point be relevant for me to comment that in the Pacific, in the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, for whose administration New Zealand is responsible, the stage is now set for the Samoan people to assume full sovereignty within the international community. Less than a year ago, Western Samoa embarked upon the final stage of its political development. With the introduction of cabinet government—by arrangement with the New Zealand Government, anticipating the attainment of full independence, the premiership of Western Samoa was assumed by the Hon. Fiamé Mata'afa, a great Samoan who will himself shortly be attending this session of the Assembly—Western Samoa became fully self-governing. At the end of 1961, a little more than twelve months from now, if the General Assembly decides that the Trust Territory is ready to assume this status, Western Samoa will become the first completely independent Polynesian State.

89. Successive New Zealand Governments have freely acknowledged their responsibilities to the Samoan people and to the United Nations, and they have welcomed the constructive advice and assistance which this Organization has offered. Western Samoa, a small State, now stands at the threshold of independence; and in the months remaining before New Zealand's trust is formally discharged, my Government does not doubt that it will benefit from the continued co-operation of the Assembly.

90. During the course of the present session, my delegation will propose that the Assembly take certain decisions which will enable Western Samoa to effect an orderly transition from self-government to full sovereign independence. It will propose that the Assembly provide for a plebiscite to be held in Western Samoa, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the report of the 1959 Visiting Mission^{3/} sent there by the Trusteeship Council, to ascertain whether the people of the Trust Territory wish their country to take this decisive step. My delegation will explain that New Zealand, in response to the frequently expressed wishes of the Samoan leaders, is prepared to afford substantial and continuing assistance to Western Samoa to enable it to establish itself in the early years of independence as a well-administered and self-reliant State. We have decided to set aside, for them to spend, £80,000 of New Zealand funds every year for the expansion and extension of their education system.

91. I wish, at this point, to make it unmistakably clear that the assistance which New Zealand is ready to give, both internally and in international affairs, to Western Samoa will be provided with the fullest regard for Western Samoa's independent status. After independence has been achieved—and I refer to its complete independence, before any agreement is made—all subsequent relations between New Zealand and

Western Samoa will be conducted as between equal, sovereign States. There are no conditions associated with the transfer of government.

92. The bonds which link Western Samoa and New Zealand—bonds of friendship, understanding and affinity between our Maori citizens and other Polynesian peoples—are stronger and more abiding than any formal agreements can ever be. These bonds will remain after independence; but they will be enriched and strengthened by a new and free association, established in mutual trust and confirmed by mutual respect and affection.

93. Political independence is a decisive step, the immediate goal of national aspirations; but much more must follow if the genius of nations is to have full and free expression. Other human needs must be satisfied. Hunger and poverty must be abolished. There is a universal obligation to ensure this everywhere. May I reaffirm the phrase which was used at the Twenty-sixth International Labour Organisation Conference at Philadelphia in 1944, over which I was privileged to preside—"Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." There is nothing more true. Prosperity in the long run cannot continue if outside its fence or over the wall there are people hungry, ill-clothed, and without homes in which to live.

94. Speakers before me representing countries holding surplus foodstocks have suggested that the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations might help them by distributing their surpluses to hungry people. So long as these surpluses exist, and in the spirit of FAO's established principles for their disposals, we hope that effective ways will be found to put surplus food to use. While fear, hunger and poverty are part of the daily lives of the majority of mankind—1,500 million, out of 2,700 million—freedom becomes, whilst there is hunger and fear of poverty, a term of hollow meaning; and a secure and peaceful world remains a distant prospect, when hunger is always there. They go to bed hungry; they get up hungry; they are hungry all their lives. But it is not that alone. Economic and social progress is the urgent and continuing concern of the United Nations, and especially the raising of the productive capacity of the under-developed countries themselves.

95. The evidence of the latest statistics is that 1,500 million people are continuously short of food. They die early because they do not have enough food to eat. But it has nothing to do with war. It has always been like that for centuries and more—and it is continuing. It is gradually being ameliorated; but still they are hungry.

96. Economic and social progress is not, as it is too often regarded, a separate and a secondary activity; the improvement of living standards is in fact the foundation of all United Nations action to establish an enduring peace. I could give many examples of circumstances from my own knowledge. In recent years the World Health Organization has come close to the eradication of malaria. That means—so I am advised, and I think correctly—that there are 2 million people now alive who would have died had there not been this malaria eradication campaign. That extends the problem; keeping people alive increases the quantity of food that is required. But there are other projects besides the malaria eradication project in which the World Health Organization is extending the period of

^{3/} See Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-Fourth Session, Supplement No. 2.

life through health campaigns. But that, again, extends the problem of feeding the people thus kept alive.

97. In some countries there is an expectation of life of seventy years; in others, thirty years only. It is not possible—if my vision is right—to have a 70:30 standard for all time without war or conflict. That is one of the objectives that we have got to achieve, if we are to stop the possibility of war.

98. Among the most notable achievements of the United Nations has been the fact that its work in the economic and social field has this year been applied, with great effectiveness, in a period of crisis and conflict. For the first time, on so impressive a scale, the resources of the whole family of United Nations agencies have been brought to bear in support of the Organization's political decisions. This development is, I believe, of the utmost significance for the future. It graphically illustrates the essential unity of all United Nations activities. It points the way towards the realization of the full potential of this Organization.

99. But if the resources of the United Nations are strained to the limit to meet a single emergency situation, they are utterly inadequate when applied to the problem of under-developed countries and under-development as a whole. Although year by year the sum of available resources slowly increases, not even the most sanguine among us would claim that more than a fraction of urgent needs can, at this rate, be met. In our country the average consumption of calories, so I am told by our statistical department, is 3,450. In many of the countries to which I am referring now, it is 1,200 to 1,600—less than half as much. Maybe I would be healthier if I had something in between. But there is something wrong with 3,450 against 1,200 to 1,600. It is common ground, though, that only when progress is made towards disarmament will adequate resources become available to grapple effectively with the problems of health, of food, clothing and other forms of social and economic development.

100. So I propose to say a word or two about disarmament. The world expenditure on armaments goes up astronomically year by year. Less than two years ago the annual sum spent was \$100,000 million. It takes a long time to write all the noughts down but they mean much more than nought; they mean that \$100,000 million is being spent on armaments. In those days, too, there were 16,000,000 men and women out on active duty. Their equipment and reserves were becoming increasingly elaborate. In addition to the 16,000,000 there are many more—I do not know whether it is tens of millions, or not—men and women employed in the manufacture and various sciences associated with armaments production: equipment, guns, fighting ships, fighting planes. They are engaged in the production of these things and they have to be paid, in addition to the sums that I have mentioned. This expense amounted to more than 8 per cent of the total gross national product of every country that returns statistics—£8 in value, out of every £100 worth of goods and services created, is spent in preparing for war, which we all want to avoid. I believe the costs today are even greater than that percentage.

101. What a price for fears and tensions, and that is all we are getting out of it just now! What a loss to economic and social progress! What a disastrous diversion of funds and resources! If only these could be reclaimed for building the economies of the under-

developed nations and enriching the lives of hundreds of millions now in poverty. If the millions of men in the industrialized countries, with their trained minds and trained skills—if the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands who, I believe, have been trained in the Soviet Union, could have their amazing skill put to work by the arrangement of a disarmament treaty, if all the facilities that exist in this great country of the United States and in all the European countries could be similarly put to work, if those who are working with the metals and the wood and the chemicals and everything else associated with war, could be transferred to making other things out of similar raw materials to raise the living standards in other countries where people are dying because they do not get enough to eat, where they live in sub-standard conditions and die early because of them, if we could only find the way—and we could if we would, but not if we are going to argue with one another and try to undermine one another as has been done at this session of the Assembly. As I said, if all those millions of men in the industrialized countries could put their trained minds and technical skills, and their talents and physical efforts to better use, what a miraculous change would be wrought for mankind.

102. Some people have said that the age of miracles is past, but within a decade of our achieving what I have just suggested, we should be in the age of miracles again. If progress is to be made, we shall have to take a risk, not only in the fight against disease but in the battle for survival itself. To my mind, disarmament is the major problem today. We in the smaller countries have watched with feelings of increasing despair the utter failure of contending opinions and protracted negotiations leading nowhere but to a breakdown in the discussions among the bigger Powers. I do suggest that we should remind ourselves that we are all representatives of ordinary people, who are quite capable of solving some problems in their own minds on the basis of common sense. All that is needed is the will. I believe the genius is there, in the minds of the people in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, with the genius of the scientists and the technical experts behind them; the genius is there, it is the will which is wanting, and it is the Governments which will have to furnish the will.

