



**C O N T E N T S**

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> ).....	103
Speeches by Mr. Munro (New Zealand) and Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan)	

**Chairman: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS**  
(Netherlands).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

**SPEECHES BY MR. MUNRO (NEW ZEALAND) AND  
MR. ZAFRULLA KHAN (PAKISTAN)**

1. Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand): I should like to express to the President the congratulations of my Government and my delegation on his well-deserved election to the highest elective office of this Assembly. It gives us great satisfaction to have, as our President, for the first time since our first session, a representative from a European country. We have always valued highly our close association in the General Assembly with Netherlands representatives, an association which derives not merely from a happy alphabetical accident, but from a community of outlook and interest. Our awareness of the breadth of his experience in international and United Nations affairs inspires in us complete confidence that our business will be conducted with efficiency, impartiality and wisdom.
2. The President will recall, that a Dutch explorer was the first European to visit my country. There can hardly have been more pleasure at his election in the Dutch province of Zeeland than in the new country which bears its name.
3. I wish also to pay tribute to the work of the Secretary-General and his staff during the past year. Mr. Hammarskjöld has tackled with energy the pressing problem of reorganization and has, at the same time, effected substantial economies. He has conducted his delicate political duties with both tact and vigour. The Secretariat is the indispensable arm of this Organization. Its effectiveness depends in part, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his annual report [A/2663], on the co-operation of States Members in refraining from imposing on the Secretariat new tasks of dubious value. My delegation, for its part, will do what it can in this respect to assist the Secretariat, in whose loyalty and sense of dedication it reposes every confidence.
4. Since the eighth session of the General Assembly went into recess, there has been, both in Europe and in

Asia, a succession of diplomatic negotiations and conferences of major importance. In the General Assembly, whose agenda covers the whole range of international affairs, their results will colour almost every debate. It is appropriate, therefore, that in this preliminary exchange of views, Members of the United Nations should have an opportunity to draw attention to the significance and the accomplishments of these negotiations and conferences, particularly in fields or areas which to them are of special concern.

5. For my Government, the foremost problem of the year has been the question of Pacific and South-East Asian security, which hinged, in the first instance, on the outcome of the Geneva Conferences on Korea and Indo-China.

6. The Korean Conference, in which New Zealand participated, was in effect the political conference recommended by the General Assembly in December 1952 [resolution 610 (VII)] and provided for in the Armistice Agreement. The Conference, regrettably, failed to reach agreement on a final settlement of the Korean question. It is worthwhile, I think, to draw attention to the principal cause of this failure, for it is of direct and serious concern to this Organization. The objective of those Members of the United Nations who participated in the United Nations action in Korea and who attended the Geneva Conference was the establishment by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea. In our view, this required that elections, genuinely free and impartially supervised, should be held under United Nations auspices. In rejecting proposals put forward on this basis, the Communist representative at Geneva delivered a bitter attack on the impartiality of the United Nations. New Zealand and others firmly repudiated the view that, because the United Nations properly exercised its authority in taking collective measures to repel aggression, it is thereby disqualified from any role in the supervision of the settlement to follow the termination of aggression. I am sure the General Assembly, too, will repudiate this argument, which, indeed, is a challenge to the good faith of the Organization.

7. The New Zealand Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Clifton Webb, took occasion at Geneva to emphasize that it was essential for the Conference to approach its task in a moderate and conciliatory spirit. It is a matter for regret that adamant refusal of the Communist delegation to recognize the United Nations as other than a belligerent made progress impossible. The cause of Korean unification has suffered a serious setback. It may now be unrealistic to expect an easy or an early solution. The peaceful unification of Korea must remain, however, a paramount objective, and, indeed, a responsibility, of the United Nations.

8. The New Zealand Government was not a party to the Conference on Indo-China. But, as a Pacific Power

with a vital interest in the stability and peaceful progress of South-East Asia, it followed the proceedings closely and welcomed the end of hostilities in Indo-China. At the same time, my Government does not believe that this development can be viewed with complacency. We can all rejoice in the end of a bloody struggle; we cannot afford to assume—and, indeed, we in New Zealand are far from assuming—that the termination of overt Communist aggression is the same thing as the termination of communism's expansionist policy in the area. The manner in which the Geneva agreements are observed, in the spirit as well as the letter, will offer a better guide to Communist intentions. New Zealand, for its part, will respect the Indo-China settlement. My Government trusts that by the end of 1956, the whole of Viet-Nam will be united in a free and democratic State, and that all the Powers which have associated themselves with the Geneva settlement will work towards that end.

