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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 92

Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (continued)

1. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): When Burma recovered its independence in 1948 it entered immediately into diplomatic relations with all its neighbours, of which China is one. At that time the Government which was in control of the greater part of China was the Chinese Nationalist Government and it was only natural and proper that relations should be established with that Government. Burma had no business to inquire how or why the Chinese Nationalist Government came at that time to be the Government in effective control of the greater part of China. It was a fact, and that was good enough for us. But changes were already taking place inside China. In the ensuing two years the Nationalist Government was overthrown and it was compelled to flee the mainland. A new Government, exercising effective control over the greater part of the mainland, came into existence. It was not for us to inquire how or why that new Government came to power. As far as we were concerned, it was a fact. In those circumstances, it was equally natural and proper that Burma should recognize that new Government—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. That was done early in 1950, and since then the new Chinese Government has further consolidated its position with the passage of the years. These are also facts.

2. Ever since those early days we have been trying to urge the United Nations to accept the realities

of the situation, just as we have accepted them. Our relations with the Nationalist Government had been cordial. We therefore had no reason to prefer one Government as against the other. Indeed, at that time we felt indebted to the Nationalist Government because it was that Government which had sponsored our admission to the United Nations. But realities have to be faced. Whatever might be said, it was clear to us that the Nationalist Government was no longer in control of China.

3.. Coming more and more in contact with the Government which had assumed control of all of mainland China we established cordial and good neighbourly relations with it, one of the results of which was that we succeeded in reaching a peaceful settlement of the problem of the boundary between Burma and China, which had defied solution for close to three quarters of a century. That settlement was entirely in accord with the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter. And, speaking of peaceful settlements, let us turn our thoughts back to the recent fourteen-nation agreement on Laos¹ which has been acclaimed here by so many delegations. That agreement would not have been possible but for China's co-operation.

4. If we mention these facts it is not that we wish to make light of the seriousness of some of the problems which exist between China and some other countries. Indeed, some of these cause us acute distress since we also enjoy close and cordial relations with the other countries concerned. But we do feel that it is necessary in all fairness—not only to the Chinese people but also to the world at large—to keep matters in proper perspective and not to let our emotions get the better of us and cloud our judgement.

5. Let us not look only on the side of the coin we wish to see; let us take an occasional look at the other side, too. China is a founder Member of the United Nations. China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, but the China in this context could only be the China which represents the 650 million Chinese people; that is the Government which can speak for these 650 million Chinese people. We fail to see how the Charter could be interpreted in any other way.

6. We have heard it said that the Government of the People's Republic of China does not in fact speak for the Chinese people, because it came to power and maintains itself in power by force. Even if this were true, and we find it difficult to believe that 650 million people can be held down and held together merely by force, could it serve as an effective bar to the seating of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations?

¹/ Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol. Signed at Geneva 23 July 1962.

If this were the criterion, could we be certain that every existing Member of our Organization would qualify for membership? Rather than add to our difficulties, as some representatives have said, my delegation believes that the presence in our midst of the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China is essential to help us to deal more effectively with the major problems which confront us. It seems to us to be not very logical to keep a powerful nation out of this world forum and then to complain that the same nation insists on taking a non-co-operative attitude towards it. Particularly in matters such as disarmament, it is difficult to see how significant negotiations could ever be concluded without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

7. In short, my delegation continues to feel that realism and objectivity demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China should be given its rightful place in the United Nations and in all its organs as soon as possible, and our actions during the consideration of this item will be determined by this paramount consideration.

8. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): In 1962, after thirteen years of the existence of the People's Republic of China, we still have to discuss the question of its representation in the United Nations. We are again discussing this obvious and clear issue which, long ago, should have been solved and closed in conformity with the principles of international law, with the aims and purposes of our Organization, and in the interest of the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of nations.

9. Is it not an abnormal state of affairs that the United Nations still keeps its doors closed to the lawful representatives of the great Chinese people? Is it not nonsense that the place rightfully belonging to this major Power, comprising one fifth of the world's population, is occupied illegally by a group of people sent here by a régime which has once and for all been cast away by the victorious revolution of the Chinese people, a régime which owes its existence only to the occupation of the island of Taiwan by foreign troops?

10. The question of the representation of the People's Republic of China dates back to its establishment. As long ago as 18 November 1949, the Central People's Government telegraphed a protest to the United Nations against the admission of Kuomintang representatives to the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. However, in spite of the elementary requirements of the international rule of law, the People's Republic of China has not taken its lawful place in the United Nations.

11. For a number of years, substantial discussion of this matter has been prevented by opposition even to the inscription of the question of Chinese representation on the agenda of the General Assembly. In recent years, arguments were put forward that this matter should be postponed to the next session. It was only last year, at the sixteenth session, because of the growing resistance and the ever larger number of Member States opposing this absurd policy, that a substantial discussion was held in the General Assembly. Nevertheless, through procedural manoeuvres, the Soviet resolution asking for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful place in the United Nations and the elimination of the Chiang Kai-shek clique was rejected.

12. As a result, we have again to discuss today a question which, in our deepest conviction, is completely undisputable. Without reverting to all the legal arguments which the Polish delegation has had the occasion to present on several occasions in the past, I should like to stress once again that we are not deliberating and we should not be discussing the problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China as if it were a question of admitting a new State on the basis of Article 4 of the Charter, for China is, and remains, a founding Member of the United Nations on the basis of Articles 3 and 23 of the United Nations Charter. No one can dispute this fact, and nothing can affect its essential meaning.

13. When, as a result of the Chinese revolution, the social and political system of China underwent a complete transformation, this could not and should not become a valid reason for a different treatment for the People's Republic of China from the point of view of the set of rules of the United Nations Charter. International doctrine and practice are at one in stating that social and political processes are the internal problem of every State and do not change its character as a subject of international law.

14. The right to represent the interests of a State abroad, the right to participate on its behalf in international conferences and organizations, is a prerogative of every Government which exercises effective control over the whole territory of a country or of its major portion, and of which the authority has all the features of being a lasting one. International doctrine and practice are unanimous also on this point. There is not the slightest doubt whatever that the Government of the People's Republic of China fulfils all these requirements.