103. I do suggest that we remind ourselves what we are doing. We represent the ordinary people, and as I have said they are quite capable of solving problems in their own minds on the basis of common sense; they have become very impatient with endless arguments and the needless assumption of divinity by the planners and negotiators. It is not merely the mounting threat of nuclear destruction that appals people; it is also the monstrous waste of capital and technical effort which could be put to use for the social and economic betterment of mankind.

104. What brand of civilization is ours which behaves in this fashion? To what depths of human stupidity are we to sink in this steady decline towards self-destruction—because if we do not get somewhere in the disarmament negotiations, that is the next alternative. It will not be the destruction of somebody else, it will be self-destruction all around. I do not know what representatives we can send to do the job, but surely in a world congress such as this some agreement can be reached to achieve the end that all leaders here present sincerely desire complete disarmament.

105. May I interpolate here and say that after individual personal contact with each one of the four members of the Summit Conference that was to have been held in Paris in May 1960, I do not believe that there is anything any one of them desires more than disarmament. It seems so strange when the frustrating factors appear. Whether it is the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the French Republic, or the United Kingdom, I believe the leaders of those countries want disarmament. I shall refer a little later to some of the suggestions that have been made, but they want complete disarmament. It is not, of course, as simple an issue as that bald statement would indicate; the subject is vast, it is complex, it is difficult. Fear and lack of confidence, and a lack of will, are the ingredients of the situation. Here in the audience I can see people who have spent twenty, thirty or forty years striving to find others who would agree with their way of doing it, but I do not think the situation is hopeless although I have seen a great deal of it; I have seen statesmen broken in health and broken in mind because they could not find the way to agreement.

106. But it is not a question of prestige or of power; what is at stake above all else is the improved material conditions we have striven to build up for our people. It will be remembered that I mentioned the 1,500 million people who are always hungry; they live a shortened period of life because of what we are doing, because we have not got order in the world. They could live a longer life if we could make the transfer I have suggested; make it with safety if you like, but perhaps we should also take a little risk here and there. If we could get the material, the brains, the wisdom, and all the things associated with that \$100,000 million I mentioned, all the technical skill of all those men and women, we should be on the road. It is improved material conditions that are at stake; it is the prospect of being able to spread the better conditions of life of modern civilization everywhere. Above all, it is the lives of our fellow citizens; if we do not get all these people to work in the way that I know that they could get to work, there will not be any of us left. We shall all go on the long journey and we shall need a lot of faith in the Christian outlook, since we shall all go somewhere much earlier than we think.

107. I deplore the suspicion and the fear that pervade certain areas of the world. It is everywhere, in the Soviet Union and in other countries too, and there is nothing surer than this, that if we do not decide to live together we shall die together. We all know it; why then do we not arrest the decline, why can we not agree here and now to make another effort to achieve disarmament and, first of all, agree to negotiate? Although some may be tempted to despair, to despair of human kind, to despair of the goodness that can come through human beings, to say this cannot be done is the arch-crime.

108. I cannot help contrasting the atmosphere of today with that of this period last year. I spoke here in 1959, and I read other speeches that were made as we were going away from here to a new conference with new personnel, with all the Members of the United Nations constituting the Disarmament Commission, but with ten of them who had been chosen to work things out in a Committee. But something stopped the whole arrangement from working properly.

109. At its fourteenth session the General Assembly looked forward to substantial progress in the field

of disarmament and to the early conclusion of an agreement to end nuclear weapons tests. Neither hope has been completely fulfilled, but despite the collapse of the disarmament negotiations, the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests has remained in session and in the meantime the three negotiating Powers have prolonged their voluntary suspension of tests. My Government expresses its earnest hope that this voluntary action will in the near future be confirmed in an international agreement to which all States will accede.

110. During its fourteenth session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution [1378 (XIV)] proclaiming that general and complete disarmament was the most important question facing the world. That session adjourned with renewed hope for progress in this field. It did so with good reason. In the first place, the improved atmosphere of international relations had made possible a resumption of negotiations after two years of inactivity; and agreement had been reached, before the Assembly met, on the composition of the negotiating body. Secondly, two new proposals for comprehensive disarmament had been submitted, one by the United Kingdom [A/C.1/820], the other by the Soviet Union [A/4219]. Though there were many important differences, there were also important areas of agreement which, it was hoped, could be enlarged during the course of negotiations.

111. On behalf of New Zealand, I welcomed these proposals in this hall [819th meeting]. I welcomed particularly the reaffirmation they offered of total disarmament as the goal of our endeavours. With many others, I questioned whether general and complete disarmament could be achieved within the short span of four years suggested in the Soviet proposals; but I was hopeful that real and measurable progress could be made. The important thing was to get as far as possible within those four years.

112. I need not review what has happened since that time. It has already been thoroughly traversed. I shall say only that I do not support imputations of lack of good faith on the part of the Western leaders and their negotiators. In my view, not only should the negotiations not have been terminated, but there was every reason for them to continue. A delay of six weeks or six months in disarmament negotiations is much more than we can afford.

113. Despite the collapse of the work of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, some progress has been made. The revision of both of the original proposals shows that attempts were made to reduce the differences separating the two sides. It should also be remembered that neither of the revised proposals has yet been the subject of detailed negotiation. Examination of the new Soviet proposals [A/4374 and Rev.1] was still in the exploratory stage when negotiations were broken off; and the revised United States proposals^{4/} have not yet even received consideration in the negotiating body. The importance of these advances should not be disregarded.

114. The situation which confronts this Assembly itself suggests a certain order of priorities in dealing with the question of disarmament. Of first importance is the early resumption of meaningful negotiations among the ten Powers on the Committee.

115. I would also urge a more active role for the Disarmament Commission, although it is upon great Power agreement that disarmament must ultimately depend, all Members of the United Nations share a common concern to explore every possibility of progress. It is no longer enough that the Disarmament Commission should confine its activities to passing an annual report to the Assembly with a recommendation that the Assembly provide for the Commission's continuance. There are surely, among the Members of the United Nations who do not serve on the negotiating group, those who would and could offer a positive contribution in the search for disarmament. I do not suggest that the Commission should seek to usurp the functions which clearly belong to a small negotiating body; but I do suggest that there is scope in the Disarmament Commission for consideration of matters of substance—a wide range of matters affecting the application of agreed disarmament measures to the international community as a whole. It is my hope that the Disarmament Commission will be kept more fully and regularly informed of developments within any negotiation group which may be established.

116. I wish to refer to a proposal made by Canada in the Disarmament Commission [69th meeting] and again here in the Assembly [871st meeting]. In 1959 the Assembly reaffirmed its determination to press on toward the goal of total disarmament; but neither the West nor the Soviet Union, at that time, dismissed the possibility of making progress through partial disarmament measures. What is important now is that a way should be found to start upon disarmament. It will be better to have reached agreement on a single measure than to have tried and failed to reach agreement on a comprehensive plan. Such an approach in no way means the abandonment of general and complete disarmament: on the contrary, it affords a starting point towards more far-reaching measures, leading towards that goal. Even if such a measure were, in itself, of minor importance, it could have great significance as a first step in reversing the continued build-up and perfecting of armaments and establishing international confidence. That ought to be reversed as soon as it can.

117. My Government therefore endorses the Canadian proposal to single out for special study those areas of disarmament, even the levels of conventional forces, upon which progress has already been made in the course of negotiations. It is my hope that it will receive endorsement by the Assembly.

118. I see also much hope in the suggestion put forward by the Foreign Minister of Denmark in his speech before the Assembly [875th meeting] and by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom [877th meeting] in his most earnest and eloquent speech. I refer to the proposal that administrators and scientific technical experts should be assigned the task of preparing an agreed report as to how measures of inspection and control can be made effective and fair to all countries without giving, at any stage, an advantage to either side. As I understand it, this would be an objective study by a new group of scientists and experts working away from the atmosphere of politics as such.

119. Such a technical and objective report would enable the question of control, which must accompany

any worthwhile disarmament measures, to be considered on a political basis by top negotiators. It was, as I think Mr. Macmillan stated, the scientists' report which provided the basis for the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests. We have had in recent years other notable and highly successful examples of scientific international co-operation. I recall—admittedly in a much less contentious sphere—the International Geophysical Year 1957-1958, and also the international agreement regarding Antarctica. The International Geophysical Year brought a vow from the scientists who were working in it, that every country should know all that each one of them knew. It was a magnificent example of co-operation.