9. In the meantime, however, we believe that the situation in South-East Asia has made essential the expression of a united will to resist further aggression. To fail to do so would be to neglect the lessons of history, and particularly of recent history. As Mr. Webb trenchantly observed at the opening of the Geneva Conference, there have been many occasions in the past when a firm indication of an intention to resist aggression might have stayed the hand of the aggressor.

10. It was in the acute awareness of these considerations that eight of the countries most directly concerned gathered in Manila early this month to draw up the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and Pacific Charter. New Zealand, as my fellow representatives know, was among those countries. It must be obvious to all who have read it that this Treaty is a purely defensive arrangement. It is neither provocative nor aggressive. Indeed, it was only after the grave warnings provided by Korea and Indo-China that the interested Powers began to take effective steps to organize the collective defence of South-East Asia.

11. Her Majesty's Government in New Zealand recognizes that the formulation of the present Treaty is only a first step. We recognize that military preparedness, while essential, is not in itself sufficient. One of the declared aims of the signatories—and I quote from Article III of the Treaty—is:

“...to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of Governments toward these ends”.

12. The New Zealand Government attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance of an energetic policy of economic and social development throughout the area, believing that this is one of the best ways of assuring long-term peace and stability. We also believe that the maintenance of the security of South-East Asia requires the goodwill and the active co-operation of all—and I emphasize “all”—free countries in that area. It is my Government's hope that all such countries will, in due course, join in completing the common task which the signatories of the Manila Treaty have begun.

13. I wish to emphasize that my Government regards the Manila Treaty, and other treaties of a similar nature,

as squarely within the framework of the United Nations Charter. Article 51 of the Charter provides for the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack until such time as the necessary measures have been taken by the Security Council. Unfortunately, we cannot depend on the swift action by the Security Council which the authors of the Charter envisaged. In these circumstances, it has become apparent, particularly to small nations, that organization in advance is necessary if the right of collective self-defence is to be promptly and effectively exercised.

14. This does not mean that my Government challenges the supreme and overriding responsibility of the United Nations in matters affecting international peace and security. On the contrary, we uphold it. At San Francisco, the New Zealand delegation fully supported the inclusion in the Charter of certain vital provisions. These give the Security Council unfettered discretion to investigate any dispute or situation in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security; further, these provisions require that the Security Council be kept fully informed of any action taken on a regional basis for the maintenance of international peace and security or in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence. In our opinion, moreover, any State has the right, if it is attacked or believes that aggression is imminent, to invoke Article 39 of the Charter. In these circumstances, it is the Council's unqualified right and duty to give the complaint urgent consideration and, as a first step, to make an appropriate determination in the terms of the Article.

15. Thus, the position under the Charter appears to us clear and unambiguous. Unquestionably, the Security Council has supreme authority in matters affecting international peace and security. But until the Council acts, or if for any reason it does not act, Member States surely are free to exercise their inherent right of individual or collective self-defence. New Zealand will continue to uphold this principle.

16. Notwithstanding New Zealand's especial concern with the security of the Pacific and South-East Asia, my Government fully recognizes the significance for the democratic community to which it belongs of developments in other parts of the world.

17. We have followed with close and sympathetic attention the continuing efforts of Western statesmen to strengthen the unity and security of the free nations of Europe. It is our earnest hope that these efforts will bring the positive results essential for the effective defence of those nations which were the source, and are the first bulwark, of our democratic form of government.

18. My Government is glad to note, despite the continuance of tension between Israel and the Arab States, that there has been in some respects an improvement in the Middle Eastern situation during the past year. We are particularly pleased that agreement in principle has been reached, after protracted negotiations, between the United Kingdom and Egypt over the Suez base, and that the long-standing Anglo-Iranian oil dispute has been settled. These agreements have brought about an immediate easing of tension and will, we may hope, contribute in the long run to better relations between the States concerned and to the stability and

security of the region as a whole. It would be idle to pretend, however, that these last-mentioned objectives can be fully secured so long as the present hostile atmosphere pervades Arab-Israel relations. While it may well be, as the Secretary-General says in his annual report [*A/2663, p. xvii*], that the time is not yet ripe for a political settlement of the Palestine question, New Zealand, as a disinterested small Power, will continue to do what it can in the Security Council and elsewhere to assist the United Nations in supervising the armistice, in eliminating points of friction and in constantly seeking the improvement in the general atmosphere which is a prerequisite for a settlement.

