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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call upon the first speaker in continuation of the general debate, I wish to announce a few changes in the list of speakers for today. The representative of Tunisia, who was to have spoken this afternoon, will not speak today, and the representative of Norway will be the third speaker this morning instead of speaking third this afternoon. That will leave one speaker, the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville), for the afternoon, and I wish to propose, therefore, that after he has spoken the Assembly should continue its consideration of the first report of the General Committee [A/4520]. Delegations may wish to take note, therefore, that after the first speaker this afternoon, and after the exercise of a right of reply and an explanation of vote which have been requested, the Assembly will resume its consideration of the first report of the General Committee, of which it is at present discussing paragraph 10.

2. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): My I extend to the President our wholehearted and sincere felicitations on his election to his high office. We are confident that at the present critical moment of history, when the eyes and the ears of the world are turned to the United Nations, his experience, wisdom and impartiality will be of valuable service to us in our deliberations.

3. Peoples all over the world have rejoiced at the admission to membership of the United Nations of sixteen countries which have recently attained independence—fifteen from the African continent, and the Republic of Cyprus. The significance of this event and its many implications cannot escape the attention of those who are conscious of the trends of the modern evolution of nations—a process which in recent decades has been growing in momentum as a result of the general awakening of peoples everywhere in the world.

4. The attainment of political independence by subjugated peoples, reflecting the basic aspirations of all those nations deprived of their national freedom, is an inevitable step to be followed by others in the course of the progress of human society towards higher levels of social and political existence. The existence of non-independent nations in the world today, and the efforts

to perpetuate such a state by the use of force have been and will remain an important cause of conflict in the international community and a basic factor in generating trouble and discord among the nations of the world.

5. It is, therefore, a matter of the highest importance for this assembly of nations in its quest for peace and justice in the world, to act immediately and collectively to remove this fundamental cause of conflict and to save the millions who still suffer the degradation of subjugation—a situation which, in recent history, has been one of the major causes of tension in the world.

6. Thus the declaration of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union regarding the termination of colonialism and the immediate grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4502 and Corr.1] is of the highest significance. At this critical moment in world history, with international tensions mounting, the liberation of colonial and semi-colonial countries and peoples will greatly contribute to the removal of certain fundamental causes of conflict and contradiction in international society. National and individual freedom, which has been and will remain one of the pillars of modern civilization, and the moving force for progress in modern society, cannot be denied to any people or nation at a time when the unity and interdependence of all countries and peoples of the world is becoming a necessity for the survival of human civilization. The perpetuation of colonial subjugation is, moreover, a flagrant denial of the concept of "one world", and an anachronism which obstructs the proper evolution of the international community towards its goals of peace and progress.

7. The rapid increase in the membership of the United Nations should not only be considered as a result of the attainment of independence by new States and nations, but also as an expression of a genuine desire on their part to join hands with other nations. It is also an expression of their genuine desire to strengthen the Organization so as to enable it to play its historical role in promoting international understanding and co-operation and to widen the area of peace and justice. The new and small States join the United Nations because of their confidence in the ability of the Organization to settle international problems and to assist them in overcoming their difficulties and also to find their proper place in the international community of free and equal nations. It will, therefore, be a sad disappointment to those nations when they come here to find some Powers impeding the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a new world order in which the small countries will find security, the means for development and progress and the achievement of complete independence in a world of equal and sovereign States.

8. The General Assembly meets again in an atmosphere of a divided world. Tension has been increasing since the end of the Second World War. National and international efforts within and outside this Organization have failed to solve a number of the major issues dividing the world. Nevertheless, the hopes of most members of the international community for the settlement of these issues remain centred in this Organization. Experience has shown that in spite of all criticism of the United Nations and its weaknesses, its presence is imperative and its support by all nations is a major historical necessity.

9. The great and chief objective of nations uniting in the United Nations and binding themselves by the Charter is the preservation of their identity and personality in a relationship conducive to the promotion of peace, justice and progress. Yet not only has the last decade and a half witnessed an increase in tension, the prevalence of the cold war and occasional armed conflict, but also a great increase in the possibilities of the destruction of human civilization by general war. This situation derives from the contradictions inherent in a world which refuses to admit the growing forces of a revolution covering most phases of the material and cultural life of society, both in its national and international aspects. There is, moreover, no justification for ignoring the revolution of peoples everywhere against outdated systems of relationships between nations inherited from the past. Neither is there any justification for ignoring the role which the United Nations can play in paving the way for the settlement of the issues which divide the world, or for resorting to the use of force to that end.

10. It has become obvious in recent years that the problems we have been gathering here to discuss emanate from a number of contradictions, both conceptual and institutional. In the course of the last fifteen years the political and economic aspirations of the non-free nations have risen to high levels, and active movements for political emancipation have spread to all subjugated peoples. The whole world, with the exception of certain circles and vested interests, have become more aware of the need for recognizing this revolution and its historical impact upon its present and future destiny. The world has also recognized the necessity of maintaining a machinery for the co-ordination of the interests of nations, and the peaceful settlement of their differences. This, the United Nations was, in the words of the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, "an organic creation of the political situation facing our generation" [A/4390/Add.1, p. 9].

11. The responsibilities of the United Nations have grown considerably since the world's political problems have become more numerous and complicated; the task of promoting a new international order have embraced a greater number of questions pertaining to peoples at different levels of development. While the United Nations was evolving as a concept and an institution, and while a new international order was in the process of being created, some Powers were motivated in their international relations by considerations which were in certain ways inconsistent with the objectives of the United Nations Charter and the basic premises upon which the new world order was to be built, thus hindering the proper evolution of this

Organization and aggravating certain problems of the world.

12. Nevertheless, we believe that in a period of increasing danger of war it is incumbent upon Member States to rally to the support of the United Nations in order to prevent further deterioration of the international situation, to make of the United Nations an effective instrument for arresting the evil forces of war and a centre for the peaceful settlement of international differences and disputes.

13. People everywhere were greatly disturbed by the way the Summit Conference which was to be held in Paris in May 1960, and the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament failed to achieve the objectives for which they were organized. Thus, we come to this fifteenth session of the General Assembly with a sense that it will be a crucial session, that the United Nations will be facing a crisis of confidence, and that it will be the supreme duty of those nations which believe in the necessity of averting a catastrophe to human civilization to act rapidly and effectively to save the United Nations, to enable it to create the basis for understanding between the Powers, and to make of it, in the words of the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of ... common ends".

14. The fifteen years of the life of the United Nations have witnessed a greater split between East and West, and the gathering of power into two contending and hostile blocs, negotiating from positions of strength. However true the picture of the division of power in the world at the present time, the fact remains that the development of the two blocs has not reached the point of collision, as there still exists space separating them, which could be occupied by other Powers. The time has come for the non-committed nations, and others which have recently attained independence, to hasten to occupy this space and to bridge the gap which separates East and West. We have in mind those States which follow the policy of positive neutrality and other nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As the Secretary-General states in the Introduction to his Annual Report:

"Who can deny that today the countries of Asia or the countries of Africa, acting in a common spirit, represent powerful elements in the international community, in their ways as important as any of the big Powers, although lacking in their military and economic potential?" [A/4390/Add.1, p. 8.]

15. Although the eyes of the world are turned with anxiety to the deliberations at this session of the General Assembly because of the alarming international trends which have developed in recent months, especially between the big Powers, nevertheless world public opinion expects from this session that it will not forget other problems which are contributing to the increase of tension in the world.

16. These problems include the denial of membership in the United Nations to the People's Republic of China; the continued occupation of West Irian by the Netherlands; the attempt at the separation of Mauritania from Morocco by France; the war in Algeria; the fighting in Oman; the Palestine question; and the question of the Congo (Leopoldville).