120. If only that same approach, with its generous international communication of all relevant facts and ideas and its objectivity, could be reproduced in such a disarmament study, I am sure we should have a magnificent starting point for the vexed but essential problems of control.

121. One or two other minor notes, and I would like to emphasize the one. I think wisdom is generally related to the ratio of thought, and not talk—even though I have talked for an hour or so now. Wisdom requires more thought. We have too many long speeches, whatever may be said about the one I have just made. The more time we give to thinking, the less time there is for talking. And if we could only stop the rain—it can be spelt any way one wants—of invective and vindictive speeches, then the sun will shine again. We want more open hands, less closed fists; more "how do you do" instead of defamations all the time; more hand-shaking and less nose-punching.

122. Disarmament will never be effected without some element of risk. It calls for reason, courage and imagination in equal measure. First, by applying reason and science to studies on control the great Powers can, and must, seek to reduce to a very minimum the magnitude of the risk involved. We should then have before us, I trust, objective propositions. Second, by refraining from intemperate political attacks and by promoting international co-operation instead, the great Powers can, and must, reduce the demands on our courage in facing the remaining risks which cannot be avoided. We should then have brought the question into the realm of political possibility. Third, to take the initial hurdle we must be assisted by some faith and imagination, remembering always that the only choice before us is a relative choice, and that in the end, inactivity will be the most dangerous course of all. If those conditions are met, we can hope that the correct political decision will be made, and in the right circumstances.

123. If the great Powers are prepared to adopt the technical and scientific approach and genuinely seek to build up confidence, the peoples of the world will, I believe, lack neither the courage, nor the imagination to carry through the first step. But I would stress that the responsibility of the great Powers is a heavy one.

124. Last year it was my privilege to address the Assembly's First Committee [1040th meeting] during its discussions on disarmament. What I said then I should like, in conclusion, to repeat today. The words

used last year apply, I believe, with added strength to our situation today.

125. The small Powers, I have heard it stated here, depend on the force of their defending agencies to keep them in existence. That is not correct. The major agency that defends the smaller Powers in this world today is the United Nations. There may be Members of the United Nations with whom the smaller nations have agreements and treaties with regard to defensive arrangements, but these agreements of the smaller nations are not exclusively made out of fear of danger from the larger Powers. This body can, by the force of its powers, its conversations and its statements, as has been proved during the past three years on three occasions, have an influence on world affairs to save smaller nations, greater than the power of any great nation, whatever its strength may be. This body, in spite of its limitations and in spite of the fact that it cannot do all that it was intended to do, is still the most powerful agency for peace in the world and for the disarmament that we are talking about and longing for.

126. The decisions of the General Assembly and the will of the Assembly—if in accord with the wisdom available, I say, available—can, in spite of what may have been said or done, now begin an advance to a better order. It depends on each one of us, you and me individually, as representing our nation and our people.

127. If we take the road which we ought to take today, disarmament will be achieved earlier, the hungry will be fed, decent homes will be provided for everybody to live in and clothing will be given to them in order to protect them from the elements.

128. Freedom is the rightful heritage of all humans that are born on this sphere.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

129. Prince Moulay HASSAN (Morocco) (translated from French): I deem it a signal honour to represent my country and my king here in the United Nations as the Chairman of the Moroccan delegation and to take part in that capacity in the valuable work of this Assembly. This honour in fact entails a very heavy responsibility because no previous session of the United Nations General Assembly has had such distinguished participants or has been so important and so decisive for international relations and for the future of the world. My country will therefore do its utmost to adopt a mature, conscientious, sympathetic and understanding approach to the problems before us, problems which are crucial to world peace and to the lives of future generations.

130. The peoples of this planet, most of which are represented in this Assembly, are rightly concerned about the world situation. The precarious balance of forces in the world is obvious to careful observers and, in particular, to uncommitted countries like ourselves which are striving to remain uncommitted. As a result of the rapid changes in power relationships and alliances or, simply, in relations among peoples, the position of these countries is now different from what it was last year and seems likely to undergo further changes in the near future.

131. We are being deprived of all possibility of making long-term forecasts by the daily flood of news, the diversity of interests, the achievement of political maturity by young peoples until recently in bondage and by the sometimes terrifying discoveries that are being made. The trend of world history is such that realistic and quick decisions are called for. The days of long reflection appear to be over; a capacity for constant adaptation is now required.

132. The accession to independence of numerous under-developed countries is unfortunately leading the great nations to compete not only for the friendship of these countries, but also for their support in conflicts which do not concern them in any way but which they are nevertheless very anxious to see resolved.

133. Irrespective of their past history or even of the purity of their intentions, these great nations do not adequately appreciate how strongly we feel that the financial and technical assistance granted to us—often in a grudging spirit—should involve no interference, no matter how slight, in our domestic affairs. I would go so far as to say that the larger the scale of the assistance, the greater the attention that should be paid to respect for the independence of the recipient.

134. The numerous instances of ill-considered interference, the attempt to force us to take sides—which, should we give in, would deprive the world of the goodwill it will need tomorrow to reconcile opposing views and to find the path of wisdom and agreement—these encroachments of a neo-colonialist nature entail a serious risk of local and of general conflicts. The fact that a state of paramount distrust prevails between two great Powers seems deplorable enough in itself, and we wish to make it absolutely clear, here and now, to anyone who might think of persuading us to take sides on the pretext of helping us better, that we are opposed to this idea. War takes lives twice over: first, as a result of the malnutrition caused by war preparations, and again after it has broken out.

135. Being the disillusioned witnesses of these futile and costly rivalries, the uncommitted countries and, particularly, the African peoples, are perseveringly seeking new forms of association and of organization that will enable them to tackle the immense problems set by their economic and social development.

136. What remedy do we have? Where can we, the small nations, find comfort if not within a great family, a world organization where representation and legitimacy of rights do not depend on power and, even less, on claims to greatness?

137. It is with a full awareness of its share of responsibility and in the firm resolve to co-operate in the common task that my country stands before the Assembly today. We remain more firmly attached than ever to the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter. But, at the same time, because we see in our Organization the best hope for the triumph of peace, we fervently wish to see its prestige and authority enhanced. If the United Nations is to be equal to the problems awaiting solution, it must not serve as a mere propaganda tool nor must it merely be a cheerless image of the divisions which afflict the world. We must not be content here in the United Nations simply to take note of the sterile conflict between ideologies; we must, on the contrary, strive to find

positive solutions to the problems directly affecting the maintenance of peace.

138. Witnessing the stormy dialogue between East and West, and often buffeted by its gusts, the countries which, like Morocco, are trying to build their future on a basis of non-dependence, are painfully aware that efforts to bring about a relaxation of tension have failed. The channels through which the two worlds were beginning to discover and understand each other are now being closed, abuse is replacing argument, retaliatory measures succeed one another and on an ever-increasing scale.

139. Disarmament is at a standstill after the many meetings and conferences which kept the world in suspense and held out so many hopes that have since been dashed.

140. Lastly, aid to the under-developed countries--a field where the opposing forces now dividing our world might have found a basis for co-operation--has in fact become the scene of additional rivalries. This is a tragic paradox which may have the gravest long-range consequences.

141. In these three fields of the relaxation of tension, disarmament and aid to the under-developed countries, it would be unrealistic for small countries to aspire to the role of arbiters at the political level. It is, however, their right and their imperative duty to call attention to the fact that failure to settle these problems creates an element of permanent instability in their own situation. This fact also gives them the right to try and contribute to a settlement by making practical proposals and by suggesting solutions or ways and means of achieving them.

142. Where the relaxation of tension is concerned, the new countries cannot hope to contribute anything other than their goodwill, because relaxation of tension is a matter of the psychological climate and the nature of this climate depends exclusively on the committed countries. Thus, the only practical and positive contribution which the new countries can make lies in a refusal to take sides. We are now being viewed in the guise of potential customers, who can be won over by skilful bidding, and peaceful coexistence merely means imposing upon us the divisions existing among the great. We declare firmly, clearly and irrevocably that we refuse, here and now, to participate in any form whatsoever, either actively or passively, in the quarrels dividing the West from the socialist camp; to adapt a well-known phrase, such quarrels are part and parcel neither of our future programme nor of our past. So, if the committed countries become convinced that there is no hope of embroiling us in their disputes, the cold war will have been banished from one field and, perhaps, even the foundations of present international tension will have been weakened once and for all.