19. Despite the highly political nature of this problem, the importance of economic factors should not be underestimated. The problem of Arab refugees, for example—to whose support and relief New Zealand has consistently contributed—is one that can probably best be solved by co-operative economic development.

20. During the year, New Zealand has also continued to contribute, in amounts which are substantial in proportion to its resources, to other United Nations relief and rehabilitation programmes, including the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency and the United Nations Children's Fund. In South and South-East Asia, an area in which I have already indicated our special interest, we contribute as in the past to capital development under the Colombo Plan. We are, however, a small country with neither vast resources of capital nor heavy manufacturing capacity. The field in which we feel we have the most to offer is one which the Secretary-General rightly described as of "singular importance"—the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the Colombo Plan. Here, a relatively non-industrial country such as my own, which has developed a high standard of living from its agricultural and pastoral resources, may have something to offer underdeveloped countries from its own scientific and administrative experience.

21. My delegation approaches the contentious political issues which face this Assembly with a full sense of the importance ascribed to them by the delegations most directly concerned.

22. Perhaps the most important problem, and one which certainly concerns us all here, is that of disarmament. My delegation, as a member of the Disarmament Commission, has carefully studied the work of the Sub-Committee which met in London earlier this year. It welcomes the initiatives taken by the Western delegations. It regrets that these initiatives have not yet been met by a comparable flexibility on the part of the Soviet Union.

23. My delegation also desires to welcome the initiative taken by the United States at this Assembly in regard to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. President Eisenhower's speech on this subject last December [*470th meeting*] delivered as it was in circumstances of great solemnity, found a responsive echo throughout the world. The concrete proposals now put forward surely warrant the Assembly's most sympathetic attention. The harnessing of atomic energy is the greatest scientific discovery of our age. Every step which increases the emphasis on the development of peaceful and constructive uses of this immeasurable

source of energy demands our active co-operation and merits our heartfelt praise.

24. I wish now to offer some comments of a more general nature on another group of important political items.

25. I have already indicated that my country regards the United Nations as the supreme arbiter in matters relating to international peace and security. It is necessary, in our opinion, to remember that, despite admitted imperfections, this is the Organization's primary and most important function. At previous sessions, the New Zealand delegation has drawn attention to the danger that the Organization may become preoccupied instead with matters which do not affect international peace and security, in which its competence at best is in serious doubt and with which it is unable effectively to deal. Experience has clearly shown that the only practical effect of disregarding the obvious intent of the domestic jurisdiction clause is to put Article 1, paragraph 4 of the Charter into reverse; to make the United Nations a sounding board for disharmony and a meeting place for the cultivation of unfriendly relations among nations. We had hoped that, as this trend became plainer, Members would come to take a more realistic attitude in regard to questions of the kind I have described.

26. Unfortunately, this has not yet happened, and we are faced this year with more items than ever in which the likelihood of a threat to the peace cannot reasonably be asserted and in which there is serious doubt as to competence. We cannot but regard as fallacious and dangerous the apparent view in some quarters that the Assembly's prime duties are to remould the domestic policies of States, to liquidate their overseas possessions, and to arrange for the transfer of territorial sovereignty from one State to another.

27. At this stage, I do not wish to discuss in detail the relevant agenda items. But I am encouraged to note that thirty delegations, one half of the Assembly's membership, did not—I repeat, did not—feel able to support the admission of the Cyprus question [*item 62*] to our agenda.

28. New Zealand is well aware of the Charter obligations of Members administering Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories. My Government has continued to promote the welfare and advancement of the people in the Trust Territory of Western Samoa and in the Non-Self-Governing Territories for the administration of which it is responsible.

29. Last year [*436th meeting*], my Minister for External Affairs told the Assembly of the decision to hold in Western Samoa a constitutional convention at which the Samoan people would have the opportunity of formulating their views and expressing their opinions on the nature of the institutions through which they desired to exercise full powers of self-government. This convention will be representative of all sections of the Samoan people, and will be held next November. The convention will be essentially Samoan in character and composition. Some valuable preparatory work has already been carried out by a Samoan Working Committee. This Committee has produced and distributed in the Territory a simplified version, in the Samoan language, of the development plan, which includes the proposals for the constitutional convention. In addition, the Working Committee has undertaken an examination, the

results of which have been widely distributed in Samoa, of a number of fundamental questions which will arise for consideration by the convention. I refer to such matters as common citizenship, reform of the legislature, suffrage, control of the Public Service, the method and tenure of the office of Head of State, the Executive Council and the relationship between New Zealand and the future self-governing State of Western Samoa. The Working Committee has also made proposals as to the composition and procedure of the constitutional convention.