17. I do not intend to deal with all these problems in detail. We have already expressed our opinion on

the problem of the People's Republic of China's right to membership in the United Nations, and pointed out the unwise policy of preventing that country from occupying her legitimate place in the United Nations. We strongly support the right of Indonesia in West Irian and we believe that occupation of that Territory by the Netherlands forces is disturbing the peace and endangering security in South East Asia. We shall have, on the separation by France of Mauritania from Morocco, the opportunity to expose the nature of the colonial game played there by France in order to keep that Moroccan territory under its domination. Regarding the remaining problems, which fall in the midst of our region and which constitute a danger to its peace and security, I should like to deal with them in some detail. I should also like to refer to the Congo question.

18. I turn now to the question of Algeria. The Algerian war of liberation will soon enter its seventh year, and the destruction in men and materials has grown ever greater and wider. Thus the United Nations has before it once again the task of tackling this great tragedy. It is hardly necessary to explain either the unjust character of this war or its far-reaching effects on the state of tension in the world. It is equally unnecessary to recall here the accepted principle of the Charter regarding the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, a right which has been endorsed by the General Assembly and recognized even by France. Despite all these facts, and the recognition of this right by wide segments of public opinion in France itself and in the world at large, the war is being continued by France with increasing force and determination. In other words, while the General Assembly has been endeavouring to bring about a settlement through negotiations, the French Government has obstinately refused to yield either to the appeals of world public opinion, represented by this Organization, or to the requirements of the present world situation.

19. On 16 September 1959, President de Gaulle spoke of self-determination for Algeria. His reputation as the only man in France able to make peace in Algeria secured his international prestige and led a majority of the Members of the United Nations to renew the appeal for negotiations as the most appropriate means for the implementation of the right of self-determination. The nature of the position of General de Gaulle and the political forces which brought him to power, as well as the kind of power equilibrium in France itself, led us to doubt the intentions behind his declared Algerian policy. Subsequent events confirmed our doubts; contacts and meetings have shown beyond any doubt that General de Gaulle did not mean what he said regarding self-determination for Algeria. He wanted nothing less than surrender. He went further to reveal the true character of his policy when he recently denounced the United Nations and its Charter. He declared in advance that any resolution of the General Assembly on Algeria would have no effect on his policy, and he cynically referred to this Organization as the "so-called" United Nations. In view of this attitude, it is to be asked how much weight should be placed on the participation of France in the United Nations and its actions therein. This attitude no doubt reflects the policy pursued by France in the international field, and particularly vis-à-vis small nations.

20. It is time that the General Assembly took a more positive stand with regard to Algeria. We have all rejoiced to have among us fifteen new African Member States, and the question has been on everybody's lips: Why not Algeria? There is another aspect to the question. We believe that peace in Algeria is an essential preliminary to the relations of the Arab States with France, and to a large extent with the West. It might be appropriate to draw attention here to the fact that the Algerian war emphasizes the dependence of France on NATO in general and the United States in particular. Having concentrated in Algeria an army of nearly three-quarters of a million men, and having both material and diplomatic support from the countries of NATO, France is trying desperately to wipe out the Algerian national liberation movement by sheer force. These endeavours are doomed to failure, as the Free Republic of Algeria was born in the fire of battle, and the Algerian army, which is a people's army, is daily striking severe blows against the French forces. It is rather disturbing to know that those same NATO Powers, which come here to preach peace and justice, extend their material and political assistance to France to enable it to disturb the peace and to continue this war of extermination.

21. How futile and atrocious it is to continue on the road of error, especially at a time when the peace of the world is threatened. We believe that, unless action is taken rapidly to terminate the Algerian war to the satisfaction of the Algerian people's aspirations, the area affected by the war may be extended and the struggle will become more international.

22. General de Gaulle has disillusioned world public opinion, because France's war in Algeria is absolutely devoid of any idealism. On the contrary, the French action in Algeria is an exaltation of war and destruction. Since when, we may ask, have war and torture been the ideals of a civilized society?

23. The time has come for the General Assembly to find a just and democratic solution for the Algerian question, a solution more realistic than previous recommendations. Negotiations have failed because of France's determination to suppress by force the right of Algerians to self-determination. It now falls to the United Nations to work out a plan for the implementation of the principles of self-determination in Algeria. The Algerian Government, guided by its genuine desire to end the war and by the principles of the Charter, and according to law and justice, has suggested a solution by means of a plebiscite to be carried out under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

24. This proposal is a challenge both to the United Nations as an Organization, and to all Powers seeking to promote peace and justice. The Algerian Government has repeatedly responded to the appeals of the United Nations for negotiations; but France refused to heed the recommendations of the Assembly. Let the United Nations assume now its role of peacemaker and promoter of freedom and justice. The proposal is practical, and its implementation will undoubtedly cover questions situated in both areas of war and peace. This is not only a challenge to the United Nations, but also an opportunity which has been offered at a time when the whole world, and particularly the less-developed countries, is seeking ways and means to strengthen this Organization.

25. I should like now to turn to the Palestine question. Israel has been for the last twelve years a factor disturbing the peace in the region of the Middle East, and a cause for obstructing its normal development and progress; and the presence of one million Arab refugees has served as an annual reminder to the General Assembly of a much bigger problem, the Palestine problem.

26. Every year the report of the Secretary-General contains a chapter on the Palestine question dealing with acts of aggression committed by Israel against neighbouring Arab States. Thus every year the Security Council has to intervene a number of times in order to stop Israel's military violations of the General Armistice Agreements of 1949. This aggressive and hostile attitude of Israel and its policy of expansion by military means have kept the Arab countries in a state of fear and turned the whole region of the Middle East into an area of perpetual instability. Israel's policy of encouraging and financing Jewish immigration beyond the economic absorptive capacity of the country has amply demonstrated the expansionist intentions of Israel towards neighbouring Arab countries. Moreover, the ever-rising expenditure on armaments, and the training of men and women in increasing numbers for military service are part of Israel's preparation for aggression against its neighbours.

27. In view of these and other facts connected with the militarization of Israel's economy, the increasing instability of the Middle Eastern situation should be viewed both in relation to the presence of Israel in our region and in the light of the component parts of its policy of preparation for a war of aggression. This situation concerns no doubt not only the Arab peoples in the Middle East but also the world at large. And it is, therefore, the responsibility of the United Nations to tackle the problem thus created, as the security of the Middle East is daily becoming more intimately related to the question of general security in the world.

28. We feel, however, that the mere adoption of resolutions by the Security Council, or even by the General Assembly, is not the appropriate way to deal with Israel, which is bent on aggression and perpetuates its presence by the force of arms. Since its creation, Israel has followed an attitude of defiance to the decisions of the United Nations; it has ignored the directives of the Security Council, and has continually worked to foment strife and conflict in the region. The reasons for this policy are not difficult to see.

29. Israel militarism, supported by certain political circles and groups with economic vested interests in Europe and America, reflects the existence of closely knit relationships between Israel and those Western Powers which count on maintaining their domination from positions of strength. Moreover, economic and financial aid generously provided to Israel by certain Western countries, particularly the United States and France, offer an irrefutable proof of the determination of those countries to make of Israel a stronghold against the Arab States. The special task assigned to Israel by certain Western Powers since its creation was divulged during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956. Moreover, never a year has passed in which Israel has not committed a number of acts of aggression against the Arab countries, as is evident from the records of the Security Council and those of the Mixed Armistice Commissions.

30. With the passage of time, it has become abundantly clear to most Members of the United Nations that Israel constitutes the major factor of instability in the Middle East and an inherent danger to its security and that of world peace. Above all, Israel's presence and acts against the Arab countries have provided pretexts for the intervention of certain Powers, and an excuse for exercising pressure upon those countries. The events of the last twelve years have shown only too clearly that certain colonial Powers have used Israel as a ground from which to exercise control over the liberated Arab States, and through which to exert pressure upon them and to threaten their independence. Thus certain Western Powers, motivated by common imperialist interests, have systematically reinforced the economic and military position of Israel and provided it with the necessary political and diplomatic protection within and from outside the region. These Powers consider Israel as their main military and strategic base in the Middle East, not only to perpetuate their influence in the region but also for aggressive purposes outside it.