143. But our contribution--however limited--to the easing of international tension will not become significant unless, at the same time, the uncommitted countries bring all their efforts to bear on solving the problem of disarmament. Indeed, is there a single new country which has not felt it as an affront to its own poverty that such vast sums should be swallowed up by armaments, which are particularly costly in view of their rapid obsolescence? Besides constituting a permanent threat to life itself on our planet,

the manufacture of these weapons ties up productive forces and thus jeopardizes the prospect of a better life for us all.

144. For our countries there is no problem more urgent or acute than that of disarmament. During the present session three positive contributions have been made to its solution. In his speech [868th meeting], Mr. Eisenhower described, with all his usual lucidity and sincerity, the main points, both procedural and substantive, on which the members of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament were divided. Mr. Khrushchev, with no less objectivity and sincerity, suggested [see A/4509] that the representatives of five neutral countries should participate in the future work of the Disarmament Committee in order to exert a moderating influence and act as mediators. Lastly, Mr. Macmillan, in his speech [877th meeting] put forward the idea of convening a committee of experts which would make a start on the technical aspects of disarmament, removing them, at least initially, from the sphere of politics, and would prepare a clear definition of possible solutions.

145. These three contributions all point to the same need: the search for solutions, which has everything to gain from objectivity and nothing from polemics, must be undertaken in an atmosphere from which passion has been eliminated. Nothing fruitful or positive will be achieved so long as the membership of the disarmament committees consists of the committed Powers alone. If there is one fact that has been proved over and over again, it is that one cannot be both judge and litigant. The participation of neutrals is therefore essential, although both its scope and its limits must be clearly defined.

146. For our part, we think that the resumption of disarmament negotiations might proceed in two stages.

147. A sub-committee, consisting exclusively of the representatives of five neutral countries, might be convened in the first stage. The main task of this sub-committee, which would be assisted by experts, would be to clear the ground for discussion by determining one by one the points of agreement and of disagreement between the two proposed plans. While it is true that such inventories have already been drawn up on many occasions, they have, in the past, smacked rather of polemics, and the fact that this primarily served propaganda purposes deprived them of their value. That is why, in our view, the work should be done again, and why it can be done only by countries which are not parties to the debate.

148. In the second stage, the Committee on Disarmament, with a membership composed of the ten countries participating in its work and of the five neutral countries appointed to the sub-committee would be convened. It would work on the basis of documents drafted by the sub-committee of the neutral countries, whose function would be to render the discussion more effective by acting as arbiters and exercising their good offices. It might be suggested to that end that the chairmanship of the new committee should be held as of right by the representatives of the five uncommitted countries in turn.

149. The procedure I have just outlined seems to us to be most in keeping with the needs of the present time. Thus, we think it would have the effect of clarifying certain aspects of the problem of disarmament.

ment, of compelling the parties to indicate exactly where they stand, and of leading to a lasting solution as soon as possible, in conformity with the wishes of the whole world. Once freed from the nightmare of the arms race, the world community will be able to fulfil its obligations in tranquillity, looking forward to a stable future, a future no longer rendered precarious by fear and anxiety.

150. All the nations of the world could then once again devote themselves, first and foremost to building, teaching, feeding the hungry and providing aid, to the greater benefit of the peoples of the under-developed countries. Our dearest wish is, therefore, to see propaganda and demagoguery brought to a speedy end and the foundations laid for genuine agreement and true understanding. The advanced countries, with their creative industrial skills and capacity for organization, would then be in a position to give a full measure of aid and assistance to the young countries.

151. Broadly speaking, international aid comes from three different sources: the Eastern countries, the Western countries and the international funds administered by the United Nations. This situation which encourages competition—with the unfortunate consequences which I have just tried to describe—must be brought to an end. The goal should be a single fund, into which all available resources would be channelled and which would be administered on an equitable basis under the auspices of the United Nations. Under such an arrangement, aid would cease to be governed by bilateral agreements, with their inevitable concomitants of compromising commitments and more or less covert coercion. Above all, such an arrangement would also make for an active, rather than a merely symbolic participation in the administration of aid funds by the requesting countries. Having thus been removed from the sphere of politics, assistance to the under-developed countries would become an instrument of steady progress and not a means of political pressure and a source of ever-recurring dissension.

152. In the face of all the conflicts of which we are the witnesses—and in which we are also sometimes the unwilling participants—we must be guided in our attitude by calmness, reason and tolerance. The fundamental problem of the new countries—which is to ensure the speediest possible progress, in economic and human terms, of peoples suffering from ignorance and hunger—calls for a maximum effort on our part to eliminate the deficiencies which are impeding genuine co-operation among the peoples.

153. However, we should not confine ourselves to eliminating the remains of disputes, most of which belong to the past. Our countries, which were late in attaining their sovereignty in international affairs, and often did so at the cost of heroic efforts, must work for a better world. Those who have suffered are better equipped to suggest remedies and indicate new approaches. The international community is a human community and, therefore, it is the less fortunate who make history. Our efforts must therefore be directed towards strengthening the collective personality of the poor countries and defining the new ideals by which they are guided; our immediate task must be to help our brothers—who are still the victims of a past that is gone forever—to join our ranks.

154. Against a new political background, it should be possible for the collective philosophy of the new coun-

tries to be defined in a declaration inspired by the principles of the Bandung Conference of 1955. Thus it would be based on three essential principles: tolerance, mutual aid and universalism.

155. Tolerance consists, first, in admitting that there are several ways of leading peoples to self-fulfilment and that no nation can claim to hold the miraculous formula for real power and progress. Secondly, and above all, it consists in understanding the situation of others and viewing their problems objectively and unselfishly. It consists, finally, in supporting the peaceful solution of all disputes by means of negotiation and arbitration.

156. Mutual support is the key to the future of the under-developed countries, which must rely mainly on themselves. In view of the excessive fragmentation of modern Africa, there is little hope of raising the living standards of its peoples unless collaboration between States—initially at the regional and subsequently at the continental level—is gradually built up. International relations have not, alas, reached that stage in moral conduct where each State may count upon the rightness of its cause in order to secure a hearing. Our countries, a prey to temptations, pressure and coercion, will find the strength and respect which is their due only by mutual assistance and support.

157. Universality: at a time when man is about to escape from the earth's pull, he remains weighed down by the quarrels of the past. However, the new devices which technology daily places in our hands, and the astonishing population increase throughout the world, compel us to seek world solutions for the only problem that counts: the improvement of the well-being of each individual. For that reason, our countries will never cease to encourage the development of international organizations and institutions. It is in these broad discussions of practical and specific problems that men of all nations will be able to experience that psychological mutation, so necessary for our time, which leads from the limited concept of nationhood to the universal concept of man.

158. As we seek to apply these principles, the final struggles against colonialism and the existing threats to world peace, so challenging to mankind, cause us profound concern. This year our African brothers have taken their seats in this Assembly in great numbers. I extend the same fraternal greeting to Mali, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Niger, the Upper Volta, Dahomey, the Central African Republic, Gabon, the Congo (Brazzaville), Somalia, Madagascar, Cameroun, Togo and the Congo (Leopoldville). I also congratulate the Republic of Cyprus, whose courageous struggle held free men of the world spellbound; and I hope very soon to see here the delegation from the Congo (Leopoldville). I again deplore the absence, from among us, of fighting Algeria, whose courage and political maturity will, I am sure, soon bring independence as their reward, with the help of the freedom-loving countries and of the United Nations.

159. In this connexion I would like to say, in passing, that the attitude of France is, because of its inconsistency, quite incomprehensible to all sensible men. On the one hand, France can sponsor the admission to the United Nations of eleven countries which were still under its tutelage when the Algerian conflict broke out; on the other hand, it is conducting in Algeria the most pitiless war of repression. In thus briefly

outlining the Algerian problem, I have merely said a few words on what appears to me, and to you, to be absurd in the French position. Other voices more authoritative than mine, including that of Mr. Nehru yesterday [882nd meeting] have described to you from this rostrum the horrors of the Algerian war and have demanded that the Assembly should intervene to put an end to it.

160. The constant danger which the Algerian war represents for the peace and security of the world, and the manner in which it imperils the delicate balance of our situation, are too evident for me to stress without appearing to insult the intelligence of each one of you. Other men, outside this Assembly, have continually—often at the risk of their lives—raised their voices and joined them with yours to demonstrate to the French authorities the representative nature of the National Liberation Front, its strength and its legality.