15. The representative of the United States, Mr. Stevenson, yesterday appealed to our emotions. But this is a question of reason and a question of law that we are discussing. Mr. Stevenson also invoked yesterday [1156th meeting] principles of law and principles of the Charter which allegedly support the United States position. But he seemed to have forgotten, as I said before, that internal changes do not alter the international personality of a State. It was a United States court many years ago which ruled "that the State is continuous and its people are merely represented by a particular governmental organization which might change in character or personnel".

16. Now within our Organization there are countries whose social and political system have become the subject of basic transformations during their membership in the United Nations. We could enumerate them by name. But this, however, never gave reason to question their rightful membership. Why should it be the case with China?

17. The wise principle and practice on the succession of States is completely understandable and indeed justified; for in the contrary case the United Nations would usurp for itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of nations and would violate their sovereign right to decide their own fate; in fact, it would become a stumbling bloc to the social and political development of nations and mankind.

18. The United Nations must reflect the political realities of the world, and cannot be transformed into a museum of relics of the past, so cherished

by some. In the case of China, the United Nations is playing such a role, preserving the antiquated, absolute fiction of the representation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique here:

19. May we be permitted to advise the delegations represented here to refresh their memories by reading the voluminous White Paper on China published over the signature of the then United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, twelve years ago.^{2/} The United States appraisal of the Chiang Kai-shek clique there was crushingly critical. One could not recognize under the then United States condemnation of this very same Chiang Kai-shek group the same people whom the United States representative attempted yesterday to present to us in a glowing and shiny white colour.

20. We therefore ask: how much longer can we tolerate the present state of affairs? How long must we endure this violation of the basic principles of international law upon which the United Nations is based? How much longer will a major Power, in spite of the most vital interest of the United Nations itself, be prevented from participating in the work of our Organization, a great Power whose role and influence in international life continue to grow and without which it will indeed be more and more difficult to solve the major problems of our time?

21. The Chinese People's Republic has been recognized by thirty-eight States, and it continues to develop its international relations. The Chinese People's Republic made an important contribution to the peaceful solution of the problem of Indo-China in 1954. This year it contributed to a large extent to the peaceful solution of the question of Laos. Through its participation in the historic conference of the Asian and African nations in Bandung in 1954, the Chinese People's Republic demonstrated its will to take part in the solution of the many problems confronting the world.

22. What is, therefore, the underlying reason of this frantic resistance and unyielding opposition to the presence of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations, which, being universal in its very concept, cannot ignore the 700 million Chinese—I believe the actual figure is 690 million? If we omit some of the pretext which cannot withstand the test of any criticism, then the underlying reason for such a situation with respect to the representation of China is the attitude taken by the policy of the United States.

23. We know only too well that the attitude of the United States is dictated, on the one hand, by the stubborn non-recognition of the Chinese revolution and intense hostility towards the changes which have taken place there. On the other hand, a major role in shaping this attitude is played by strategic considerations, namely the desire to maintain at any price American bases on the island of Taiwan, which forms an integral and inseparable part of Chinese territory—and, may I say in the view of recent events, thousands of miles from the United States mainland.

24. The first of those reasons should be overruled by the basic argument that nothing and no one empowers one State, no matter how powerful it might

be, to oppose the system of government which has been chosen by another nation. The second consideration, stemming from the well known propensity—should I say the base-mania—of the Pentagon towards establishing foreign bases, should be rejected by the international community as contrary to the requirements of peace, equality and, particularly, of the territorial integrity of States.

25. The United States may, of course, if it considers it proper from its own point of view, not maintain diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and may not recognize it. That is a sovereign right and that is a proper right of the United States. But of course it would be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile such a short-sighted policy with the basic requirements of the realities of life. We know quite well that life has proved stronger than anti-communist blindness. The United States found it useful to start bilateral contacts with the People's Republic of China. The representatives of the United States and of the People's Republic of China do meet from time to time to discuss problems of interest to both countries. The representatives of the United States have already sat at the same conference table with the representatives of the People's Republic of China at various international conferences, and in all probability will have to do so in the future. We can only express our belief that this is the proper way to recognize reality.

26. But the question of bilateral relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China is one thing, and it is an entirely different thing to prevent the admission of the lawful representatives of China into the United Nations. In the latter case, the will of one Power cannot have a decisive influence. Any such dictate is more than inadmissible. It does harm, first of all, to the United Nations itself. This Organization, because of the absence of the representatives of one of the major Powers, cannot with the required effectiveness fulfil the aims and purposes for the implementation of which it was called into being. The United Nations Charter, as we all know, imposes upon the major Powers the primary responsibility in connexion with the maintenance of peace. This is underlined, among other things, by the role assigned to the major Powers, among them China, in the Security Council. Without the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the functioning of both the Security Council and of other United Nations organs is founded upon unrealistic premises.

27. The final settlement of many pressing international problems requires the participation of the Chinese People's Republic here. Among these problems are those of general and complete disarmament, the development of international economic and trade relations, assistance to the developing countries, the final liquidation of colonialism—problems so rightly emphasized also by the speaker who preceded me on this rostrum, the representative of Burma.

28. The Chinese People's Republic may not, of course, be participating in the work of the United Nations. But this will not prevent its socialist development, just as it has not stopped it along the road of socialism in the past, nor prevented it from attaining, irrespective of the many difficulties encountered—and which country represented here does not encounter difficulties, internal, external, political, economic?—great feats in its national development.

^{2/} United States Relations with China, United States Department of State, Far Eastern Series 30.

We submit the ostracism of the Chinese People's Republic strikes at the United Nations itself, since this Organization, if it wants to act effectively, cannot permit itself to be led astray by fictions.

29. The absence from our Organization of the People's Republic of China is all the more striking since we are admitting every year, and rightly so, new nations, large and small, which have arisen on the ruins of colonialism.