30. I should emphasize that, in this preliminary work and in the proceedings of the convention itself, my Government has not sought—and indeed will not seek—to influence the conclusions of the Samoa people. It has, of course, given assistance and advice when so requested.

31. Thus, the Samoan people, through their own representatives, will have a free and untrammelled opportunity to hold their discussions and reach their conclusions on the political institutions they desire and on the manner in which they wish to achieve the fundamental objective of self-government envisaged in the Charter.

32. As the Prime Minister of New Zealand announced in his statement of March 1953:

“The recommendations of this convention and the date on which the constitution will be put into effect will be carefully considered by the New Zealand Government, which is fully prepared to implement any scheme which seems to it to be consonant with its responsibilities as Administering Authority and its natural regard for the welfare of the Samoan people. Naturally, the New Zealand Government will fulfil its duty of keeping the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations informed and would give due consideration to its views and advice.”

33. I hardly need to emphasize the importance which the Samoan people and the New Zealand Government attach to this occasion. But it must also be frankly admitted that, whatever conclusions may be reached by the convention, progress in the final step towards the attainment of self-government for Western Samoa will require time, careful study, and patient and harmonious collaboration.

34. I should like, in conclusion, to revert to a topic to which I have already referred: the importance, particularly for small countries, of organizing collective self-defence in advance. I have one final point to make.

35. There are some who argue that the establishment of new collective defence organizations, even if justifiable in terms of the Charter, contributes to international tension instead of reducing it. Such action, it is suggested, casts doubts on our belief in the possibility of “peaceful coexistence”. I do not want to quarrel with this now fashionable expression, but let us be clear as to its meaning. It might, of course, mean merely the avoidance of a world war, but in that case “peaceful coexistence” means no more than “existence”, since a major conflict is all too likely to end in universal destruction. But surely it means something more positive than this; indeed, if the concept is to have any value for democratic countries like my own, it must mean freedom to maintain and defend our way of life, unmolested by the threat of aggression or subversion. We certainly cannot assume from recent events that

this threat has vanished, or indeed that it has decreased, since we are all familiar with the communist theory of tactical flexibility. Until we have convincing proof that Soviet and Chinese Communist leaders regard “peaceful coexistence” as something more than a temporary expedient and a propaganda catch-phrase, we dare not relax or, indeed, do other than build as fast as we can our collective security. If then, as we believe, the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, that also must be the price of peaceful coexistence.

36. Mr. ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): May I be permitted to start such brief observations as I desire to submit to the Assembly this afternoon by congratulating the Assembly on the choice of its President for its ninth regular session. Mr. van Kleffens has, during his distinguished career, in peace and war, given ample proof of those high qualities which, I am confident, will enable him to guide and regulate the deliberations of the Assembly during this session with the requisite ability, tact and dignity to the complete satisfaction of all concerned. May I also add my tribute to that paid by other speakers to Mrs. Pandit for the ability, dignity and skill with which she presided over the eighth session of the Assembly.

37. The United Nations is approaching the close of the first decade of its existence. People everywhere feel impelled to take stock of its achievements and failures and to ask themselves whether it has justified itself. To this general question we, for our part, are able, without hesitation, to make an affirmative reply. In so expressing ourselves we are not unmindful of the shortcomings of the Organization which have revealed themselves in certain directions, and, still more, of the inadequacy of its action in certain others. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the Organization has done and continue to do invaluable beneficent work in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. Its record in respect of the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples is also, bearing in mind all the difficulties that are encountered and have to be overcome, not a discouraging one. In this context, we welcome the initiative taken by New Zealand in respect of the convening of the proposed constitutional convention in Western Samoa. This is a step which might well serve as a pattern to be usefully and profitably followed in other similar cases. But here, too, we are conscious of occasional fallings from grace and even blunders of a grave character, as witness, for instance, a million homeless and destitute Arabs whose misery is a standing and poignant reproach to the Organization, being attributable directly to United Nations action taken in defiance of clear and repeated warnings of the fate that would surely and inevitably overtake the Arabs population of Palestine if partition were persisted in. But this and other instances only serve to emphasize that the United Nations suffers from a degree of imperfection which is a measure of the shortcomings and imperfections of its membership.