"Not only in Tunis, Cairo, Moscow and New York, but even within the French Government, we now find men who quite reasonably point out that all the Moslem population is now solidly behind the FLN, that there is no longer any chance of finding or building up a third force, that independence is henceforth inevitable and that negotiations must therefore begin as soon as possible."

As you have guessed, these words are not mine. They are taken from the editorial which appeared on 29 September 1960 in a great French newspaper, L'Express, which I was reading this very morning. "Independence is henceforth inevitable." Such is the conclusion of a Frenchman whose patriotism cannot be questioned and such is also, according to this same Frenchman, the conviction of responsible French Ministers who wish to be reasonable.

161. My country's attitude to the Algerian problems is the same as that which we have always proclaimed ever since we were first admitted to the United Nations. Morocco—through the voice of its first representative, His Majesty King Mohammed V, my august father, speaking from this rostrum [725th meeting]—offered, at a time when that was still possible, its good offices in order to put an end to the shedding of innocent blood and to the criminal slaughter.

162. It would be a distortion of my meaning and of my position if I were to indulge in sterile charges against the country responsible. I should seem to be using the Assembly as a propaganda platform if I were to try to describe to you the grave incidents which have only recently occurred in my country, on the Algerian border, and of which peaceful and innocent citizens have been the victims. I know however that I can reach all representatives, and touch their hearts and consciences directly, when I say that the United Nations General Assembly—whatever the ideology of its Members, whatever their policies, and whatever the bloc to which they belong—cannot allow this war to continue without being guilty of criminal negligence.

163. No one, not even the most sceptical, can any longer doubt that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic is henceforth the only organization representative of the Algerian nation. To maintain the injustice that is being done to it, to allow the continuance of a war as atrocious as it is stupid,

would be purely and simply to sanction the terrible threat of the maintenance of the cold war and, what is even more terrible, of war itself, with all its horrible train of crimes and murders.

164. I should like for a moment to explain the Algerian situation, with which some of you may be unfamiliar. When the President of the French Republic stated that Algeria had the right to self-determination, it was thought that cease-fire negotiations might open the door to negotiations from which peace would result. Our Algerian friends agreed to go to Melun for discussions, but they were told that they could discuss only a cease-fire and could not, at any time, take up the question of guarantees for self-determination.

165. What would have happened? On the one hand, a well-organized army with its cadres, with its logistic services, with all its administrative and military machinery and its regular supplies, was faced with an army that was disorganized, without continuous lines of supply and without proper cadres. Yet the idea was that the fighters of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic should lay down their arms; and if negotiations failed—take the struggle up again and fight just as effectively, just as smoothly, just as normally as a regular army. It is perhaps possible for a regular army to resume operations at the moment of its choice; but it was an extremely serious matter for the leaders of the National Liberation Front, from the standpoint of their political reputation, to take upon themselves the decision to stop fighting, without knowing whether they could ever resume their liberating struggle in the event of the negotiations failing. I can tell you personally that, if I myself had been one of the leaders of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic I should never have embarked upon a course liable to undermine their followers' determination.

166. It is for this reason that the Algerian themselves—not because they are tired of, or exhausted by, the struggle, but simply because they are conscious of their human responsibilities, both towards their enemies who are daily falling dead before them, and towards their own sons, and because they want to avoid further bloodshed—today ask the United Nations for its arbitration and moral support, with a view to a referendum on their right to self-determination being held in Algeria under United Nations auspices.

167. What are the dangers to which the existing situation in Algeria might give rise if it continued? There would simply be the risk that the cold war might be introduced, and introduced for a long time, into that Africa which you wish to preserve.

168. I cannot speak of the cold war in Africa without thinking, with emotion, of the drama in the Congo (Leopoldville). Poor Congo! On the morrow of its independence it is divided, amputated and unjustly censured, simply because the Katanga mines remain a tempting prize for economic imperialism.

169. The Congo said "no". The Congo said "no" through the mouths of its representatives; and, God be praised, it found in the United Nations the support which it needed. I am not here to discuss or pass judgement on this support. Suffice it to say that my country was among the first participants in the assistance requested by the United Nations. If I may be allowed to express one regret, it is that the United

Nations forces did not enter Katanga on the day decided upon by the Security Council.

170. Legitimacy and integrity—those are the two qualities with which the United Nations must invest the Congolese nation. Legitimacy of its Government of which there is only one. Integrity of its territory, of which we likewise, here, know only one.

171. But while putting forth all its genuine and praiseworthy efforts to reach a just settlement of the Congolese problem, can the United Nations not turn its gaze upon itself and not look into its own conscience, weighing the consequences of its attitude, and revise its position concerning the People's Republic of China? Is it really fair that 600 million individuals, a third of the world's population, should not be represented among us? Is it normal that Communist China should be excluded from our embassies, from our commercial treaties, from our industrialization plans, from the marketing of our products? Is it normal that this house in which we now are, and which ought to be the house of all nations, should be closed to Communist China?

172. I appeal to the United Nations, I appeal to all the countries here present, to be realistic, to face the problem squarely and to admit the People's Republic of China among us, since for the United Nations General Assembly its participation in our activities would certainly be more valuable than its opposition.

173. Certain nations have seen fit to begin their apprenticeship in nuclear experiments, completely disregarding the risk of such action operating against the international relaxation of tension. Ignoring world opinion, and particularly the views of the peoples of Africa that are directly threatened, France has snapped its fingers at resolution 1379 (XIV), adopted last year by the General Assembly, requesting it to refrain from conducting nuclear tests in the Sahara. Shortly after the adoption of that resolution, it exploded its first bomb. Indeed, it appears that a second, an underground bomb, is to be exploded in November in the Sahara, 500 kilometres from one of our towns which is indisputably part of our territory. Previously, France was to explode this bomb in the depths of the sea, near the town of Calvi on the small island of Corsica. But all the mayors of that island paid a joint visit to the Prime Minister and pointed out the dangers to Corsica and its tourist trade which would ensue from such an explosion. What happened? It was felt, quite simply, that if Corsica could be spared nuclear explosions because it was part of France, then the Sahara could be used for such explosions because it was also part of France, in spite of the United Nations recommendations and the legitimate protests of the African peoples.

174. I should not like to review the many injustices that exist in the world without speaking of an injustice which affects my country and affects all the Arab States, for all these States are Arab and Moslem and are hence linked by ties of brotherhood. I refer to the tragedy of the Palestine refugees.

175. Not only as an Arab State closely linked to and at one with the Arab countries of the Middle East, but also as a country loving justice and profoundly attached to freedom, Morocco feels with special acuteness the misery and hardship of the million Palestinians who have been unjustly torn from their homes.

This is one of the great tragedies of the century, one of the most monstrous errors that humanity has experienced. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to this situation, or accept as a "fait accompli" the injustice committed by certain imperialist Powers for the purpose of parcelling up the Arab East, sowing division there, and creating in that area an atmosphere favourable to their schemings and a breeding-ground for permanent unrest.

176. I now come to a problem which my country has already brought before the Assembly. In order not to tax your patience, I shall leave it to our delegation to explain, at the right time and in the appropriate Committees, all the elements of the Moroccan case with regard to that integral part of our national territory—Mauritania—which is still under foreign domination.

177. I can simply assert that in no event could Morocco, a country devoted to justice and freedom which has given the best of itself in order to secure those two blessings, be accused of wishing to deny them to others; still less could it be charged with inviting the many friends that it has the honour to count among delegations here, to defend a cause which might be, or seem to it to be, unjust. I am sure that, when my country has given all the necessary explanations, we shall find in this Assembly many friendly voices which will be raised on our side.

178. Without believing that close unity in so vast a continent is possible for the time being, I feel that Africa is moving towards union step by step, and on this subject I shall have a few suggestions to make.

179. The formulae to be found must be as flexible as possible, must not do violence to the political feelings of any of us, and must, above all, allow for speedier and cheaper development through economy of means. Our manpower and capital needs are too well known to require repetition; they call for immediate and practical solutions. Mere common sense, which is borne out in this case by objective analysis, makes it necessary to seek these solutions collectively and with due regard to our geography. On the other hand, our young independent States require a few more years of effort at the national level in order to evolve and assert themselves.