30. Precisely at the moment when the struggle of oppressed and exploited peoples for their independence is approaching its victorious end, it will be worthwhile to recall that the historic victory of the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic were an important link in the great emancipation process which began after the Second World War, following the defeat and collapse of the most aggressive of imperialist forces, the forces of fascism. Undoubtedly, the victory of the Chinese Revolution was one of the strong incentives for the further development of the struggle for national liberation, and a powerful blow which undermined the colonial system. We should not forget that Great China also was once a semi-colonial and dependent country, harassed, invaded and mercilessly exploited by imperialism. By its heroic struggle the Chinese people has contributed, to an important extent, to the historic cause of the national liberation movements. This cannot and will not be forgotten. The present and the future are shaped by the Chinese people itself and not by speeches from this rostrum. It would be very hard to understand and it would appear particularly unjustified if, at a period marked by the liquidation of colonial exploitation and marked by the admission into our Organization of so many newly liberated States, one of the great Powers remained outside the United Nations.

31. The conclusions which can be drawn from all this are unequivocal. The General Assembly should do away with the presence in our midst of individuals who represent no one. It should, without further delay, restore to the most populous country in the world its lawful rights in our midst. Thus, it can enhance the universal character of our Organization and contribute to the interest of all.

32. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): Even as we speak here the armies of the Government of the People's Republic of China are now in clash with those of India. Needless to say, we of Ceylon are deeply distressed by this turn of events, because it is a fight between two countries both of which we hold in affection and friendship. It is a clash which was not inevitable because obviously there are no differences of vital national interests involved, neither economic rivalry, nor questions of hegemony, nor ancient grudges, nor deep-rooted fears; not even ideological differences, for both have varying species of socialist societies. There are not even vital territorial differences, for this is a dispute over the rectification of the frontier involving territories which are of no life or death importance to either country.

33. Furthermore, the relationship between these two countries is that of two neighbouring States which together comprise one third of the world's population, along one of the longest borders of the globe, a relationship founded on ancient friendship and common views on the modern world. Let us

recall that they were the two major architects of the historic Bandung Conference, a conference which has so greatly altered the very physiognomy of the United Nations. I repeat, their relationship was stabilized and strengthened by the five noble principles of coexistence, the "Pancha Shila", which have since become the accepted imperatives in our attempt to reverse the forces of nuclear war.

34. This dispute which has now developed into a clash of arms is purely a difference of the interpretation of what is known as the McMahon Line. What is significant about it is that both parties have repeatedly declared their willingness to try and reach an understanding through direct negotiations, even right up to the last days of the current shooting. And this quest for talks was altogether in harmony with the provisions of the United Nations Charter which enjoined nations in dispute first to try to arrive at a solution by direct negotiations. For this approach to pacific settlement operative membership in the United Nations is not a *sine qua non*. Any State, in or out of the world Organization, resorting to negotiations instead of to force would be acting in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. And this the two parties, India and China, tried to do.

35. But they failed to unlock the door which separated them. They found that the most important channel for peaceful negotiations in the world today, the United Nations, also remained closed to them because of the absence from this world community of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. By closing the door of the United Nations to the Government of the People's Republic of China, we in fact closed the door to one of the greatest areas of the world; we quarantined one quarter of the world's population and its Government from the most effective diplomatic channel which exists for the pursuit of peaceful negotiations.

36. As I have already said, war between India and China was not inevitable if the United Nations itself had lived up to its own Charter, of which China is not only a founding Member but also a permanent Member with special rights and responsibilities as a big Power. It is recognized as a big Power not because of the kind of Government it has but because, like the other four big Powers, its geographic and demographic position in the world endows it with a strategic position in the organization for peace. We are not here engaging in the dispute of the juridical challenge of its Government by a rival Government. We speak only of what we consider to be the practical meaning of a permanent Power. Permanency consists in the recognition of a power of such dimensions, economically and politically, that to all intents and purposes it will continue to exert a major pressure, for ill or for good, in the pursuit for a world of peace and progress in the foreseeable future.

37. In this sense no one can replace or substitute for the People's Republic of China. No one can claim its status who does not possess it, who has no control of the vast population, who does not occupy its vast territories and its vast potentialities, who cannot influence its border relations with the many States which are its neighbours. We cannot juridically define a so-called big Power except in terms of power. We say that the omission of the immense power of the People's Republic of China from the demands of the Charter makes the United Nations an amputated thing, an Organization with a self-

infllicted wound. The United Nations thereby becomes a temple of peace with a gaping hole in its roof through which the forces of war may leak in at any time without control.

38. In these comments I wish to make clear that we are not involving ourselves in the dispute between India and China or in the dispute as to what constitutes the rightful Government of China. The first is out of our jurisdiction and the other quite irrelevant to the main issue. The main issue as we see it is the adjustment of the position of China in this Organization. The issue is not juridical or technical, not ideological or political. The issue involved is the most important issue confronting our times. It is the issue of war and peace. War and peace are now delicately hanging in the balance and who can today say, within the context of this challenge, that a decision on China by this Assembly will not shift the weight in one direction or the other. Each day we lose in making this decision throws the weight on the side of war. Our courageous resolve to make a bold and final decision, we say, would result in a radical shift of the balance on the side of peace.

39. There are other States which are also unfortunately not in the United Nations. But these cannot be equated to China because they make no claim on the world Organization. China does, and its claim is supported by a great number of Member States and to that extent its own participation will always keep the Organization a house divided against itself. Let us also remember in this connexion, that rightly or wrongly, the issue of China concerns both the Secretariat and the organic future of the United Nations in all its ramifications.

40. I spoke of the importance of China, without which our peace structure is at best a truncated affair. Truncated is a mild word because China is the biggest land mass in Asia; it borders on the Soviet Union, Japan, India, Nepal, Korea, Mongolia, Viet-Nam, Laos, Burma, Pakistan and Bhutan and all the seas on the Eastern portion of the Pacific Ocean. Some of the most critical threats to world peace in the post-war years took place in this region: Korea, Indo-China, Burma, Tibet, Formosa, the Quemoy and Matsu Islands and now India. Which of these problems have been solved without the People's Republic of China?