31. The conclusion to be derived from the preceding observations is that the strategy and tactics of the imperialist Powers in the Middle East have centred around the presence of Israel. We who fought, and are still fighting the imperialist domination in our countries, therefore view Israel not only as a usurper of our land, but also as an instrument of oppression to our people and a continuous threat to our national freedom and independence. Furthermore, Israel, being an alien body in the Arab homeland, has no right whatsoever to continue to exist in the territories of the Arab East.

32. The situation of the Palestine Arab refugees during the last twelve years reveals clearly their determination not to accept the "fait accompli" imposed upon their homeland by an ill-considered, prejudicial and extremely unjust decision of the United Nations. Today, more than ever, they are determined to regain their country—Palestine; they are not alone in their determination, they have the whole Arab world behind them. Their right to do so stems from the injustices inflicted upon them by the United Nations arbitrary action, dictated by certain imperialist Powers. Therefore, the question of Palestine is not settled, because nothing is really settled until it is settled rightly; and the only way to do that is that Palestine in its entirety should be allowed to belong once more to its Arab population.

33. In another part of the Middle East, that is, in Oman and Southern Arabia, the colonial system continues the operation of suppression by force of the national liberation movements, in order to perpetuate its control and supremacy established during the nineteenth century.

34. For the last five years the people of Oman have been in a state of revolt against their oppressors and have been fighting the United Kingdom colonial occupation. Although the people of Oman possess neither the necessary arms nor the military organization for prosecuting the war against the modern weapons of destruction employed by the forces of a big Power, the British have not been able to defeat them or to gain a victory. This shows that a people fighting for a just cause—their liberation—can never be defeated by a colonial Power, however strong.

35. And for five years the world has been prevented from knowing the tragedies of the war in Oman. The colonial Powers and their friends barred the consideration of the question by the United Nations in 1957. Then a conspiracy of silence was organized by the occupying forces; visitors and correspondents of newspapers and world news agencies were not allowed to visit Oman or the adjacent territories.

36. Last year we appealed to the United Nations from this tribune [812th meeting] to initiate an inquiry into the existing conflict between the peoples of the southern Arabian territories and the United Kingdom, as well as into the legal basis for the presence of the United Kingdom there. No response, unfortunately, was ever heard to our appeal, the colonial conspiracy continued, and the United Nations remained indifferent.

37. Needless to say, the continuation of this United Nations attitude of indifference towards the subjugation of peoples by the colonial Powers and the suppression of their national aspirations by force is bound to lead to the weakening of the Organization and to the spread of violence and lawlessness in the world.

38. May I say a word about the Congo (Leopoldville)? The situation in the Congo continues to cause great concern and anxiety. As we indicated in the debate during the recent fourth emergency special session [862nd meeting], Belgium bears the major share of the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation. When the Belgians ended their colonial rule in the Congo, they left behind them a legacy of hate and fear. The people of the Congo were soon to find out that independence did not completely rid them of Belgian influence and intrigue.

39. The regrettable incidents which occurred soon after independence were provoked, no doubt, by the utter thoughtlessness and arrogance of the Belgian officers in command of the "Force publique". This provided Belgium with a pretext to reimpose its authority in the Congo. Nowhere was the pattern more clear than in Katanga, where a secessionist movement was instigated and fully supported by the Belgian Government. The representatives of Belgium have advanced the argument that if Belgium wanted to stay in the Congo it would not have granted that country independence. The answer to this assertion is very simple. The Belgians did not offer independence as a gift to the Congolese people, they were forced to do so under the gathering momentum of African nationalism. They realized that if they did not agree to grant independence to the Congo, they would be forced to do so later. So they gave what they were obliged to give, but sought to perpetuate their economic hegemony by separating the rich province of Katanga where most of the country's mineral wealth is located.

40. The present crisis in the Congo would never have reached this critical stage if Belgium was not trying through secessionists to violate the unity, territorial integrity, and independence of the Congo. At the time when President Kasa-Vubu and Prime Minister Lumumba addressed their joint appeal to the United Nations for help, the main problems which were facing the Congo were the withdrawal of Belgian troops and the maintenance of internal peace and order. The crisis would have ended with the withdrawal of Belgian troops which was effected under relentless pressure from the Secretary-General, acting in accordance with the mandate given to him by the Security Council.

Unfortunately, the Belgians left behind them a time bomb which exploded, threatening not only the independence of the Congo and its territorial integrity, but world peace and security and the future of the United Nations. In retrospect and in view of its disastrous results, how irresponsible and narrow-minded Belgian policy has been! The evil seed the Belgians planted in Katanga has poisoned the relations between the Congo Government and the United Nations, endangering the very existence of this Organization.

41. Our position regarding the Congo question is based upon resolution 1474 (ES-IV) adopted more than two weeks ago by the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly. We sponsored that resolution together with all the African States who were members of this Organization at that time. The seventeen sponsors were supported fully by all the Members States from Asia and the resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote by the Assembly. The Congo question, however, is still with the General Assembly. What we have to do now is to find the appropriate means to bring about harmony and peace in the Congo and to safeguard its independence and territorial integrity.

42. To achieve this end, executive action is of primary importance and as Mr. Nehru said:

"...it would not be desirable for the executive to be weakened when frequent and rapid decisions have to be made. That would mean an abdication of the responsibilities undertaken by the United Nations. If the the executive itself is split up and pulls in different directions, it will not be able to function adequately or with speed. For that reason, the executive should be given authority to act within the terms of the directions issued. At the same time the executive has to keep in view all the time the impact of various forces in the world, for we must realize that unfortunately we live in a world where there are many pulls in different directions. The Secretary-General might well consider what organizational steps should be taken to deal adequately with this novel situation." [882nd meeting, para. 143.]

I would like to take this opportunity to associate myself with the wide expression of confidence in the ability of the Secretary-General, his impartiality and his devotion to the cause of peace and freedom everywhere.

43. A word about the political and economic independence of new States might be useful. The retreat of the colonial system and the growing aspirations of the peoples in the less developed countries for economic development are among the most acute problems of our time. Apart from reflecting certain aspects of the present crisis of the capitalist system, these two facts represent the basis which relate the political independence of the new States to their future economic development. Constant endeavours are made by certain Powers to maintain their colonial domination in the economic field. Experience has shown that under such conditions the general problem of "under-development" in the new States cannot be solved.

44. In these States people are struggling to find the shortest road to rapid achievement of a decent material and cultural existence, and to free themselves from colonial and semi-colonial relationships in their various forms. Therefore, the main objective of the

new States is the achievement of complete political and economic independence, without which the problem of under-development cannot be solved. It should, however, be noted that political independence, which is the exercise of the right of separation, will be devoid of its essence if pre-liberation economic relationships continue to operate between the colonial Powers and the new States in their traditional institutional forms. That is why it is essential that the contents of political independence should be expressed in terms of economic relations between the new States and the former colonial Powers. It is, therefore, imperative that the right of separation, which implies, above all, complete sovereignty of the new States over their internal and external affairs, should lead to the termination or the readjustment of existing unequal economic relationships and should open the way for the conclusion of a new and free association between the two parties.

45. It is necessary to point out that the new association can hardly function if the colonial Powers continue to be guided in their approach to the new States by old colonial conceptions and practices in the field of economic relations. Without free and equal economic association, political independence will be fictitious, and the new States will remain within the grip of the colonial régime. It is common knowledge that for colonialism, political annexation of a country or a territory is not an end in itself; it is a means to its economic exploitation. On the other hand, economic exploitation can be achieved without political annexation. Thus the attainment of political independence by certain States will serve little purpose if the process of economic de-colonization is not attained in the light of the following two criteria of economic independence: the freedom to terminate the colonial pillage of the economic resources of the new States; and the freedom of the new States to choose their own ways and methods of economic development.

46. Experience has shown that the first requirement of economic development is change; and, since change does not come easily, economic development has been a delicate and often dangerous task. It requires, above all, greater understanding and collaboration at the international level.