38. Many of us are anxious to see progress in respect of the self-determination of peoples sharply accelerated. We believe that once a people has become conscious and impatient of its position of dependence, and eager to assume the duties and responsibilities of self-government, continued denial of freedom thereafter compels recourse to subversive activities which immediately develop into an active threat to the maintenance of peace

and security. On the other hand, a dependent people can, in the nature of things, not have the same eager interest in the maintenance of peace and the fight against aggression as a people enjoying the blessings of freedom has in the defence of its freedom and all that it imports and signifies. Nor can a dependent people be expected to suffer privations and to make sacrifices cheerfully for the purpose merely of maintaining the dominance to which it is subject, however grave the alternative that may threaten. We consider, therefore, that the acceleration of the process of self-determination is one of the principal means of strengthening the edifice of international peace, and would, as it progresses, remove what at present constitutes a potent incitement to aggression. The fewer the number of what may even mistakenly be regarded as colonial prizes, the smaller will be the temptation to make bids for winning them; the greater the number of free nations and peoples, the larger will be the muster in support of the defence of freedom, the suppression of subversion and the halting of aggression.

39. It is, however, in respect of the fulfilment of its main purposes, namely the maintenance of international peace and security, the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace that, notwithstanding its action in Korea, there prevails a sense of disappointment and frustration concerning the United Nations. But it must be recognized that the Organization has, during the greater part of its brief existence, operated under a severe handicap. The Charter of the United Nations presupposes, and indeed bases itself on, a reasonable degree of accord and unity between the great Powers in support of the purposes and principles of the Organization as proclaimed in the Charter. This accord and unity have, alas, been lacking. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that the Organization has failed to fulfil completely its primary and pre-eminent purpose. In fact, it is this discord between the great Powers that constitutes the principal threat to international peace and security. It has compelled some of the great and several of the small Powers to seek methods of regional organization and co-operation, as is contemplated in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, in support of the maintenance of peace and security. These efforts are the inevitable outcome of the lack of accord between the great Powers—particularly on such question as disarmament and the control of atomic weapons—which has fostered grave apprehensions concerning not only the maintenance of peace and security but the very survival of civilization and culture and, indeed, of the human race itself. Those who are disposed to cavil or look askance at these arrangements appear to us to ignore the clear lessons of history and to shut their eyes to the events of the last few years.

40. In the state of uncertainty that prevails today, fraught with such grave peril to all that man values and holds dear, it is clearly the duty of those upon whom responsibility lies to take every reasonable precaution and to make all reasonable preparation for the safeguarding of national, as well as regional and international, security. So long as the real purpose and object of these arrangements is the suppression of aggression and the maintenance of peace and security, they need arouse no apprehension in any quarter. Having myself no aggressive designs against my neighbour, if I observe that he is taking measures to safeguard his

security, this may perhaps cause me amusement but need occasion no apprehension or alarm. It is only if my own designs are aggressive or if I contemplate the use of force in gaining my ends or achieving my purposes, however justified or desirable these ends or purposes may appear in my own estimation, that I would look upon my neighbour's preparations with annoyance, chagrin or possibly alarm. It may, of course, be that my neighbour, while loudly proclaiming the peaceful character of his intentions, is clearly harbouring aggressive designs. If I had solid grounds for relating his activities to such designs, my apprehension and alarm would be justified. But we venture to submit that such is not the case in respect of the measures to which I have made reference. We would offer one test which we consider adequate: there is nothing in any of these arrangements that is secret or is sought to be imposed under compulsion or constraint of any description. All is open, free and voluntary. The declared and the real purpose are identical. The only object is the maintenance of security and the suppression of aggression.

41. It is being progressively realized that armed attack is only the culminating step in the pattern of aggression that has unfolded itself during the last few years. The antecedent steps are infiltration and the creation of confusion followed by subversion. The social pattern and economic and political conditions prevailing over a large part of the continents of Asia and Africa are only too favourable to the successful prosecution of such designs.

42. We recognize that arrangements of a military character are necessary to overcome manifestations of aggression through the use of arms. But economic causes may render these arrangements inadequate for this purpose. Without a sound economy, no country can build up or continue to support an adequate system of defence. A high Western authority has recently observed:

“A defence programme which overburdens the economy of the country is an unstable defence programme. . . . Many countries, though independent and capable of a sound economy in a peaceful world, find themselves with inadequate technical and financial resources to build up the defences necessary in the world as they find it today”.