41. We ask, has the Korean problem been solved? We are now in the twelfth year of that war threat. It is still a war threat, uneasily balanced in the form of a protracted truce in a country divided into two armed camps. Does any reasonable person think that this problem can be solved without China? The United Nations armies marched, making believe that China was non-existent, only to discover that China was there, a very hard reality. Even the authors of the non-existent fable did not really believe their own fiction and one recalls that, as the United Nations armies staged their counter-offensive, a special group of Asian nations was established to assure Peking that these armies would not march across the Yalu River. Finally, a mission from Peking arrived at the Security Council in Lake Success, but no results could be achieved because the seat they occupied was the seat of an observer instead of that of a founding Member. And, with these two weak efforts to correct the fable, all contact with China came to an end and with it the lives of thousands of young

men of many nations, who might have lived if United Nations diplomacy on the China question had been clear sighted.

Mr. Rifa'i (Jordan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

42. Who can say today if the war in Korea might not have been less costly in lives if China had then been in its rightful place in the United Nations, easily accessible to negotiation. In the end, even the uneasy truce on the 38th parallel was achieved only by Chinese participation. One can make a fable with propaganda, but one cannot make peace out of a myth. War is a grim reality; it can be replaced only by another reality, the reality which peace in our time must become if it is not to remain only an aspiration for ever. Was it possible, we ask, to bring the question of the Indo-Chinese territories to a solution without China? The fable of the non-existence of China broke down again when it was invited to become a member of the Conference on the Problem of restoring Peace in Indo-China in Geneva in 1954 which created the four independent States born in this area. China's rôle in this achievement again came to the fore with the accord reached this year on the question of Laos.

43. Once again, I wish to make it clear that my delegation is not discussing the substance in these issues. We cite them only as examples of important peace efforts and important achievements which were impossible without the People's Republic of China. Representatives here will recall how in 1958 the harsh realities again broke through the non-existence fable, when a crisis developed over Taiwan and the adjacent islands of Quemoy and Matsu, with dangerous threats which commentators at that time regarded as being as close to the brink as the cold war ever came. The door of non-recognition to the United Nations remained tightly closed, but the imminence of war compelled the abandonment of the fable and finally a back-door was opened, with the inauguration of talks between the United States and the People's Republic of China, first in Geneva and later in Warsaw. In this endless dialogue tension subsided but the solution of the problem was only deferred. If and when the parties reach the end of their patience, the United Nations remains closed as an alternate to war. Obviously, the back-door whispers are no substitute for the lusty and open diplomacy of this forum of 109 nations, when the most deeply rooted issues of war are involved.

44. At the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, forty-five nations voted to express their concern over developments in Tibet, in a resolution [1353 (XIV)] involving the alleged abridgment of human rights. I do not know what objective the authors of the resolution had in their minds, and I have no doubt that they were genuinely concerned over the situation, but obviously there was not very much they could do, beyond proposing a very cautiously phrased resolution because the country directly involved was not present to be influenced by their arguments and their logic. That resolution enunciates the general thesis that respect for the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law. This resolution might possibly have produced some results if its authors included also the converse, namely, that respect for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law is essential to a universal

respect for the principles of the Declaration. But how can you make a world order based on the rule of law, a peaceful world order, when a founding State, a permanent Power, is unlawfully barred from full participation in such a world order? The results of that resolution demonstrate more eloquently than perhaps any other illustration, the futility of an Assembly which has cut itself off from the ability to exert the greatest force in its power, the moral force, on a big State which it has excommunicated from its moral influence.

45. I adverted to these old issues—Korea, Indo-China, Tibet, Taiwan and, now the Indian border—to demonstrate the facts strewn all over the United Nations records and the history of the post-war period in the Far East to show that no problem bordering on the State of China can be solved without the participation of the *de facto* Government of China. Not a single Asian problem has been solved without such participation and, in the very nature of reality, is not likely to be solved in the future either.

46. The issues I have mentioned are, all of them, still open, each one fraught with a war-potential of its own. Each can and does explode periodically over an area which includes an entire hemisphere. And yet, by denying the one State, which is the hard core of the problem, its rightful place, this world Organization remains cut off from the very significant role it can play in that area.

47. Asia is politically and economically in a state of transition. Almost every State in that region is either comparatively new or playing a new role in our changing world. The assignment of China to its rightful place in the United Nations, which now plays so dominant a part in shaping the world of the future, would add a very powerful stabilizing factor to the affairs of the entire region, would contribute greatly to the reduction of the tensions which now keep the area in a state of unrest and anxiety and would perhaps be responsible for the most vital contribution which this Organization could make for peace.

48. I said that no important problem in Asia can be solved without the People's Republic of China. Actually, we are rapidly moving beyond this formula to the point where it might be safely predicted that no important world problem of any magnitude can be solved without the active and direct participation of one quarter of the world's population, occupying an area bigger than the United States, over one half the size of South America and three quarters the size of all Europe and Africa put together.

49. This vast area cannot be relegated to the fable of non-existence when we earnestly get down to the practical business of organizing the realm of outer space, of climatic organization and, of course, the world of disarmament. I am sure this point needs no elaboration from me. It is already abundantly admitted by the nuclear Powers themselves and by the common sense of world public opinion. I need only refer to article XIII of the United States-United Kingdom draft treaty banning nuclear tests in all environments, submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, in Geneva on 27 August 1962. This is the provision which defines the circumstances under which the parties to a test-ban agreement may withdraw from the agreement. Such withdrawal proceedings may be inaugurated, as follows:

"1. If any Party to this Treaty determines;

"(g) That nuclear explosions have been conducted by a State not a Party to this Treaty under circumstances which might jeopardize the determining Party's national security..."^{3/}

In short, this means that if the People's Republic of China were to embark on a policy of building a nuclear defence establishment—and it might feel doubly impelled to do so under its alienation from a peace organization—if it were to embark on the tests necessary to achieve this objective, all the seventeen years of hard labour to achieve the halting of nuclear tests, which is itself the key to general and complete disarmament, will have crashed to the dust and the world will be plunged once more into the abyss of testing on a scale beyond even the most skilful efforts of man to control.