180. This does not of course preclude regional alliances or agreements, which immediate economic co-operation will assist through better mutual understanding, even though circumstances may compel us to speed up developments along these lines to the end that peace may prevail on our frontiers. The great nations which are rich and developed would do better to help us along this difficult path without ulterior motives—leaving it to us to use in the best way possible whatever they give or lend us—rather than seek to bring to us their sterile and artificial divisions to which the world may well one day succumb.

181. Africa is keeping a close watch on world events, whose repercussions, whether direct or indirect, are often adverse for it; and it attaches profound importance to the economic and social future of its populations. It is concerned over the frequent misuse of energy and capital due to unco-ordinated and even, sometimes, conflicting programmes. Africa believes that complete and rapid disarmament would relax tension and free resources sufficient to enable the

means placed at the disposal of less developed countries to play an important role in improving their domestic products and the standard of living of their inhabitants.

182. For, however spectacular they may be, the sums devoted by the great nations to foreign aid during the last ten years represent only an infinitesimal part of their national income, by comparison with the part which they devote to military expenditure. Those great nations, therefore, contribute but little to the raising of the individual standards of living in our countries.

183. To men deprived of the basic necessities of life, for men whose annual resources rarely exceed \$120 a year, what is an increase of 30 to 40 per cent in ten years? That improvement itself, in the African, South American or Asian countries, is in certain years completely offset by climatic accidents whose results cannot be counteracted because investments are inadequate, or by periodic world depressions resulting from the fragmentation of the modern economic world and the absence of international planning methods. The competition between the two economic systems does not, at least as yet, concern us. We are first concerned with constructing our economy and hence with establishing the very basis for such a choice; and we hope that the developed countries will adopt a line of conduct which allows us to receive aid or technical assistance from any source whatever, without discrimination.

184. Recent experience has shown that the political realignment of African countries is still fraught with difficulties. It would be wise to give national units and identities time to strengthen and consolidate before considering renunciations of sovereignty or authority which any genuine political union involves but which are inevitable in the twentieth-century world. We must bear in mind the diversity and extent of our African continent, most of whose new nations have been independent for less than ten years. Moreover, the policies pursued by nations in the conduct of their internal and external affairs offer an extensive enough choice of forms of agreement to enable progress to be kept proportionate to human capabilities.

185. On the other hand, as economic life imposes its own patterns and laws, the criterion of efficiency soon reveals errors of judgement, and there is only a very narrow choice of possible solutions if the rate of economic and social development is to be adjusted to the only means at our disposal. Thus, what seems premature from the political standpoint may objectively seem feasible, or even essential, economically. We Africans know full well that our forces and resources are limited. Only if those forces and resources are combined can they be used economically, with the elimination of harmful rivalries and with the proper utilization of capital and manpower.

186. With the exception of Oceania, Africa is the most sparsely populated continent with approximately 270 million inhabitants, and a population density, also one of the lowest, of eight inhabitants per square kilometre. It has become a commonplace to refer to the great wealth of its power, mineral and plant resources at a time when—under the stimulus of international competition, scientific progress and above all, the advent of independence—research and geological and agricultural exploration reveal that wealth more clearly every day. Notwithstanding all this po-

tential wealth, we, its few privileged possessors, live for the most part at a near-subsistence level of economy.

187. Africa still supplies the world with all kinds of products, although its agricultural yields are among the lowest in the world, and the only benefit it derives from the exploitation of its underground wealth is in the form of royalties, which are subject to monetary fluctuations. Its ores still nourish the major industrial countries, and the same will soon be true of its petroleum. Foodstuffs such as coffee, cocoa, ground-nuts and hard wheat, or industrial crops like cotton, are supplied to European or American populations and industries. Africa's power resources are still, in many cases, harnessed only in so far as the concentration and initial processing of ores on the spot enables foreign enterprises to economize substantially on transport and manpower.

188. Some of us, whose independence is of longer standing, are already striving to establish independent economies by building up basic industries, organizing the processing of national products, and modernizing agriculture. Morocco is in that vanguard. In our efforts however, we are encountering many difficulties and I fear that the selfishly raised obstacles to that development may convince us, rather belatedly, that union makes for order and strength.

189. The difficulties which are delaying and sometimes jeopardizing our progress are common in varying degrees to all the African countries. They are: lack of trained personnel owing to a low literacy level, under-employment, inadequate agricultural production and a weakness in the sector of basic and capital goods industry, often coupled with over-emphasis on trade.

190. Our trade is still "unidirectional"—primary or partly processed products for Europe and the developed countries flow in one direction, in exchange for capital equipment and consumer goods flowing in the other. By contrast, inter-African trade is at present on a very small scale and is often confined to re-exports, involving no processing. Why is this so? Principally because of the amount of capital required for the exploitation of our natural resources, and the smallness of our domestic market due to retarded social development, the main reasons for which I have just mentioned.

191. The industrially developed countries, on the other hand, are now making immense efforts to introduce automation into all production processes and public services and to achieve scientific progress, both on earth and beyond, the pace of which is constantly increasing, as if accelerated by its own impetus. And those same countries, unfortunately, without exception, are also making an ever more costly military effort. This vast industrial and intellectual transformation, coupled with inordinate military preparation, is absorbing the major part of their technical and financial resources, while the progress which it involves is constantly reducing the proportion represented by primary commodities in the value of the modern world's products. This, for Africa, Asia and South America, means a reduced capacity for investment and less favourable terms of trade. That is convincingly demonstrated by the disparity, both in volume and from the standpoint of its conditions offered, between our needs and the financial arrangements proposed to us with a view to meeting them.

192. Recent price fluctuations and trade restrictions affecting primary commodities, which many of us export and which account for a substantial part of our revenue, have shown that we must seek more fundamental and enduring solutions in this field.

193. An estimate of per caput potential natural wealth would probably show our African continent to be one of the most richly endowed. Its countries must therefore strive, both by their own efforts through the mobilization of manpower and in equal partnership with others under freely concluded agreements, to develop their economic structures, modernize their agriculture, eliminate under-employment and advance their industrialization. Africa's future thus depends in some measure on our ability to effect a certain degree of division of labour, according to the resources, finances and technical skills of each African nation. Africa can satisfy some of its own needs, without having to export raw materials and then re-import them as finished products, as in the case of food-stuffs, non-perishable consumer goods and light and medium machinery.

194. That possibility presupposes regional associations with a clearly defined and limited purpose—optimum rates of development and the most economic prices. These associations should be based on the purely objective considerations of geography, communications and mutually complementary resources. Such regional economic groups could then combine in a continental organization with a permanent secretariat. Consideration of such a project would, in my view, be most desirable. Morocco is willing to prepare, in collaboration with sister African nations, a plan to be submitted for discussion at a continental conference, which it would be glad to invite to Tangier in the spring of 1961. That conference would determine the form of regional and continental associations, the limits of their competence, the possibilities of specialization in joint planning and investment, and the organization of intra-African and foreign trade. Our conclusions would be of a practical nature, as practical measures are now imperative if we are to avoid unpleasant surprises in the future.

195. I have tried to show how our situation requires an initial effort by Africans themselves to tackle basic problems and to rationalize methods of development. I suggest that, within the framework of the proposed regional and continental associations, a specifically African fund be set up, with an initial capital—say of \$10 million—subscribed by the independent African countries alone and administered by an African general assembly and governing council. The amounts subscribed would, being limited in quantity, simply cover establishment costs and the formation of an initial guarantee fund. The substantive resources of the fund would come from bond issues abroad, long-term national or international loans and collective guarantees. The operations of the fund would serve to effect unity between the lending countries, and the fact that those operations were specifically African would be a guarantee to the beneficiaries that their true needs would be met and their independence respected.

196. But, in addition to that aid in all its various forms, the industrially developed countries can collaborate in the day-to-day stabilization and improvement of the under-developed countries' financial resources. Since many of us are suppliers of primary

commodities, agricultural or mineral, the consumer countries need only help us to organize the big markets in a more rational way.

197. All these are subjects which call for serious consideration and, I believe, action.

198. The big nations should understand that the problems of the rest of the world carry within them both the means of unity and the seeds of discord. The rest of the world must be given complete freedom in their search for the best solutions and must be admitted as full participants, to conferences concerned with peace, which is essential to their speedier progress.