43. The obvious remedy is that they must, within as short a period as possible, be assisted in attaining a position in which they can develop their economic, technical and financial resources to a degree adequate to enable them to carry the burden of an appropriate defence system, without subjecting their economy to an undue strain.

44. Rapid economic development of under-developed countries is, however, demanded even more insistently by considerations of a more primary character. It is the only answer to infiltration, confusion and subversion. The bait most often and most persistently held out to the “have not” or “have little” masses of these countries by the instruments of chaos, confusion and subversion is that an upsetting of the social, economic and political order of the country and its reshaping along patterns advocated by them would usher in an era of universal prosperity, with its attendant blessings of health, leisure, amusement and gainful technical instruction and training. This kind of activity has already initiated strong currents in the minds of hundreds of

millions of the peoples of Asia and Africa who sustain a precarious existence on the verge of starvation, in the darkness of ignorance, continuously a prey to diseases and disorders of various descriptions. Here is a vast field for beneficent co-operation between the East and the West. Such co-operation can furnish an answer to the crucial question with which the teeming millions of Asia and Africa are being persistently confronted. To quote once more the high Western authority to whom I have already referred:

"The struggle against the spread of communism will be determined in many cases by the estimate of the people in under-developed countries as to whether they have a better chance, while satisfying their national aspirations, of raising their own standards of life through the adoption of the Western or the communist ideas of organizing society; by the acceptance of Western or communist help. . . . The outcome will be determined by whether our deeds and our behaviour convince or fail to convince these uncommitted peoples of Asia that they have a better chance of satisfying their national aspirations and raising their standards of life and well-being by association with the West."

45. We acknowledge with deep gratitude all that has so far been achieved and is projected in this direction by the United Nations and its agencies, the United States technical assistance and other aid programmes, the Colombo Plan, and the efforts of other countries, agencies, foundations and individuals, not only through the promotion of permanent or long-term measures and projects, but also by way of *ad hoc* relief and assistance during periods of famine, floods and other visitations. The promptness and volume of the aid and relief provided for the stricken people of east Pakistan from so many directions, particularly by the defence forces of the United States, during the recent calamitous and unprecedented floods in that part of the country, subjecting over 25 million people to acute misery and near destitution, have created a heart-warming reaction among all classes of the people of Pakistan, and have left a profound impression on their minds, even in the remotest corners of the country.

46. Assistance and co-operation in all these fields is a token of the spirit that is drawing together the peoples of all regions, the East and the West, the North and the South, in one common bond of brotherhood, and is a good augury for the future of mankind on this rapidly shrinking planet. Though all this is very welcome, much, very much, still remains to be done. Not only must effort in this direction not be relaxed, but it must be greatly intensified and enhanced.

47. We welcome the emphasis laid on this matter in a speech made yesterday [480th meeting] by the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands. We strongly support his proposal for the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development, a proposal which the Pakistan delegation to the Economic and Social Council has already very strongly urged and which has also been advocated by us in the Second Committee of the General Assembly last year. But on the other hand, one has noticed that occasional expression is given to a feeling in certain quarters that effort and co-operation of this description are in the nature of charitable handouts that have a tendency to encourage sloth and to discourage self-reliance rather

than to stimulate initiative; or that there is a lack of adequate appreciation on behalf of those who have so far been the beneficiaries of such efforts; or that the burden and the sacrifice are beginning to be irksome; or that there is a danger that such aid and assistance may be misconstrued as political bribery. Believe me, there is little foundation in fact for these or similar other misconceptions.

48. Whatever sacrifices the continuation of these efforts may entail—and it must be recognized that in a large number of cases they do mean heavy sacrifices, not the less real because they are cheerfully borne—they do in reality constitute investment of a most profitable and beneficent character, though it may take some time for the profit and the beneficence to become manifest. They are, in addition, a very valuable insurance. Not only does the goodwill created form a most valuable asset; the salvage, rehabilitation, reconstruction and stimulation of every form of economic activity in such wide and widely separated areas and in so many diverse forms and shapes is bound to multiply needs, purchasing power and markets in geometrical progression.