50. Thus, the People's Republic of China would enjoy a veto power over the United Nations far more formidable than it could ever expect to get in the Security Council. For it would then have the power to veto the mightiest pillars of peace in our Organization, the pillars of disarmament themselves. It seems odd, to say the least, that those who fear the veto of China in the United Nations would risk the humiliation and the peril of giving it to China as a privilege, on a uranium platter without the responsibility of membership—truly the most extravagant power of veto we can confer on any nation.

51. And yet the time when this fantastic development might take place may not be very far off. Not too long ago the Press in the United Kingdom hummed with predictions that China might explode its first atomic bomb, perhaps even this year. We know nothing about it ourselves, but we do know that less mighty Powers than China, with its industrial and scientific potential, have it within their knowledge and ability to make or to use these weapons. Why not China, therefore? And, if not with its own science, perhaps with a borrowed one? Do we not see the blight of "the spread" already creeping up in Western Europe?

52. We are now moving into a new era, a new decade, in which the United Nations must face up to the economic causes of war. With the Development Decade and the whole chaotic situation in the realm of world trade, the United Nations is rightly moving, after seventeen years of major emphasis on the political, to a greater emphasis on the economic. When we speak of the Development Decade, we speak of two things, the inherent ability of nations to develop inwardly, and their ability to help others. China's true powers, disfigured by cold-war propaganda and a cold-war Press, constitute one of the world's most glowing chapters—a nation which threw off the yoke of feudalism and colonialism and unleashed tremendous potentialities of industry and science to create for its people standards of living which the vast majority of them has never enjoyed before. China's era of development began in 1948, and it has never ceased. Today its land has thousands of industrial plants, coupled with the development of its rich western territories, where exploration and discoveries are now converting China into a land

^{3/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/205, annex I, sect. O.

of steel and petroleum. Dams are conquering the deserts. China's rate of development—to take only a single item—is reported in the Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1960.^{4/} This report shows that in 1959 China's industrial index, taking 1953 as 100, stood at 406. It is greater now.

53. In a world planning a trade conference, when the limits of world trade appear to have been exhausted, so that rival blocs of developing nations are now competing with each other; when the failure to expand the perimeter of world trade—no matter what we do and how we bargain—will tie down the new-born nations with new chains to the primary products which have already enslaved them, is it constructive statesmanship, we ask, to ignore and to omit the vast trade potential of China, which was the first big trading nation in history?

54. Today, the mainland enjoys trade relations with over 100 countries and areas, and China's exports of manufactured goods already supply many new nations with a great variety of their needs. Its population, credited by the United Nations with being 669 million in 1958, is now probably near 700 million. This vast population constitutes a potential consumer market which can help raise the level of world trade out of the bog in which it now finds itself. China's expanding heavy industry, its giant strides in the field of education and technology, can be a veritable storehouse for the support of new developing nations for which, obviously, the present aid programmes of industrial Powers are woefully insufficient.

55. The cry in this Assembly is for more aid, more trade, more development, and it is stated in ethical terms, as though the industrial Powers were deliberately holding back what they have. The truth may be either that they place their own super-development first or that they just have reached their limits. In any event, how can the world of so much demand possibly ignore the world of so much supply? And when we speak of freedom from hunger, of building up the world's food supply in the race against population, how can we draw a blind over the vast food potential which China represents, despite the recent droughts and disasters?

56. For seventeen years now we have left a void in the United Nations political programme for peace. That void is China. Are we to repeat this in the economic programme for peace as well? In an Assembly where so much is said about strengthening the United Nations, what greater injection of strength can there be than to begin with the participation of the legitimate representatives of China in our deliberations and in our labours. This would open a new vast area to that universalism which has brought into this world Organization so many new nations. It would add a new pillar of strength, give new firmness and greater stability. It would shore up the beachheads of peace in the Far East and bring into the Development Decade the most dynamically developing nation today.

57. We meet here in an atmosphere of crisis. It would be only too easy to cry aggression, create a climate of panic and run with the mob. It is at such moments that the qualities of true leadership must assert themselves. It is at times such as these that we must act with unruffled calm and sober judgement.

58. It is a key decision that we are being called upon to make. Let us have the courage and, even more important, let us have the vision to make it. Let us not think only of today, but also of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Let us not flinch from what is our obvious duty and our solemn responsibility. Let us do it now, for tomorrow may be too late.

59. Mr. ANUMAN-RAJADHON (Thailand): The question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is not a new topic. It was discussed during plenary meetings at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly decided, by 61 votes to 34, with 7 abstentions, that this was an important question in accordance with Article 13 of the Charter [1080th meeting]. Thus, in order for it to be adopted as a decision of the General Assembly, the present draft resolution [A/L.395] submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics must, like the previous draft resolution of last year, obtain a two thirds majority of the Members present and voting.

60. It must also be remembered that substantially the same draft resolution proposed last year by the Soviet Union, was rejected because it failed to receive the necessary two thirds majority. The result of the vote was 36 in favour, 48 against, and 20 abstentions. The voting took place after extensive and exhaustive debate in plenary meetings [1080th meeting]. My delegation participated in the discussion and fully explained its position regarding the question.

61. The same question has now come up again before the General Assembly, although there has been virtually no change in the situation except for the worse. The draft resolution seeks, in effect, two things: first, to remove the lawfully accredited representatives of the Republic of China from all United Nations organs, and secondly to invite the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs.

62. My delegation wishes once again to reiterate and reaffirm the position it has taken, namely, that the present draft resolution like its abortive predecessor, must be rejected. I shall attempt to recapitulate the principal reasoning which induced my delegation to reject both last year's draft resolution and the present one.

63. It is indisputably clear that the question under consideration deserves the greatest care and circumspection. It is a question of fundamental political and substantive legal importance, touching the very foundation of the United Nations and affecting the peace and security of the world in general and of the region of South-East Asia, of which my country forms part, in particular.

64. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution [A/L.395] seeks to remove the lawfully accredited representatives of the Republic of China, and operative paragraph 2 seeks to replace them by representatives of the People's Republic of China. In my opinion, the question is not simple one of representation or of procedure; rather, it embraces substantive questions of the expulsion of an original Member of the United Nations and of the admission

^{4/} United Nations publication, Sales No: 61.II.F.1.

of a new Member to replace the original Member so expelled.