47. The movement of the peoples of the economically less-developed countries along the road of economic development is hampered by certain well known obstacles. Most important of these is lack of investment capital, technical knowledge and qualified personnel.

48. In the great task of meeting these needs we have strongly and consistently advocated the channelling of both capital and technical assistance to the less-developed countries through the United Nations. This position rests on two primary considerations. In the first place, unlike bilateral aid, United Nations assistance does not arouse the political and psychological sensitivities of the recipient countries and is by its nature more closely related to their actual needs. On the other hand, if the basic purposes and principles set forth in the Charter are to be fully implemented, this Organization must be provided with the means to play a major role in the rapid development of the less-developed countries. We have, from the beginning, actively participated in and given our support to the United Nations Programmes of Technical Co-operation. We welcomed the establishment of the Special Fund as an enlargement of the scope of these

programmes, and hope that the initial goal of \$100 million for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund will soon be realized.

49. Important as they are, however, these programmes, in our opinion, are inadequate as bases for a proper United Nations contribution to the economic development of the less-developed countries. The growing need for the speedy establishment of a United Nations capital development fund is one of the most important tasks still facing this Organization. We have recently heard a number of encouraging statements, particularly by the President of the United States, indicating that the principle underlying this long-standing demand has been accepted by some of the advanced countries previously opposed to the idea. May we hope that these statements will soon be translated into concrete action in the appropriate organs of the United Nations?

50. In the highly interdependent world of today, a sustained and balanced rate of economic growth in the major industrial countries is not only essential to them but is also of vital importance to the less-developed countries. Time and again attention has been called to the crucial problem of the constant fluctuation in the prices and volume of trade in primary commodities, which seriously affects the very foundations of the economies of these countries.

51. There are disturbing signs that the prices of hitherto stable commodities, such as petroleum, are being cut, with serious consequences for those countries whose economies are largely dependent on the export of such commodities. We believe the time has come for a fresh and major effort to be made, through the United Nations, to assist in curbing excessive fluctuations and to bring order into the international market of primary commodities. Unless this is done, no reasonable amount of outside aid to the under-developed countries can be truly effective.

52. The Soviet proposal of 18 September 1959 for general and complete disarmament [See A/4219] received wide support in many parts of the world, because total disarmament was and remains the only possible and lasting solution for the political crisis of our era. The importance and the extreme urgency of the disarmament problem need no emphasis, as the world finds itself at this moment at the edge of a precipice. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the future of civilization depends primarily on our ability to find a solution for the present arms race. In an epoch of rapid change like the present, characterized by great scientific and technological achievements, by revolutions and wars of liberation, by transition from capitalism to socialism in many parts of the world, and by great demands for economic and social development; the solution of the problem of armaments will usher man into an age of great prospects, while his failure will perhaps mark the end of civilization.

53. The world today is at the cross-roads; and it is in the hands of this General Assembly to decide whether or not to accept war as an instrument for regulating relations between nations. But war as an instrument of policy is self-defeating, as war has become absurd and monstrous, and will definitely lead to the collapse of the world structure. Moreover, the acceptance of war as an instrument of foreign policy implies the maintenance of peace by the force

of arms. Such peace will be based on fear arising from the balance of danger of nuclear weapons. This is a faulty and dangerous conception, because fear can never provide a stable guarantee of peace. Nuclear weapons add greatly to the danger of "accidental" war; and in an atmosphere of fear the risk is all the greater. Moreover, peace through fear is an unstable peace and signifies "brinkmanship", wasteful military expenditure and a permanent cold war.

54. The alternative to peace through fear, in our opinion, is peace through disarmament. That is why my Government supports the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament. The banning of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament signify a step forward in providing a decisive condition for excluding war from the life of society, a fact which is bound to transform the entire system of international relations, abolish the law of force on which these relations are based, and provide new criteria for the relations among nations. In other words, if there is disarmament, international power will gradually cease to be measured in terms of military strength. A concept of right should then gradually replace the old principle of the balance of power.

55. The fundamental issue in world politics today is the defence of peace. If the world is to face the problem of peace boldly—and that indeed is the only way to cope with the many problems which poison the relations among nations—it is bound to follow the policy of peaceful coexistence. The possibility of peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems was confirmed in the inter-war period. The fact that the Second World War was not started between the capitalist and socialist countries but among the capitalist countries themselves, indicates the validity of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Since that time the concept of peaceful coexistence has become clearer and richer. It is not a temporary policy depending on circumstances, but a general line of development in international relations. It implies that war should be repudiated as a means for settling differences and disputes, and makes it incumbent on all States to observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of nations. It implies moreover that relations between big and small States should no longer be based on the principles of domination and subordination, of inequality, oppression and exploitation of the weak by the strong. The implementation of these principles of peaceful co-existence leads to the consolidation of peace, to the establishment of international relations of a new type, relations that know no war and no violence. It will also lead to more active and broader relations of a constructive character.

56. Since the National Revolution of 14 July 1958, Iraq, under the guidance of its leader, Abdul Karim Kassem, has been following the road of positive neutrality in its relations with the various groups of Powers in the world. Our foreign policy of neutrality is in essence a policy of peaceful coexistence. Thus, in a spirit of neutrality and guided by the desire for peaceful co-operation with nations, our relations with States of different social and political systems have been developing favourably. Our policy of positive neutrality helped us to promote good relations with the East and West, and with our neighbours and a number of other Asian and African States. In adopting a policy of peaceful coexistence, Iraq has been able

to contribute to the combating of the cold war and to set an example for small States to follow.

57. Last year I concluded my speech from this rostrum [812th meeting] with a note of optimism reflecting the favourable and promising climate of international relations prevailing at the time. We deeply regret that the setback in East-West relations in recent months has confronted the Assembly and the world at large with a different atmosphere, an atmosphere of anxiety and crisis. We regret, but we do not despair.

58. The great dangers inherent in the present impasse, we believe, will serve as an impetus in our search for acceptable and more constructive solutions to the major issues dividing the world and threatening the very existence of human civilization.

59. While listening to the important and sometimes dramatic statements made in this hall, it is a source of satisfaction to us to hear the calm and clear voice of reason high above the commotion of tempers, complaints, accusations and counter-accusations. We are confident that discords and recriminations are temporary, and that it is the voice of reason which will endure. Of course it is not reasonable to expect that world problems, some inherited from the past, others newly created, can be settled at one session. There is, however, general agreement that the time has come for all of us, some more than others, to abandon some of our old ways of thinking and to adopt new norms for measuring our relations. There is a pressing need for us all to understand each other better, with our ideas and ideals, our hopes and aspirations. Above all we need to recognize that the survival of human society depends primarily upon the degree of its respect for and attachment to the universal social and ethical values.

60. Fifteen years ago, at San Francisco, the framers of the Charter, guided by such values, pronounced to the world, in the Preamble, certain universal principles:

"to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

"to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

"to ensure . . . that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

"to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples".

61. It is our fervent hope that these lofty principles will guide the United Nations in the search for a way out of the world's present dilemma.

62. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): As Chairman of the delegation of Ireland, making my first statement in the Assembly under the Presidency of Mr. Boland, it gives me very particular pleasure, to express my delegation's deep satisfaction that the choice of the Assembly should have fallen on him. My delegation, with the long experience it has of his high abilities, is entirely confident that he will preside over our debates with impartiality, courtesy, and firmness and that the Assembly will have, as our discussions continue, ever-growing confirmation of the wisdom of its choice. May I say to him, in the words of an Irish greeting to a man engaged on a particularly difficult task, "Bail o Dhia ar an obair"—God bless the work.

63. The seventeen new Members which we are proud to welcome here at this Session have joined us at a moment of crisis in the Organization and, perhaps, at a turning-point in world history. The history of the United Nations is indeed not lacking in crises, but the present one, more than any of those which have preceded it, except possibly the Korean crisis, calls into question the very existence of the United Nations as a functioning international body.