49. The increased prosperity and well-being of even a section of the people of one country or area must operate to sustain and strengthen the prosperity and well-being of many in widely scattered parts of the earth. Those who today possess the initiative and occupy advanced positions in the fields of manufacture, industry and commerce, are bound to be the largest beneficiaries of this newly created prosperity. Those, therefore, who are so fortunate as to be able to participate in this investment, as I have termed it, should congratulate themselves on their good fortune in finding themselves in that position, rather than commiserate with themselves for the sacrifices which they are called upon to make. Indeed, if they were to let themselves be carried away by the kind of thinking underlying the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?", they may at no distant date wake up to the mournful reality that in today's world he who will not accept the responsibility and burden, if burden it involve, of becoming his brother's keeper, will push both his brother and himself to the brink of disaster.

50. Those of us who advance pleas of this kind on behalf of the under-developed countries and regions, find no joy or pleasure in doing so. We would gladly dispense with such pleas if the prospect with which all of us are threatened were to let us. The demands of the situation of today are, however, insistent and inexorable. If we will not do voluntarily, cheerfully and eagerly that which needs to be done, a destructive travesty of it will be attempted to be carried out by compulsion in spite of us. Let us make no mistake. This is the only choice. Either we must all join together to foster human prosperity and well-being in freedom; or we shall not only be deprived of the means of achieving this objective but we shall also lose all that we have and value and which we may seek to hold back. It has been said that mankind cannot endure half free and half slave. Equally it cannot endure half full and half hungry, half clothed and half naked, half healthy and half ill, half prosperous and half destitute, half in the sunshine of knowledge and half in the darkness of ignorance. This is the challenge of today. It must be met and met speedily. If we fail, the lean kine shall surely swallow up the fat kine.

51. In this connexion, we welcome the announcement made by Mr. Dulles on 23 September [475th meeting] in his statement here that the United States intends to proceed with President Eisenhower's scheme for the pooling of atomic energy resources for peaceful uses. We appreciate that the development and exploitation of atomic energy for peaceful uses will take time. But we are glad that it is proposed to take the first steps in that direction at an early date. It is too early to attempt an estimate of the results that may be hoped for from the application of atomic energy to civilian uses. Warnings have been uttered against the entertainment of over-optimistic expectations. We have been told we must not expect miracles. But this is the age of miracles. Much of what has become the merest commonplace today was a matter for wonder and awe only a hundred years ago or less. We have become conscious of great needs. This is the surest indication that provision for the fulfilment of those needs is close at hand. What is required is that our search for the means of fulfilment shall continue to be diligently pursued in every direction.

52. It is ironic that the first manifestation of the use of atomic energy was destructive. Atomic energy has, in consequence, become associated in men's minds primarily with terror, destruction and devastation. While efforts must continue to be made to safeguard mankind against the destructive uses of atomic energy, we must direct our minds more and more towards the harnessing of this new source of power to the beneficent service of man. As its peaceful uses begin to manifest themselves, it will begin to lose some of the terror which its very mention tends to inspire in the minds of men. In the course of time our search in this direction might reveal the means of obtaining power for the servicing of man's growing and manifold needs at

a comparatively low and even negligible cost. Such a consummation alone would enable us to meet speedily and adequately the challenge that I have mentioned. The divergence between the economies of the developed and the under-developed countries can be narrowed only by ample power becoming available at low cost. Failing such a development, this divergence will tend to increase rather than to diminish. The pooling of resources of atomic energy for civilian uses holds out the hope that the objective which we have in mind may be compassed through this means. We shall, therefore, co-operate eagerly with other States so minded in forwarding the scheme, the preliminary stages of which were outlined by Mr. Dulles in his speech here on 23 September.

53. Pakistan was admitted to membership in this Organization within a few weeks of its coming into being. During the period of its membership, it has given ample proof that it loyally upholds the ideals of the United Nations as set out in the Charter. It has striven to the utmost to fulfil its obligations under the Charter in every respect. This record is a guarantee that Pakistan will continue to uphold these ideals, to foster these purposes, and to fulfil these obligations in the future to the utmost of its capacity.

54. Our last observation is "all praise is due to God the Sustainer of all the Universes".

55. The PRESIDENT: This exhausts our programme of work for today. As for tomorrow, two speakers had asked to be heard in the morning and only one in the afternoon. After consultation with those directly concerned, it seems best, in the interests of a judicious employment of the time of delegations, that we should meet in the afternoon to hear all three speakers. In the meantime the Committees will, of course, continue their work.

*The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.*