65. A closer analysis of the proposals reveals the fact that, in effect, the two paragraphs envisage two or three distinct steps, entailing three different consequences: first, the expulsion of the Republic of China, an original and permanent Member of the United Nations, from the Organization; secondly, the admission of the People's Republic of China, a newcomer to the Organization, and thirdly the assumption by the People's Republic of China, the newcomer, of the seat now occupied by the Republic of China, one of the original Members of the United Nations. None of these steps, it must be noted, can be accomplished without compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, which clearly contains express provisions governing these matters.

66. In the first place, the position of the Republic of China has been doubly secured from the possibility of expulsion without the necessity of amending the Charter, a procedure which could not be effected without the Republic of China's affirmative concurrence. Article 3 of the Charter contains a provision regarding the qualifications of original Members of the United Nations which necessarily includes the Republic of China, which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, signed the Charter and ratified it in accordance with Article 110. Moreover, Article 23 of the Charter declares the Republic of China, *ipso nomine*, a permanent member of the Security Council. It would therefore appear flagrantly unconstitutional for a permanent member to attempt to oust another permanent member in a manner not contemplated by the Charter, in the drafting of which both participated on a footing of sovereign equality.

67. Attention should also be paid to the provisions of Articles 5 and 6 of the Charter, which lay down conditions for suspending and expelling recalcitrant Members of the United Nations. In each case, the procedure provided requires a prior recommendation by the Security Council. The draft resolution is therefore designed, in effect, to circumvent the constitutional procedures and safeguards clearly laid down in the Charter. Having established the constitutional impossibility of operative paragraph 1, there is hardly any need to add that paragraph 2 must consequently fall to the ground. The People's Republic of China, if it wishes to seek admission to the United Nations, must comply with Article 4, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the United Nations Charter. There is, however, no evidence that the People's Republic of China has expressed any such wish. To be qualified for membership in the United Nations, the People's Republic of China would have to furnish evidence that: first, it is a peace-loving State; secondly, it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter; and thirdly, in the judgement of the Organization, it is able and willing to carry out those obligations. Furthermore, admission can be effected by the decision of the General Assembly only upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Hitherto, none of these questions has received a positive recommendation by the Security Council. On the other hand, there are a number of countries qualified for membership, like the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of Korea, which are not yet Members of the Organization, notwithstanding their qualifications.

68. The question of qualifications—or, rather, of disqualifications—in the case of the People's Republic of China has been very extensively discussed. There is no need for me to recall any of the points so ably made by the representatives who have spoken before me. Suffice it to say that, in the final analysis, the legal and constitutional provisions whereby a Member of the United Nations may be expelled and a new one admitted having been demonstrated, and the conclusion having been reached that neither can the Republic of China be expelled nor can the People's Republic of China be admitted without compliance with the Charter, the ultimate conclusion is inevitable; that the latter is not and cannot be in a position to replace the former within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

69. For these reasons, the delegation of Thailand cannot but vote against the draft resolution submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

70. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): The stand of my Government on the question of the representation of China has always been clear and consistent. It is demonstrated in the cordial relations which exist between the Republic of China and my country. These relations are reflected in our mutual co-operation in the economic, cultural and technical, as well as political fields. The exchange of diplomatic representation between our two respective Governments further contributes to the strengthening of these friendly relations.

71. We have listened with care and attention to the statements made from this rostrum during the present discussion. My delegation does not see any new argument adduced which would justify a change in the position which my Government has taken on this matter. This being the case, and in the light of the present circumstances, my delegation will continue to maintain its position and will vote accordingly.

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Sukardjo Wirjopranoto, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

72. The PRESIDENT: It is my very sad duty to announce that we have learned with a sense of profound shock of the death of Mr. Wirjopranoto, permanent representative of Indonesia to the United Nations.

73. On behalf of all representatives, I extend to the members of Mr. Wirjopranoto's family and to the Government and people of Indonesia our sincere condolences.

74. I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence in memory of the departed.

Members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Wirjopranoto, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations.

75. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): The sad announcement which you have just made, Mr. President, has given me a profound shock. It is no secret to the Members of the General Assembly that Mr. Wirjopranoto and I have many times argued against each other over the serious problem that held our two Governments divided. Perhaps at times those arguments have even assumed a certain sharpness. But it has always been a great comfort to me to know

that, outside the official halls, among ourselves, our friendship and our esteem have never been impaired. Now that such a sudden and tragic end has come to the life of our colleague, it behooves me to pay tribute to him as a gallant opponent, as an honourable man, and as a good personal friend. His memory will live not only with his own delegation and his own people, but with all of us who had the privilege of knowing him and of realizing his many great qualities.

76. Mrs. SUPENI (Indonesia): It is difficult for me to find words to express the profound grief which we, the close associates of Mr. Wirjopranoto, experience in this moment of sorrow. I wish only to express, on behalf of the Indonesian delegation, our deep appreciation of the sympathy extended to us on his untimely passing. He was a dedicated fighter for freedom and independence in Indonesia and for international peace and co-operation. His death will be a great loss to the Indonesian Government and people.

AGENDA ITEM 21

Report of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter

77. The PRESIDENT: Before I put to a vote the draft resolution recommended in the report of the Committee, I should like to mention that I asked the Chairman of the Fifth Committee to put before the Committee the financial implications of this draft resolution. The Fifth Committee has considered the matter and has asked me to inform the General Assembly that, in the event of the adoption of the draft resolution, such additional budgetary requirements as would arise could be met within existing appropriations, and that no additional credits would be required for either of the financial years 1963 or 1964.

78. Having thus complied with the requirements of rule 154, I invite Members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in its report.

79. In effect, the draft resolution decides to keep in being the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter and invites the Committee to meet not later than July 1963 and to report, with recommendations, to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session.

80. If no representative wishes to speak, and if there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution contained in document A/5193.