64. That question—the possibility that, should we fail here to act in a sufficiently enlightened and responsible fashion, the United Nations may not survive—is one that should be constantly present in our minds as a chastening influence on our emotions, words and deeds. We should ask ourselves, I suggest, what would our situation be if the United Nations were to break down or to become paralyzed. What form would the cold war then take? Would it not be likely to develop into what are described sometimes too airily as "brush fire wars"—wars which, though confined in space, may none the less become appalling national tragedies, like the Spanish war of 1936-1939 in which domestic antagonisms drew in the far greater destructive forces of foreign intervention on both sides? The prelude to the Spanish tragedy had been a catastrophic decline in the prestige and influence of the League of Nations. The sequel was the Second World War.

65. The present crisis and the future of the Organization are closely related to the governing currents of our times, of the mid-twentieth century—the cold war and the widening of freedom. By the widening of freedom I mean, of course, the emergence into independent national life of vast areas, mainly in Asia and Africa, formerly subject to foreign States. The interaction of these great currents, which we feel so directly here in the Assembly, will be decisive for the future of humanity. This is not to say that we are necessarily to be the sport of blind forces altogether beyond our control. On the contrary, man's mind and spirit have always sought to dominate and control the elemental forces both of nature itself and, what is much more difficult, of man's own nature. The nation State itself represents a significant victory over these forces. The tendencies to anarchy and violence, already held in check within the territories of most nation States still have a stronghold, however, in the international field.

66. The supreme task of the United Nations is to control those forces in that field by a gradual process similar to that by which the nation States successfully brought them under control within national territories. To do so it must learn to handle—it has indeed made considerable progress in learning to handle—the two great forces in the world situation of which I have spoken, the cold war and the widening of freedom. I believe that nothing is more important for our deliberations here than that we should rise above polemics and reach a correct understanding of the political interaction of the cold war and the widening of freedom.

67. As delegations are aware, an important aspect of the cold war is the intense competition—carried on by diplomacy, by propaganda and sometimes by economic and military aid—between two sets of great Powers with radically different political systems, for the support of independent nations and peoples, especially in Asia and Africa. The competition in itself is natural and healthy, at least to the extent that it is a substitute

for real war. It is, in fact, a result of the nuclear stalemate, the situation in which great Power groups find themselves estopped, through fear of self-destruction, from using their wealth of destructive power in the pursuit of policy. It is beneficial to the extent to which it tends to inculcate respect for the rights of small nations and for the aspirations of emerging peoples.

68. The competition between the great Powers for the favour of world opinion has been one of the great forces which have brought about the freedom of the many new Member States which we have welcomed here. It will, I believe, help in the future to bring still other nations—and I do not refer here exclusively to those which are usually labelled as colonial—towards independence. Furthermore, even in territories now under alien control, the cold war with the unrelenting criticism which it brings to bear can sometimes have a restraining influence on the controlling Power.

69. At the same time, the competition of the cold war does carry with it the most appalling burdens and dangers. It is a truism that the tremendous sums now being spent on armaments could, if they were devoted instead to a global war on poverty, transform the conditions of human life. But the actual cost of the arms race, staggering as it is, is small in comparison with its potential cost. The intense competition between the Powers in a particular area is always in danger, through miscalculation on the part of one great Power or another, or on the part of local factions championed by them, of slipping into armed conflict leading to a variant of the Spanish tragedy, or even beyond that into the universal and final tragedy of nuclear war.

70. If that is to be avoided, we submit, two sets of conditions must be fulfilled. Since it is quite unrealistic to suppose that the cold war will vanish from the scene in the near future, we should like to appeal to the protagonists in that high competition to conduct it with a degree of caution and restraint proportionate to the dangers involved. We would appeal to them to take certain steps as safety measures in our common interest, and to the smaller countries to co-operate with them in these precautions.

71. The first step is, I suggest, to control the incidence of flash points, to stop the development of situations in which the nuclear powers might become too deeply involved and from which they could not retreat without loss of prestige. The Congo (Leopoldville) is an example of such a situation which has so far been kept under control—thanks, let me say, to the good sense displayed by the Security Council and the co-operating Powers, to the hard work and skill of the Secretary-General and his staff, and to the loyalty and exemplary conduct of the United Nations soldiers engaged in this historic action.

72. Our second step towards this end is, I suggest, to contain the nuclear weapon and stop its spread to further countries. Every addition to the list of countries possessing nuclear weapons increases the danger of their use for defence, for aggression, for revenge or for revolution. My delegation will introduce a draft resolution^{1/} at this session suggesting methods for restricting the spread of these weapons of indiscriminate destruction.

^{1/}Subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/L.253/Rev.1, and Add.1-3.

73. If we have the good fortune to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to prevent the development of further flash points, we may have time, before the present balance of terror can be upset by the scientists, to adopt the third safety measure, to turn the critical areas of tension in the world into peaceful areas of law. By an area of law I mean a specific region or zone in which the neighbouring States would agree to limit their arms below "blitzkrieg" level, to exclude foreign troops from their territories and to accept supervision by the United Nations of the fulfilment of these conditions. In this way there could be gradually built up, throughout the world, an expanding network of areas in which our Charter pledges would be supported by tangible and effective guarantees—areas in which neighbouring peoples would be definitely committed to seek change and settle disputes by peaceful means alone.

74. At previous sessions of the Assembly my delegation suggested the establishment of such areas of law in the Middle East and in Central Europe. Members of the Assembly who heard these suggestions may remember that they were put forward not as a final solution for the problem of world peace, but as a step towards the gradual attainment of a universal rule of law interpreted and enforced by organs of the United Nations. The same consideration would apply, of course, to any extension of the same principle. I believe that another great region which could benefit enormously from constituting itself, and being accepted as, an area of law is central Africa. This is a theme to which, with the Assembly's permission, I shall return later.

75. So far I have spoken mainly in terms of what, it seems to me, the rank and file delegations in the Assembly are entitled to look for from the great Powers who are the chief participants in the cold war. I do not think it is unduly presumptuous on our part to express such an appeal, for we smaller countries—the independent countries, the uncommitted countries, call us what you will—it is we who really form the stake in this great struggle. It is surely not amiss on our part, therefore, to state our views on the standard of conduct which is likely to win our confidence and support. The best way for the great Powers to win our confidence and support is by proving themselves loyal Members of the United Nations, and it is our right and interest to make that clear to them.

76. I do not wish to claim, however, that the sole responsibility for preserving the peace, and the sole guilt if it is not preserved, rest on the shoulders of the great Powers. On the contrary, in recent times the weaker countries have come to bear a greater degree of responsibility for peace or war than ever before. That is, of course, an aspect of the cold war. The great Powers—direct conflict between them being almost unthinkable because of the mutual nuclear deterrent—have become more sensitive than ever before to the attitudes of smaller countries. All the reactions of every such country, particularly their votes and statements in this Assembly, are scanned as sensitive indices of the state of world opinion, of what one might call the "score" in the global contest. It may in some ways be gratifying for small countries to find themselves in that position. It may, if we all use our new-found influence wisely, bring us considerable benefit. But it may also, if by bad judgement we should abuse our influence over the balance of power, lead to the destruction of us all.

77. Small nations are not always wiser or better than large ones—however much we may sometimes be tempted to think so—but in the past when large States committed crimes or follies the consequences were normally more vast and startling than those flowing from similar acts of smaller States. We, the recently emerged nations who form nearly half of this Assembly, carry now, however, such a tremendous collective responsibility that if we should err seriously, the consequences might well be as disastrous as those of any error committed by a great Power. Either subservience or recklessness on our part in the present crisis could destroy this Organization and with it our independence. We have to resist the temptation to seek selfish and short-term advantage in great Power competition, and also the temptation to requite past injustices by exploiting the opportunities offered by the cold war.