199. The United Nations, its Secretary-General, its committees and councils and its General Assembly have recently proved their effectiveness. Let us beware of seeking, hastily or rashly, to introduce changes which might make these bodies biased and thus open to severe criticism, or ineffective—and recent events in the Congo have clearly shown that ineffectiveness can easily lead to conflict. The United Nations will, in fact, be what the quality of our debates and the sincerity of our intentions and aims make it. Any Member abandoning it would undoubtedly bring upon itself isolation and condemnation.

200. Let us therefore endeavour to give our discussions a practical character, by ensuring that every item on the agenda is brought to a concrete conclusion which can be translated immediately into action. I hope, accordingly, that the suggestions put forward by Morocco and the African countries will be studied and discussed forthwith in the appropriate bodies.

201. Assembled here for better and not for worse, to make peace and extend prosperity to all, we must present to the peoples which have entrusted us with this task, a genuine picture of creative unity and resolute action.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

202. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): I hope the President will allow me to begin by saying that the Netherlands delegation is particularly happy to have him preside over this session of the General Assembly. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that never before in the whole course of history has any one man ruled over so many Heads of State and powerful political leaders as he is now doing. His calm competence, his sure judgement and his integrity afford us the certainty that he will know how to guide us all along the paths of procedure towards results that, we sincerely hope, will make this session of the Assembly a memorable one.

203. At this stage of the general debate I shall confine my intervention to the treatment of those questions which either have a special significance for my country or are such that the debate may perhaps profit from a statement of our views on them.

204. Bearing this in mind, I shall, first of all, say a few words on disarmament; next, I shall revert to some points from the address of the President of Indonesia [880th meeting]; after that, I shall touch on the structure of the Organization, and especially its economic and social part; finally, I wish to make a statement on my Government's policy.

205. I do not feel called upon to concern myself, at present, with all the many aspects of the problem of

disarmament. I agree with those who say that this problem should be at the central point of our thinking and acting. I share the sentiments of the hundreds of millions of people who beg us to free them from the fear of new wars. And I know that these countless millions are not to be found only on one side of this or that frontier. They dwell in the Soviet Union and they have their being in the United States; they live in the Netherlands and their homes are in all the four corners of the earth. If, in spite of their common desires and appeals, the foundations of peace have not yet been laid, it must be that fear and suspicion still hold the world in too firm a grip. All that needed to be said on this grim but persistent situation was admirably expressed by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in his address to the Assembly last week [877th meeting]. With the analysis he then gave my Government is in full accord. In particular I should like to stress our concurrence in the cogent arguments he adduced to expose the insidious fallacies some speakers here would have the world believe about Germany and the policies of the Western countries in respect of that country. Representing, as I do, a land which, for five long years, endured nazi occupation, I consider that I have the competence to state that my Government regards the Federal Republic of Germany as a valuable partner in our joint efforts for peaceful co-operation among nations.

206. In the coming weeks the Netherlands delegation will lend strong support to any proposals designed to contribute really and effectively to the promotion of peace, to the banishment of suspicion and fear, and to the abatement of the atomic threat.

207. The only means at our disposal to lessen the peril of an outbreak of war is, of course, international co-operation on a world-wide scale. That means that strengthening of the United Nations is an essential condition for the success of any such efforts. Whoever attempts to weaken the United Nations is working against peace. Whoever acts, or threatens to act, in a manner contrary to the principles of the United Nations undermines its authority and jeopardizes peace. One such threat was uttered on 30 September 1960 in the address by the President of Indonesia.

208. Indonesia sustains a territorial claim to part of the island of New Guinea in the Pacific Ocean. It wishes to annex part of that island to its own territory without allowing the population of the island to exercise its right of self-determination. Acceptance of this claim would mean that the Papuan people, inhabiting the island of New Guinea, would in the eastern half, under Australian guidance, be enabled to determine its own future, and would, in the western half, be for ever deprived of this right.

209. Territorial claims to other lands have frequently been raised throughout history, and even today there are many territories that are in dispute. But there is one new element in our modern world that distinguishes such present-day disputes from those of old. That new element is that now all Members of the United Nations have solemnly undertaken to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered", and to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

210. Four times, in the period from 1953 to 1957, Indonesia has endeavoured to persuade the United Nations to recognize its claim. Four times the General Assembly has refused to do so, taking into account that Indonesia's claim was based on the interpretation of a treaty—a treaty which Indonesia had unilaterally repudiated—and that the Netherlands had offered to abide by the decision on that interpretation by the highest authority competent to establish such decisions; the International Court of Justice.

211. Now the President of Indonesia addresses this Assembly and announces that, having tried in vain using the machinery of the United Nations, Indonesia is now determined "to reach a solution by [its] own methods", and, in referring to these methods, he describes them as "a determined surgical effort". I venture to say that such an approach to the settlement of an international dispute constitutes a direct attack both on the principles of the Charter and on the means of settlement of disputes it sanctions and prescribes. It is also contrary to the solemn pledge given by all Members of the United Nations—which I quoted before.

212. I deem it my duty to point this out to the Assembly because, although this is not the first time that a Member State has infringed the stipulations of the Charter, it has, I believe, not often happened that intentions so contrary to the obligations imposed by the Charter have been so openly announced from this rostrum.

213. That my country, the Netherlands, could possibly harbour any idea of aggressive intentions towards Indonesia is a notion so fantastic that I cannot conceive that any sensible person would give it credence.

214. Before leaving this subject I should like to add that I sincerely hope that the threat of armed aggression implicit in the Indonesian statement is not really intended as such. If that should be the case, the Indonesian delegation can put the minds of all of us at rest by saying so from this rostrum. Having thus made use of my right of reply to some of the remarks made by the President of Indonesia, I will now continue my comments on a few subjects that have been mentioned in this debate.

215. Although such a statement may seem redundant, I wish to declare once more in the Assembly that my Government adheres to its policy of full support for the United Nations. It would be unnecessary to say this, were it not that this general debate has shown that some Members are less firm in their convictions on this point.

216. Let us remember that, when we use the term "United Nations", we are not only referring to the General Assembly, which meets once a year in regular session. The United Nations is much more than that. When we speak of the United Nations we should think of the thousands of activities pursued by its many organs, sub-organs, committees and commissions all over the world, in a global or regional context. We should call to mind the several thousands of international civil servants, at Headquarters and elsewhere, dedicated to the application of the principles of our Charter. We should conjure up the mental image of the thousands of experts working in under-developed countries.

217. The United Nations, through its Economic and Social Council, co-ordinates the work of all the

specialized agencies, in the fields of medicine, education, labour, agriculture, and so many others. It provides part of the money for those activities. It is the infrastructure of growing international co-operation, aimed not only at security but more particularly at raising the level of existence in the under-developed countries. To disturb this intricate structure is a hazardous undertaking, because each of its branches is organically connected with the others.

218. I have heard the question of the transfer of the United Nations Headquarters raised as if it were a simple matter. Let us beware of such lighthearted suggestions. I, for one, will not deny that, in some respects, the fact that New York is our host city has its drawbacks—drawbacks that weigh more heavily with some delegations than with others. In other cities there would be other drawbacks; in other cities the great benefits we derive from our stay in this unique city might be absent.

219. Speaking of the imposing structure which has evolved under the flag of the United Nations, I cannot but mention with admiration the name of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. Perhaps in the past there have been moments when my Government, as well as some of its friends, would have preferred him to follow a different line from that on which he had decided within the purview of his competence. It would indeed be unthinkable that an official of his calibre and with his responsibilities would not, from time to time, act in a manner not in accordance with the wishes of some Members of our Organization. But the fact that sometimes we may have a judgement different from his on some question does not mean that the Secretary-General is carrying out his duties injudiciously. Rather it is an indication that he takes them seriously and tries to act impartially. I cannot agree with the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union, to the effect that the Charter of the United Nations should be amended so as to abolish the post of Secretary-General and replace it by a body of three persons. The acceptance of such a proposal would lead to paralyzation of the executive arm of the United Nations.

220. This proposal did, however, contain one element which was most welcome to us. By proposing an amendment of the Charter, Mr. Khrushchev indicated that the Soviet Union has definitely abandoned its policy of opposing any Charter amendment. As we know, for years it has taken the stand that the much needed increase in the membership of the main organs of the United Nations could not be brought about because no amendment of the Charter would be permissible so long as the representatives of the People's Republic of China did not occupy the seat of China in the Organization. Now that the Soviet Union has abandoned this stand—for otherwise Mr. Khrushchev could not himself propose an amendment to the Charter—I expect that a large majority of the Assembly will be eager to take advantage of this opportunity to achieve the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-four members.