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 82

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

81. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with this item the Economic and Social Council unanimously recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution contained in document A/5182.

82. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): The delegation of Jordan had the honour of presenting to the Economic and Social Council at its meeting on 26 July 1962 the resolution, which appears in document A/5182 and which was unanimously recommended by the Council to this Assembly for adoption.

83. Clear and simple as it is, the draft resolution now before the Assembly requires no introduction. However, as my delegation explained in its memorandum which was submitted to the Council, formal initiatives were taken in Sweden and in other countries to create a living memorial to the late Dag Hammarskjöld. Those initiatives led to the establishment of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Stockholm on 21 May 1962.

84. The by-laws of the Foundation and all other available material show that the Foundation will have as its major objective the promotion of social, political, economic and cultural progress in the developing countries by means of training citizens to hold responsible posts. The Foundation is intended to carry out all its projects and activities in conformity with, and as inspired by, the aims, policies and ideals of the United Nations.

85. The Foundation is governed by a Board consisting of prominent Swedish and non-Swedish nationals, among them the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, *ex officio*, and several personalities who have held high ranking positions in the Secretariat of the United Nations.

86. It may be recalled that the General Assembly at its sixteenth session took a unanimous decision naming the United Nations Library at its dedication "The Dag Hammarskjöld Library" in tribute to the memory of the late Secretary-General. The present draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council for adoption recalls that resolution [1625 (XVI)], notes with satisfaction the establishment of the Foundation, and notes further that that Foundation and the national committees to be organized to support its efforts will carry out such projects as conform to the general aims and policies of the United Nations.

87. Needless to say, the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution is another tribute to the man who gave his life in a great mission of peace—the man who is no more with us in person but whose spirit will continue to be a moving and inspiring force calling for peace, co-operation and international understanding.

88. If I may be allowed to make a special reference on this occasion to the highly valued friendship which existed between the great man whose memory we are honouring today and my country, I would say with deep satisfaction that that relationship, both officially and personally, will stay in the hearts and minds of my people as a very dear memory. Believing in the devoted efforts of Dag Hammarskjöld for the principles and aims of the United Nations, and adhering to those lofty principles and aims, we feel certain that the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation will effectively promote the objectives of the United Nations in the fields for which it is established, and in this connexion the following words of Dag Hammarskjöld will be remembered:

"Perhaps a future generation which knows of the outcome of our present efforts will look at them with some irony. They will see where we fumbled and they will find it difficult to understand why we did not see the direction more clearly and work more consistently towards the target it indicates. So it will always be, but let us hope that they will not find any reason to criticize us because of a lack of that combination of steadfastness of pur-

pose and flexibility in approach which alone can guarantee that the possibilities which we are exploring will have been tested to the full."

89. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (translated from Spanish): It is with genuine emotion that I ascend this rostrum to support the resolution which has been submitted with such clarity and precision by the representative of Jordan.

90. During the last eight years I was privileged to witness the extraordinary qualities which Mr. Hammarskjöld possessed. He was a humanist versed in economics, and consequently he had a realist's outlook on life. He was called at a time of crisis to the United Nations to guide it along the path which has enabled it to achieve a success which even the greatest pessimists acknowledge.

91. There was something providential about his appointment. At the time it was essential to find a man belonging to a country aloof from political alliances; a man thoroughly imbued with the ideals of international justice and with the conviction that international law should be above the reasoning attributed to States. So we found this man; and this man more than fulfilled the hopes placed in him. He possessed a combination of unusual qualities which were revealed not only in his administrative activities and his functions as Secretary-General, but also in his personal relationships.

92. One came to realize, in the case of Hammarskjöld, that the humanistic education, that philosophy of sublimation which raises us above the course of events and sets the seal of eternity on our lives—instead of obstructing, thwarting and cramping us in the fulfilment of our daily duties—was manifested in him by a strength, an inner light, which ensured success in the discharge of his great international functions. He was a great internationalist because he was able to combine two qualities difficult to reconcile: vast experience in economics and a humanistic education.

93. Gentlemen, it seems to me that the life of Hammarskjöld has this practical lesson to teach us: the servants of States and the servants of the United Nations must be thoroughly imbued with that experience which gives them a profound sense of reality, principally in economic matters, and at the same time an unfailing sense of sublimation and steadfast loyalty to the great spiritual principles.

94. Such were the two characteristics which Hammarskjöld possessed. His life was an exemplary life, and one which ended heroically as all great lives should end. He died in the service of the United Nations, carrying out the work on which he believed the future of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its methods depended.

95. We have not forgotten his action; we have not forgotten his qualities. For us the great spiritual values imply eternity. But through our resolutions and the institutions that we create, we should give this concrete expression as a symbol; and the symbol perpetuating the memory and example of Hammarskjöld will be the foundation bearing his name. The library already bears his name, that library which represents the humanistic and realistic culture of the United Nations. But we wish rising generations of future servants of the United Nations to have the same training as Hammarskjöld: a wide knowledge of the practical and realistic sciences, and at the same

time a deep humanitarian and universal feeling for life.

96. Consequently, the most appropriate way in which to honour the memory of this great man is to create a foundation which will impart to new generations of servants of the United Nations and the civil service of our several countries the spiritual training which made him great. I therefore enthusiastically call upon my colleagues to adopt this resolution unanimously.

97. Mr. MOLLOY (Ireland): I have the honour to speak here on behalf of Mr. Boland, the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations and former President of the General Assembly, who, to his regret, is unable to be present here today.

98. The Irish delegation is particularly happy to lend its support to this resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Economic and Social Council at its thirty-fourth session in July 1962. There could be no more appropriate way of honouring the memory of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, in our opinion, than by associating it with programmes aimed at training citizens of the developing countries for responsible administrative, executive and other similar posts.

99. Representatives of developing countries have often stressed here their need, not only for development capital, but for the know-how and the technical skills necessary to enable the investment capital to be used to the best advantage. It is no fault of the developing countries themselves that they have attained independence with inadequate resources in this respect. The late Secretary-General was keenly alive to the vital importance of this aspect of the problem in the context of the economic growth and advancement of the developing countries. It was just the kind of perception to stir his imagination and to challenge his energies. It is, in our view, entirely fitting therefore that initiatives taken to support the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation should be aimed primarily at furthering the objectives he had set himself in this field. How this can best be done, in the case of a country such as Ireland, is already engaging the attention of the authorities in Dublin.