78. We have, in short, to discipline ourselves as loyal and practical supporters of this Organization. For if, through the collapse of the United Nations, the world were to return completely to the law of the jungle, many of the independent nations represented here might not survive. The United Nations is the best guarantee of our freedom and independence; for many it also offers the best hope of disinterested help in the economic and technical development of which they stand in such urgent need. Fortunately there are convincing signs that the great majority of the smaller nations possess not only independence of judgement but also a sense of responsibility and an appreciation of the vital importance to them of this Organization. These qualities were, I think, magnificently reflected in the fourth emergency special session of the Assembly and, in particular, in the resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] adopted at that session on the proposal of the African and Asian countries, and carried without a dissentient vote, the resolution supporting the continuation of the United Nations action in the Congo (Leopoldville).

79. Our deliberations here this year are dominated—spectacularly dominated sometimes—by the interplay of the cold war and by the other great current of which I have spoken: the widening of freedom, often called the liquidation of colonialism. I speak in this debate for the only Western European country which has had experience, not just of temporary occupation, but of a long historic epoch of foreign rule and of resistance to that rule. We know what imperialism is and what resistance to it involves. We do not hear with indifference the voices of those spokesmen of African and Asian countries who passionately champion the right to independence of the millions who are still, unfortunately, under foreign rule. On the contrary, those voices strike an answering chord in every Irish heart. More than eighty years ago the then leader of the Irish nation, Charles Stewart Parnell, proclaimed the principle that "the cause of nationality is sacred, in Asia and Africa as in Ireland". That is still a basic principle of our political thinking in Ireland today, as it was with those of my generation who felt impelled to assert in arms the right of our country to self-determination and independence.

80. I hope I may be forgiven if at this point I introduce a personal note, and also say something of my own country's past. I do so not at all in order to revive past bitterness, but so that our attitude to the present crisis and our total and unequivocal support of this Organization against disruption may be understood against their historical background.

81. In 1913 I became a volunteer in our national revolutionary army. We had few weapons. We armed ourselves largely with the weapons we captured. We fought elections as well as guerrilla battles until we established our government, with the active support of three-fourths of our people. And that revolutionary government was, of course, refused official recognition. Although one of the Fourteen Points proclaimed the right of small nations to self-determination, our delegates were turned from the door of the Paris Peace Conference in 1921. We had no international forum to appeal to, no United Nations to support our struggle for freedom. In the end, our Parliament accepted a settlement, for four-fifths of our country, which was regarded by all as provisional. Although we have evolved peacefully into complete independence for the greater part of our country, we have not yet managed to restore the unity of Ireland. We have every hope, however, that national unity will be restored, in the best interests of all concerned, through the steady growth of good will and understanding.

82. In our struggle for freedom in this century we were not, I am happy to say, without active friends abroad—here in the United States and in other parts of the world, and not least in the United Kingdom itself. We owed much to the growing enlightenment of the British political conscience, which in recent years has culminated in the granting of independence to many former colonies and in the extension to them of generous economic and other help. This attitude is a far cry from the days in which tens of thousands of Irish people were sold as slaves in Barbados along with the peoples of Africa, or when they were forcibly exiled to Australia, or left to die by the millions. We have laid aside bitterness regarding those old dark days. But we necessarily retain a historical memory of them, a memory which gives us a sense of brotherhood with the newly emerging peoples of today, a memory which makes it impossible for any representative of Ireland to withhold support for racial, religious, national or economic rights in any part of the world, in South Africa or Tibet, in Algeria or Korea, in Suez or Hungary. We stand unequivocally for the swift and orderly ending of colonial rule and other forms of foreign domination.

83. I should like, on behalf of Ireland, to warn other anti-colonialist countries present here against the propaganda which attempts to represent the United Nations as providing in some way a mask for imperialist intervention. The United Nations is on the contrary a body in which the small nations have an influence such as they have never before possessed in their history: an influence quite out of proportion to their material power and resources; an influence, moreover, which will disappear if this Organization should fail. As a representative of one small nation addressing the representatives of others I would say, adapting the words of the Secretary-General, that this is in a very special sense our Organization. It is both our duty and our interest to rally to its defence when it is attacked. If smaller Powers are to be effective in building a better world order, they must, at whatever short-term inconvenience to themselves, support the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, no matter where or by whom they may be violated.

84. Some fervent anti-colonialists are inclined, I think, to take the United Nations and their own say

in it rather too much for granted and to ignore what an achievement it is from their point of view—how important and at the same time how fragile. Against the background of our own fight for recognition, we view with admiration—and almost with incredulity—this Organization, where every struggling people has its vigorous champions in the Assembly, where petitioners are heard in the Fourth Committee, and where the representatives of many subject nations work for their cause in our corridors under the sponsorship of friendly delegations. Who in this situation, and having in mind past resolutions of the General Assembly and decisions of the Security Council, can seriously maintain that, if we remain loyal to it, this Organization is, or can be made, a tool of imperialism? For my part I find it much easier to understand the view of those who see, and fear, in this Organization an agent for the liquidation of imperialism in all parts of the world.

85. The theory that the United Nations acts as a cover for imperialism is not a spontaneous product of the national liberation movements. It is a product of the cold war working on those national liberation movements. My first reaction always when I hear a great Power encouraging small nations to violence is to question its motives. The supreme interest of small Powers is to reduce violence and to extend the principle of peaceful settlement. The cold war does indeed in many ways exacerbate national claims—in origin perfectly legitimate claims—to the point that they may risk endangering, by their excess, the actual national interests of the countries concerned.

86. For example, one distinguished speaker in our general debate asserted the right to confiscate foreign investments without compensation. Such claims, of course, appeal to deep emotions of resentment at the harsh conditions which too often accompanied the investment of foreign capital in the less developed countries. But it is vital that the emerging countries today should not be blinded by such resentments—which cold war propaganda inevitably exploits—to their real present-day interests. One of these basic interests is the need to attract foreign investments—as indeed the United States did in the nineteenth century—without political strings. A sovereign State has, of course, the right and the duty to see to it that such investment takes place under proper conditions—that its workers are not exploited or its resources pillaged. But if it seriously asserts a claim to confiscation of foreign investments without compensation, then it will receive no commercial foreign investments at all, and one of three things will happen. Either its resources will be left under-developed, or they will be developed at the cost of heavy and sustained hardship and sacrifice on the part of the people concerned, as happened in the Soviet Union, or they will be developed by foreign State investment prompted by political motives and involving serious dangers for the independence of the emerging country.

87. It is very easy for newly emerging nations, or nations which have passed through a national revolution, to be drawn into the cold war. Indeed, they may be drawn into the cold war whether they like it or not. The important thing is that they should remain capable of controlling their destinies and not forfeit the reality of their independence. That it is possible to do this has been shown by the leaders of several nations which, at one time or another, seemed hopelessly involved in the cold war but have since demonstrated

their capacity for preserving their independence. Friends of such nations would help them best, I believe, by an effort at patience and understanding and by preserving carefully the distinction between genuine national revolutionary movements and the disciplined centralized international system which seeks to take advantage of such national revolutions.

88. I am far from claiming that the struggle against imperialism, even against the older kind of imperialism, is over. On the contrary, one of the most vital tasks of this Organization is to try to ensure swift and orderly transition towards a new world of free nations. We must help this transition to take place without endangering peace. That this task will be fraught with great difficulty the still menacing crisis in the Congo (Leopoldville) is there to remind us. That crisis is one which touches us all—which has indeed touched my own country, very remote from the area and its problems. It has touched us in Ireland—and the fact is significant—because we are Members of this Organization. We were proud to contribute, at the request of the Secretary-General, an Irish contingent to the United Nations Force in the Congo. We are proud that Irish soldiers are serving side by side with soldiers from Ghana and from Guinea, from Sweden, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Morocco and other lands, in this great international operation designed to help a people, the Congolese, whose wrongs and sufferings—the dark background to the present crisis—were first made known to the world by a great Irishman, Roger Casement.

89. We very much regret that a proposal was made in this debate to place restriction on the Secretary-General's discretion in the choice of troops to serve in the Congo. In the absence of a directly recruited standing United Nations force, the utmost flexibility of choice should be maintained. I submit that the sole tests for troops for United Nations operations should be loyalty to the Charter and suitability for the job on hand.