221. Under the circumstances that unhappily prevail, the most important contribution we can make to peace is to increase our economic assistance to under-developed countries and to buttress the work of the United Nations in that domain.

222. I have noticed that some speakers in this debate have taken several hours to tell us that all countries which do not keep a continuous revolution boiling are their enemies. I would say that, under certain special circumstances, a revolution can be a necessary and, indeed, a salutary process. My own country had that experience centuries ago. Under all other circumstances, however, the promotion of quiet economic reconstruction would seem to be an infinitely better course. Each man prefers the safety and well-being of his kin to the rattling of machine guns in the street!

223. During those protracted discourses I heard much invective, but few constructive suggestions about the means to create a happier life for the individual members of the community. The Prime Minister of Cuba in his speech [872nd meeting] poured scorn on all foreign investments, but failed to explain how an under-developed country could raise the standard of living of its people without such investments. It is not least on account of the endeavour to raise the standard of living of the needy millions in the less developed countries that we in the Netherlands place our faith in the United Nations. To that faith we have testified again and again in the Economic and Social Council as well as in this Assembly. With the President's permission, I would like to expand a little on this theme.

224. A rapid glance at the problems raised by the Secretary-General in his thoughtful statement to the ministerial level session of the Economic and Social Council^{5/} last summer shows the depth and width of United Nations involvement in economic and social issues. Balanced economic and social growth, the role of economic projections, the consultation and policy role of the Economic and Social Council, the promotion of international trade and the solving of commodity problems, the flow of private capital, the role of international economic assistance, these are only some of the problems now within the purview of the United Nations family. In particular, the schemes of international economic assistance have shown a spectacular and still continuing upsurge. Concepts which not so long ago were held imprudent or impossible are becoming commonplace to private citizens, governments and academic institutions. As has so often been emphasized by Mr. Paul Hoffman, Managing-Director of the United Nations Special Fund, international economic assistance is not an act of charity; it is a necessity for all nations, rich and poor alike.

225. I wish to pay tribute to the proposal presented by President Eisenhower, in his address to the Assembly [868th meeting] for a special educational assistance programme for Africa. Without wishing to prejudice the discussion in the appropriate committee of the Assembly, I should like to suggest that existing machinery, such as the Special Fund, already active in the field of education, might be the best to administer this additional activity.

226. Fortunately, the United Nations has an impressive array of institutions capable of dealing with the teeming programmes for international assistance. In Washington the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and, shortly, the new International Development Associ-

^{5/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirtieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 2 and 4, document E/3394.

ation—whose Articles of Agreement my Government has already signed—are increasingly active. From this building, the United Nations Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance are administered, in close and indispensable co-operation with the specialized agencies. The gradual expansion of these programmes has been a basic tenet of the United Nations. This growth is now more than ever demonstrably urgent. In 1957 the General Assembly laid down a provisional financial target, for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund together of \$100 million. Very soon, at the 1960 United Nations Pledging Conference on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund to be held in this hall, that target may be reached, I believe that it would not be far-fetched, nor financially unsound, if the General Assembly were to consider at this session an increase of this target to \$125 million. It has been made abundantly clear by both Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Owen, Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board that, within the present limited scope of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme, even such an amount would not be quite adequate for the carrying out of the most urgent programmes and projects.

227. Last week the President of Indonesia reminded us of the words of George Canning, who, in the early nineteenth century mentioned as the fault of the Dutch that of "offering too little and asking too much". I am grateful to the distinguished President for having provided me with this theme, and I should like to present some variations on it that did not occur to him. Indeed, the Dutch are "offering too little" in comparison with the immensity of the existing needs. All of us are offering too little. Nevertheless, in contributing to the United Nations activities, the Netherlands has made a great effort—an effort greater, both absolutely and in terms of percentages, than that made by many other Member States. For the Special Fund we intend to pledge again for 1961, subject, of course, to parliamentary approval, the sum of \$2.4 million.

228. Contributing that amount made us the second largest contributor to the Special Fund in 1959, and the third largest in 1960. Our contribution to the Expanded Programme for 1961 will be increased by 7 per cent. Our contribution to these programmes has been, and is, considerably in excess of our share, calculated on the basis of the assessment percentage in the regular budget. I am glad to note that not only several highly developed countries, such as Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom, are contributing to those programmes more than their proportionate share, but also—and this is especially noteworthy—a number of the receiving countries, of which I may mention as examples: Brazil, Ecuador, Ghana, India, Liberia, Sudan, the United Arab Republic and Turkey. It is to be hoped that all countries will contribute their proportionate share, so that the target of \$100 million will be reached.

229. It may be that we are still "offering too little"; it is more than likely that we are "asking too much". What we are asking—from the United Nations and from the Assembly—is that our joint efforts to collect even more money for the speedier economic development of all the territories in the world in need of assistance produce greater results in a shorter time.

That is the new sense that we give to Canning's quip, and in that sense we are proud of it. I consider myself fortunate to be able to say this today in the presence of so many new Members of the United Nations from the African continent. I extend a most cordial welcome to them and I assure them that we are earnestly concerned in endeavouring to help them with their problems, and that we will do so primarily through the United Nations.

230. One of the gravest of these problems at the moment is that of the Congo (Leopoldville). In mentioning this problem, and in paying tribute to the great United Nations undertaking that is there moulding and shaping the future of a country, I wish to state two things for the record. The first thing is that it is an undeniable fact that it was Belgium that took the initiative to grant independence to the Congo. For this initiative it deserves praise and gratitude. The second is that the only thing that matters now is that the United Nations undertaking to which I referred should be continued and carried through for the benefit of the Congolese people.

231. I am gratified to be able to state that, in thus speaking, we intend to bear our share of the burden. I am able to announce that the Netherlands Government will make an appropriate contribution to the United Nations Fund for the Congo. The Secretary-General has stressed the immediate need for a sum of 100 million dollars. On the assumption that other Governments will act likewise, my Government is willing to contribute to that fund approximately one million dollars, a share corresponding to our percentage assessment in the regular budget of the United Nations.

232. Finally, I have some important things to say concerning a Territory pertaining to the Australian continent. The Territory I am referring to is Netherlands New Guinea, the western half of the island of New Guinea, on the continental shelf of Australia, in the Pacific Ocean, which island is inhabited by approximately 2 million Papuans. The eastern part of the island is administered by Australia.

233. Netherlands New Guinea is the only Territory administered by the Netherlands to which the terms of Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations apply. Our administration has no other aim than to prepare the population of the Territory, within the shortest possible time, for the exercise of its right of self-determination. That is to say that the population should freely determine what its own future is to be. It is to say that it should decide for itself whether it wishes to be an independent country, or to join up with the eastern part of the island, or to become part of Indonesia, or to opt for any other form of political existence.

234. I repeat: Netherlands policy in Netherlands New Guinea is solely and exclusively aimed at creating as soon as is humanly possible, the conditions under which the right of self-determination can be exercised—a right sanctioned by the Charter of the United Nations and praised in several speeches in this general debate as the sacrosanct and inalienable property of every people; a right, moreover, to which many countries here represented, including Indonesia, owe their independent existence.

235. The process of development towards self-determination has been accelerated, as can be seen from the details set out in our latest yearly report. Already the population has full freedom of political organization. A governing council in which the population is represented through election is being formed. Papuan Government officials are undergoing intensive training. Each year the Netherlands submits to the United Nations a detailed report on all the aspects of its administration. In these reports it does more than comply with its obligations under Article 73 e of the Charter; voluntarily it reports not only on economic, social and educational conditions, but also on the political development of the Territory.

236. During this debate suspicions have been voiced concerning the intentions of administering Powers. Our intentions are clear, unequivocal and open to verification. We have no secrets, and we invoke no immunity on account of domestic jurisdiction. To my

fellow members of the General Assembly, I declare publicly from this rostrum, that the Netherlands is prepared to subject its policy and its actions, aimed at the speediest possible attainment of self-determination by the Papuan people, to the continuous scrutiny and judgement of the United Nations. I make this declaration as another proof of the sincerity of our will to guarantee fully, honestly and completely the Papuan population's right to self-determination.

237. In spite of the difficult moments experienced by the Assembly in the recent past, my Government maintains its faith and its confidence in the Organization, which embodies, indeed, all our most fervent hopes for the future. We shall try to give it of our best, in order that out of the efforts of all, with the indispensable blessing of the Almighty, good may result.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.