100. Our possibilities of assisting financially may not be great, but there are ways in which we feel we can make a useful, if unspectacular, contribution to the purposes of this resolution. We are prepared, for example, to make available to developing countries, on conditions which we believe would be acceptable to all concerned, trained personnel to help them in organizing their public services and in the formation of their own cadres of efficient public administrators. We are prepared to give Irish officials leave of absence from their posts in Ireland to serve those new countries which desire help of that kind, until such time as their own officials have acquired the necessary knowledge and experience. Furthermore, we are prepared to accept for training, in our Government departments and in our State or semi-State bodies, a certain number of personnel from the developing countries who consider that such training would be useful to them. These facilities are open to all citizens of developing countries who desire to take advantage of them, including students from countries in Africa and Asia who are pursuing courses in our Irish universities and colleges. These students amount at present to

about 10 per cent of our total university student body, and they are particularly welcome in Ireland.

101. Each country must of course be the best judge of what measures it can take to advance the objectives of this resolution, but the purposes of the resolution itself will, I am sure, be approved by the membership of the United Nations generally, and I commend the resolution to the Assembly on that basis.

102. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the draft resolution contained in document A/5182. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly adopts the resolution unanimously.

It was so decided.

Address by H.R.H. Prince Hasan Al-Rida Al-Sanusi, Crown Prince of the United Kingdom of Libya

103. H.R.H. PRINCE HASANAL-RIDA AL-SANUSI: 5/ It gives me great pleasure to be accorded this opportunity of visiting the Headquarters of the United Nations and to express, on this happy occasion, profound and sincere greetings to this Organization, wishing it ever successful accomplishments in serving the causes of the peoples of the world and strengthening the foundations of universal peace and amity.

104. I voice, with full confidence, my country's unqualified support of the Charter of this Organization and respect for the implementation of its resolutions.

105. The effective role played by the United Nations, when it considered the question of the independence of my country, was a great and gratifying role. The valuable assistance which the Organization continues to render to my country in many important fields, and for which we are thankful, has had a most beneficial effect in the formulation of our productive plans on sound and firm bases. All this demonstrates clearly the sincerity of its pursuits to uphold what is right and to oppose what is wrong, without favour or distinction.

106. Since its inception, the Organization has constantly championed the causes of the subjugated peoples. It has finally crowned its achievements with the historic resolution [1514 (XV)] which calls for the liquidation of colonialism from the face of the earth and for the granting to the peoples of these colonies their right to self-determination by the attainment of sovereignty and independence. Moreover, its accomplishment of other lofty objectives in the field of human rights is outstanding.

107. If we refer to the United Nations achievement of its noble aims, which freed humanity from more fetters and released it from the bondage of the past, we are merely referring to the brotherly understanding which prevails among the majority of the Member States of which this world body is composed, to their yielding to the logic of rightness and to their support of the principles of justice. How happy will be the day when certain States will voluntarily observe the resolutions of this Organization—those which have been adopted and those which will eventually be adopted—and implement them with a spirit of understanding, co-operation and solidarity. It is indeed regrettable to hear of protraction and delay in the implementation of United Nations resolutions,

of their disregard and of the invention of excuses and pretexts to evade their application.

108. The peoples of the whole world attach great hopes to this Organization which serves, with sincerity and dedication, the causes of peace, which has treated and continues to treat with conviction and determination various international problems in an atmosphere of understanding, solidarity and good faith, which has led mankind of all nations and races to hold the Organization in great esteem and reverence and to resort to its Assembly, since it is considered a stronghold from which the voice of tightness can be raised and to which the timid and the oppressed, the lost and the destitute, can turn.

109. Apart from the excellent roles which required of the international Organization gigantic efforts and laborious endeavours to attain the objectives so far realized, we are not unaware of the difficulties with which it is at present confronted in its efforts to overcome the many diverse problems which are of great concern to world public opinion. We are hopeful, however, that it will be able to deal with these problems and issues with the same good spirit and mutual understanding for the sake of humanity and the benefit of the peoples of this world.

110. For it to play an effective role in this epoch of our time, the United Nations must become a strong and incisive instrument, capable of removing every reason or measure which might lead to international strife and conflict. It must play the role of a kind father and a loving mother in drawing closer the views of the sons who compose the human community. We wish, on this occasion, to address an earnest appeal from this solemn forum to all the nations of which this Organization is constituted to work diligently in order to put an end to the armaments race and, for some of them to renounce their inflexible and obstinate position in a fraternal and human amity and to direct all their material and technological possibilities to wage a war against the enemies of man which are poverty, illness and fear. These are the three principal enemies against which this wise Organization has pledged itself to fight.

111. The climate of our world in the present circumstances is not free from clouds, and in many parts false echoes of international problems are resounding; they are from time to time magnified and become more threatening. If today's problems are discussed in a spirit of understanding and wisdom, sound and honest solutions can easily be found, without resort to the use of force or violence.

112. I do not wish to prolong this address or to dwell on the various questions of which your Organization is seized, especially since the views of my country on these questions have already been expressed here by our delegation.

113. In conclusion, Libya, as a member of this international Organization, firmly believes in understanding and co-operation among peoples. Libya earnestly hopes that these peoples will accept her appeal to stand together and co-operate with each other to build a world free from fear, illiteracy and disease, a world composed of members of one family where the mighty supports the weak, and the

5/ Prince Hasan Al-Rida Al-Sanusi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

rich helps the poor, and the learned teaches the illiterate.

114. With such human ties, humanity can take firm and constant steps forward for the well-being of its sons and direct all its capacities and scientific possibilities to the creation of conditions of tranquillity, to strengthen the peace and live in dignity.

115. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank His Royal Highness for the address he has just made. The thoughts he has expressed will be given careful consideration by all the representatives here present.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.