90. It is true, of course, that the United Nations Force in the Congo, essential as it is at present, is a purely temporary expedient. Eventually the Congolese will have to work out their own destiny. What that destiny will be cannot be considered in isolation. It is part of the destiny of the latest great region of the world to achieve freedom—central Africa. Central Africa from the Sahara to the Congo, is in dire need of concentrating all its energy and talent on the development of its resources for the benefit of its people. It has been said here that we must not allow it to be Balkanized. But if by Balkanization we mean divided into a large number of sovereign States, let us face the fact that, owing to a history which it now is vain to regret, it has been Balkanized. What is in our power to do, however, is to prevent the repetition in central Africa of the unfortunate history of the Balkans and, indeed, the history of Europe—the history of near-perpetual warfare in which resources of men and material were wasted in mutual destruction.

91. The countries of Africa for generations to come will need all their resources to build up the standard of living of their peoples. Outsiders cannot develop these great resources. That is and must remain the sole responsibility of Africans. The carefully thought out plan outlined here [886th meeting] by the distinguished representative of Morocco, Prince Moulay Hassan, will, I am sure, be attentively studied by all

the African States. As Prince Moulay Hassan rightly indicated, the problem is primarily for the African States themselves. Outsiders, however, can and should help Africans to help themselves, as proposed to the Assembly [868th meeting] by President Eisenhower in his inspiring and constructive address the other day. Outsiders should help Africans to develop all their rich resources to produce what makes for the good life—should help them to avoid repeating in Africa the bitter conflicts which have characterized the history of Europe and other parts of the world.

92. My suggestion is that central Africa, through negotiations between Africans, should become an area of law in the sense in which I used that phrase before: that agreement should be arrived at between the nations concerned not to change existing boundaries, or settle disputes, by force. Such an agreement might also, we would hope, provide that, as President Nkrumah in his speech before the Assembly [869th meeting] so wisely suggested, nuclear weapons—and for myself I would add other means of mass destruction—should not be introduced to the area; that military forces should be limited to what is required for the maintenance of internal order; that no outside force, except United Nations forces at the request of the countries concerned, should be admitted to the area and that the United Nations, with the concurrence of the major Powers, should be requested to supervise and guarantee the maintenance of the agreement. Such an approach seems to be in harmony with the present-day aspirations of the African peoples. It is our earnest hope that if agreement on some such lines is achieved by African States it will be respected and supported by all other Powers.

93. The crisis in the Congo is one where a people, having suddenly achieved independence, is confronted with the problem of preserving that independence and making it effective. Many of the political problems before us, however, arise where people are still denied their liberty or where their human rights and dignity are not respected. I have mentioned several of these problems earlier in my remarks. On all these problems our views will be governed by definite principles from which we will not diverge for the benefit of any group of Powers. We stand for the self-determination of peoples, against all violations of human rights and human freedom. We stand for moderation and prudence in the conduct of international relations in the light of the overwhelming dangers which beset all humanity irrespective of our differences. We stand for this Organization as our best hope of surviving and successfully adjusting ourselves to the strains both of the cold war and of the widening of freedom. We stand firmly in support of the office of Secretary-General as an office which, under the Charter, provides the means of effective implementation of the Organization's decisions.

94. No triumvirate or committee could replace the Secretary-General for this purpose. A decision to abolish the office of Secretary-General would therefore be tantamount to the disruption of this Organization. And as the Prime Minister of New Zealand pointed out [886th meeting], it would be a breach of the Charter. As regards the present holder of this office of Secretary-General, I can only say that we are fortunate indeed to have as Secretary-General a man who, by his wisdom, impartiality, devotion to duty and loyalty to the principles of the United Nations has earned the confidence of the overwhelming ma-

jority of the Members of this Organization—and has deserved the confidence of all. The support of the Assembly for the office and the man has been confirmed by the spokesmen of many independent countries here—and notably in the remarkable address which we have just heard from the Foreign Minister of Iraq. During Mr. Hammarskjöld's period of office the United Nations has shown itself an unprecedented instrument of action by the world community in defence of the peace. That instrument is the most precious thing we possess in common. Let us maintain it intact and learn to use it with increasing skill and sureness.

95. Mr. LANGE (Norway): I welcome this opportunity to offer the President my sincere congratulations on his election to his high office. Knowing his competence, experience and integrity, I feel confident that he will successfully discharge his difficult and burdensome duties at this important session of the General Assembly.

96. At this stage of our deliberations I shall confine my remarks mainly to two topics: first, the functioning and the activities of the United Nations, which have been subject to such severe criticism during this debate; secondly, the question of disarmament where, more than ever before, progress is imperative.

97. To assess the functioning and activities of the United Nations, let me briefly review some aspects of its work and achievements during the recent past. For the last few years the most important task of the United Nations has been to prevent political unrest and ferment of a local character from spreading geographically and developing into conflicts of a wider scope. Let me recall only the Suez crisis in 1956, the situation in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, or the difficulties which Laos has had to face, and is still facing.

98. This task of limiting conflicts remains of overriding significance. A timely entrance of the United Nations on the scene tends to prevent a conflict becoming an issue in the contest between the major ideological or Power groupings of the world—adding new difficulties and increasing the sufferings of the people in the area.

99. In this context the Norwegian Government feels compelled to consider anew what realistic assistance the United Nations can render in the tragic situation in Algeria, with a view to the speedy and peaceful implementation of the agreed principle of self-determination.

100. The Security Council has of late again been actively engaged in endeavours to maintain peace and security and in assisting in the peaceful settlement of political differences. This is as it should be. It is indeed in full conformity with the Charter.

101. The gravity of the race conflict in South Africa has led the Security Council to the conclusion that racial problems may be of a sufficiently serious character to endanger peace and security. Such problems may therefore be of legitimate concern to the Council—a development which represents an important new feature of the Organization's work. The Norwegian Government looks upon the situation in the Union of South Africa and in South West Africa with grave and increasing concern. We sincerely hope that our Organization can render effective assistance.

102. The second major task of the United Nations is to co-operate with Member States in their economic

and social development and in the educational and administrative fields. In the last few years the Organization's programmes for economic and technical assistance have been expanded at a more rapid rate than before. Member States have generally come to recognize that assistance in solving the problems of the many countries in the early stages of economic growth is a task of first priority. It may well be considered the key to that integrated and balanced development of the society of nations for which we strive.

103. Economic assistance through the United Nations or through bilateral arrangements may, however, in fact be of little avail unless the countries producing primary commodities are secured reasonable marketing possibilities for their products. The Norwegian Government holds the view that the industrialized countries of the world must take due account of this fact. We should therefore pursue liberal import policies; strive for sustained economic growth; avoid, as far as possible, temporary reductions in our economic activity, and intensify our efforts to establish a scheme for the stabilization of commodity prices.

104. Turning back to aid activities in the narrow sense, the United Nations has developed a network of specialized agencies which can point to considerable achievement. It may well be that certain improvements are called for, as regards the administrative set-ups created for this purpose and their interrelationship. The vastness of the tasks with which these United Nations agencies are faced—I give as an instance the present problems in the Congo (Leopoldville)—may well justify a review of the machinery in order to achieve a higher degree of co-ordination.

105. I think, however, it is important to keep in mind that the crucial problem in this context is the question of increasing the financial resources available, which means calling for greater contributions from Member States. In view of the urgency of this problem, the Norwegian Government is fully prepared to make more funds available for these various United Nations programmes. It is our sincere hope that this burden will be equitably shared by all Member nations.

106. At this session of the Assembly we have so far unanimously admitted sixteen new Members. Tomorrow we will, I am sure, all of us welcome the Federation of Nigeria. By desiring membership, these new States have shown their positive interest in the United Nations. They have stated their intent to take an active part in the work of the Organization and in particular their interest in its technical and economic programmes.

107. We are at present witnessing how the States of Africa, inspired by a natural feeling of solidarity, tackle their own problems and co-ordinate their participation in the world community. The Norwegian Government welcomes these efforts. It is our belief that the present basic structure of the United Nations in no way impedes this development.

108. We have also noted with great interest the determination shown by the new States to make the United Nations the main forum for presenting their views on world affairs. Not least on this basis do I welcome our new Member States, on behalf of the Government of Norway, and declare our sincere desire to co-operate with our new colleagues.

109. One of these new States is, to our great regret, not yet represented in this hall. I refer to the Republic

of the Congo, with Leopoldville as its capital. I shall not attempt to deal with the reasons for the unhappy situation prevailing in that country. I take this opportunity, however, to state that my Government has been greatly impressed by the effective and speedy action through which the United Nations—under the most difficult circumstances and at very short notice—initiated an operation of a magnitude and scope so far unknown. We consider that the direction of this operation by the Secretary-General has been based on a correct interpretation of the resolutions of the Security Council. Thereby a foundation has been established for a programme for United Nations assistance which, there is reason to hope, may help the Congolese people to consolidate their political institutions and develop before long an administrative framework able to safeguard the independence and integrity of the Congo.

I think I am right in submitting that the activities of the United Nations have expanded in full conformity with the provisions of the Charter. The main bodies of the Organization—the General Assembly, the Councils, the Secretariat—and the specialized agencies have proved able, under changing circumstances, to implement the Purposes and the Principles of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter.

111. In particular we have noted with satisfaction the Organization's ability to augment and strengthen its machinery to meet requirements as they arise, without deviating from the basic interrelationship between the main bodies of the Organization, as laid down in the Charter. It will therefore be understood that I associate myself fully with the view expressed [880th meeting] by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, that our efforts to improve and strengthen the Organization should be a process of gradual improvement and expansion, and that we should not drastically tear apart what we now have and embark on a major revision of the Charter. A universal organization like the United Nations must accept the existence of divergent interests between Members or groups of Members. I think, however, we should beware of allowing these divergent interests to affect the work of the Organization to a greater degree than real circumstances warrant.

112. In the light of the violent criticism voiced against the Secretary-General, I am particularly glad to have this opportunity to pay unreserved tribute to his initiative, his firm leadership and, above all, his impartiality in handling the situation in the Congo. As a representative of one of the small nations in the Assembly, I would like to endorse wholeheartedly the statement Mr. Hammarskjöld made on Monday 3 October [883rd meeting] on his position as the chief executive officer of the Organization.

113. I turn now to disarmament, where another year has passed without agreement on any single specific measure. We are still without agreed technical standards for effective international control and verification. We have made no progress in the field of zones of inspection, which is so closely linked with the fear of surprise attack.

114. Once again there has been demonstrated the intimate link which exists between international "détente" and mutual confidence, on the one hand, and possibilities of making progress towards disarmament, on the other. When tension is mounting and the international climate deteriorating, all nations—small as well as large—are forced to increase preparedness and mili-

tary expenditures. In short, we are forced away from disarmament.

115. This interrelationship became very apparent in May and June this year. A number of plans and proposals had been introduced by both sides in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. These plans and proposals had certain features in common. There were other elements where the distance between the parties did not appear to be insurmountable.

116. The conditions for rapid and large-scale disarmament were perhaps not the best. Nevertheless the Ten-Nation Committee seemed to be about to start on a realistic process of negotiation. We had hoped that the next step would be detailed discussions of a technical nature, and in particular of those elements of the general plans submitted by the parties where the differences appeared to be limited. We further hoped that an atmosphere of calm could be brought about, conducive to meaningful negotiations, without constant publicity and temptations to indulge in propaganda. We had noted with satisfaction that all parties to the disarmament talks had emphasized their intention to press on with the negotiations. It will be understood therefore, that when these negotiations were brought to collapse, it caused deep disappointment in my country, the more so since one of the parties was about to present new proposals in the light of the views that had already been advanced in the Committee.

117. We believe that the first and most immediate contribution this Assembly can make is to re-establish suitable machinery for the resumption of negotiations. The Norwegian Government holds no absolute views regarding the composition of such machinery. Our attitude to the Ten-Nation Committee was determined by the fact that the four major Powers themselves had agreed on its composition and desired to conduct the negotiations in this forum. The Committee did not appear to be too large and cumbersome for confidential discussion to be followed by painstaking negotiations.

118. It has been suggested that a neutral and highly respected personality should be selected as Chairman. In our view, this suggestion merits favourable consideration. We also realize the benefits that might be gained from the inclusion in the Committee of countries pursuing a policy of neutrality or non-alignment. This must, however, be carefully weighed against the risk of making the machinery more cumbersome and too diversified.

119. Both East and West have stated that the existing balance of power or the present relative strength of armed forces must not be tilted in any direction at any point of the process of gradual and phased disarmament. Is it not conceivable that this principle could give a new sense of direction to the negotiations we so ardently wish to see resumed? It might well prove of value if the General Assembly recognized and endorsed this principle, thereby giving it universal recognition. Maybe it could assist the negotiating partners in tackling first such disarmament measures as, without upsetting the present balance of power, could be carried out on a unit for unit basis?

120. So far it has proved impossible to achieve a break-through and determine what represents effective international inspection and control of specific disarmament measures. After what has transpired in the Ten-Nation Committee there is hardly any room for doubt that this vicious circle of disarmament measures

on one hand and control and inspection on the other must be broken if we are to achieve any measure of disarmament. For this reason also we believe that a singling out of specific units for disarmament, in such a manner that their abolition does not interfere with the existing power relationship, could ease the way for technical and detailed exploration of what would be the adequate control machinery.

121. Permit me in this connexion also to suggest for consideration that the very first beginning of the necessary control machinery might be devised to control and verify the unilateral reductions of units which nations have declared that they intend to carry out. To make even a modest start with an international control and verification machinery seems to me to be essential. Not least for this reason do we hope that the nuclear test negotiations can be brought to a successful conclusion and that the control machinery agreed upon for this purpose may serve as a pilot-project for control of disarmament.

122. During this debate some Member States have stated their willingness to permit inspection of their territory on a reciprocal basis under international auspices. More than two years ago Norway declared its willingness to include Norwegian territory in such a zone of inspection. This offer still stands.

123. I have so far concentrated on the immediate task of reconstituting a machinery for negotiation. I have further ventured a few suggestions which in my view might assist in passing from a debate on disarmament in general to specific discussions of substance and, in particular, detailed technical explorations of specific disarmament measures and the corresponding control requirements. They are, however, no more than possible avenues of approach designed to make a new start upon the road to the target established in resolution 1378 (XIV) which we unanimously adopted last year—general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

124. In concluding my remarks, I would like to return to the impact of the general international climate on the possibilities for making real progress towards disarmament. In order to pave the way for disarmament, we all have an obligation to show restraint and patience with regard to conflicts of interests in which we may be directly or indirectly involved, and to do our utmost to prevent new crises and increased tension.

125. There is at present one conflict of interest of particular concern to Europe. I am thinking of the question of West Berlin, with its two and a quarter million inhabitants living under continual threats against the status of their city. It can be easily understood that the peoples to which the fate of West Berlin is of particular concern may have certain difficulties in embarking upon plans for large-scale disarmament as long as this situation persists.

126. We have gone through a year with sudden and at times very unfortunate changes in the international climate. These changes have been connected with the fact that Heads of States have had to take upon themselves the actual conduct of negotiations. I am referring in particular to the preparations for the abortive Summit Conference in Paris in May. Of course, interchange and personal contact between Heads of States are most important and can in certain circumstances be of decisive influence. It may be, however, that we should reserve this ultimate form of contact for situations of real crisis. It also has its place in situations where possibilities of significant achievements appear to be within reach as a result of careful preparations.

127. Perhaps we could then hope to live in a somewhat more equable climate. Some would say that in adopting this course we were running the risk of forgoing the real bright days. I, for one, tend to put greater emphasis on avoiding as far as possible the sudden changes for the worse, with threatening black clouds darkening the horizon.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.