

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TENTH SESSION
Official Records



**524th
PLENARY MEETING**

*Tuesday, 27 September 1955,
at 10.30 a.m.*

New York

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY PRINCE WAN WAITHAYAKON (THAILAND), MR. ENCISO VELLOSO (PARAGUAY), MR. NASZKOWSKI (POLAND), MR. PRICE-MARS (HAITI) AND MR. ENTEZAM (IRAN)

1. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): My first agreeable task, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, is to tender to Mr. Maza our warmest congratulations on his election to preside over our deliberations during the present session of the General Assembly. The unanimity with which he was elected is not only a tribute to his own high qualities of statesmanship and to the great contribution which his country has made to the work of the United Nations, but it is also a good augury for the success of the tenth session of the General Assembly. It has the further significance of reflecting the spirit of Geneva — that spirit of harmony and concord, which is full of promise for the future and for which the peoples of the world are grateful to the four Heads of Government who brought it about.

2. I would here, on behalf of my delegation, join with the other delegations in a fervent common prayer for the rapid recovery of President Eisenhower, on whom the world counts essentially for bringing to fruition the work so well begun at the "summit" Conference in Geneva.

3. The spirit of harmony and concord which is to be found in the international atmosphere today reached its culmination at Geneva, but it had been growing before that and had been manifesting itself at international meetings, such as the Asian-African Conference at Bandung and the commemorative session of the United Nations at San Francisco. It is a source of gratification and encouragement that the basis for agreement at those international meetings was found in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. Nor is this the case in conferences of government representatives only. The annual assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations was held recently in Bangkok and, in spite of differences in the views of the various delegations, agreement could be reached in a spirit of harmony based on the purposes and principles of the Charter. I am happy to say too

that Lady Pibulsonggram, President of the United Nations Association of Thailand, was elected President of the next assembly of the Federation with the same unanimity with which Mr. Maza has been elected President of our General Assembly.

5. This shows that not only Governments but also the peoples of the world, including those of countries not yet admitted into our Organization but having associations for the United Nations, share a common faith in the purposes and principles of our Charter. Certainly, in Thailand, not only the Government but also the people actively support the United Nations. The Bangkok radio starts its programmes every day by reading out an article of our own national Constitution, an article of the Charter of the United Nations and an article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The women as well as the men play an active part in bringing home to the people of Thailand what the United Nations stands for, namely, peace, in the positive sense that the Thai people appreciate, that is, peace with freedom and economic and social well-being.

6. At the commemorative session in San Francisco, I dwelt at length on the technical assistance work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in Thailand, because I consider it of fundamental importance in the promotion of peace, freedom and prosperity in the under-developed countries like my own. Here I would mention only that we are fortunate, in Thailand, in having the benefit of the assistance of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. They have helped us in the control of malaria, yaws and tuberculosis. They have helped us in education and community development. They are working in the towns and villages among the people of Thailand, millions of whom have benefited directly by their work. They are training our experts in Thailand and abroad. And in all this they co-ordinate their efforts with those of other agencies, such as the United States and Colombo Plan technical assistance organizations, in a satisfactory manner. Thailand whole-heartedly appreciates the value of their work.

7. When we come to the question of economic development, however, my delegation — as well, no doubt, as other delegations of under-developed countries — feels bound to submit that, in addition to loans by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for self-liquidating projects, the under-developed countries have need of economic assistance in the form of a special fund for grants-in-aid or long-term, low-interest loans to help their economic development. There is need also for the establishment of an international finance corporation in order to facilitate private investment in

under-developed countries. My delegation will, therefore, continue to support the establishment of both those institutions.

8. I now turn to the social field and would refer to what, in the report of the Secretary-General, is termed "this particularly vicious form of contraband" [A/2911, p. 58] — the illicit traffic in opium. Thailand does not itself grow the opium poppy, but opium is smuggled into my country from abroad. My Government considers that the best and most effective course to adopt is to abolish opium smoking altogether and, in spite of a big loss of revenue, has decided that no licence for opium divans will be issued as from 1 January 1957. The abolition cannot be effected sooner because licences have already been issued up to the end of 1956. It is hoped that an end will thus be put to this social evil and this vicious form of contraband.

9. The promotion of economic and social well-being is not sufficient by itself to secure peace in the positive sense of happiness in tranquillity, which is the Thai conception of peace. There must also be freedom. The Charter, indeed, quite rightly seeks "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

10. Thus when the need was felt for setting up a collective security arrangement for South-East Asia, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, the purpose of the organization was clearly stated to be the desire to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the treaty area. These purposes are made even clearer by the Pacific Charter, which was declared at the same time as the conclusion of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. And, so far as the principle of self-determination is concerned, the parties to the Treaty reaffirm that, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and declare that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.

11. Those are no mere empty words, for the United Kingdom has already granted a large measure of self-government to Singapore and Malaya, and full self-government and eventual independence will, no doubt, follow in due course.

12. The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Organization (SEATO) is not a military bloc; it is an organization for peace and security. Bangkok has the privilege of being the seat of the Council representatives, and I know that their discussions cover a wide range of subjects, including economic co-operation. If they discuss defence matters, it is because there is actual need of defence against subversive activities in the treaty area.

13. The fact that SEATO is an arrangement of a purely defensive character was understood at the Bandung Conference, for, among the ten principles for the promotion of world peace and co-operation, there is the fifth principle — respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

14. I am glad to see that the Asian-African Conference at Bandung has received favourable comment on all sides, and I wish to pay a warm tribute to the sponsors of the Conference — Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia

and Pakistan — which are to be congratulated on their well-inspired conception and efficient organization of the conference.

15. It was a heartening experience to attend the Conference. With an uninhibited feeling of equality, a free and frank exchange of views took place with the object of reaching common agreement on questions of common interest, and the result has been hailed as a decided success.

16. The attitude of the Conference towards the present world situation was that, having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of a global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, would be employed, the Conference invited the attention of all nations to the danger of an atomic world war.

17. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connexion, all States should co-operate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

18. This will help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. Freedom and peace are interdependent.

19. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

20. The Conference went on to formulate ten principles of friendly co-operation in these terms:

"Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and good will towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles . . ."

I will not enumerate the ten principles because they are all included in the United Nations Charter.

21. What is particularly to be noted is the devotion of the Conference to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The moderation of the tone of the Conference is evident, although the principle of self-determination may have been expressed with greater emphasis than some of the colonial Powers could wish.

22. But questions concerning the principle of self-determination will continue to loom large on the scene of international affairs, and the United Nations cannot disinterest itself from them. I whole-heartedly agree with the Secretary-General when he says in the introduction to his annual report:

"The peoples of Asia today, of Africa tomorrow, are moving towards a new relationship with what history calls the West. The world organization is the place where this emerging new relationship in world affairs can most creatively be forged" [A/2911, p. xi].

The delegation of Thailand has consistently been in favour of a friendly discussion of such questions in the

General Assembly. But now the Secretary-General, to whom we already owe a debt of gratitude for the part that he played in securing the release of the American fliers, makes a fruitful suggestion which we should all consider most carefully. For he says:

“Conference diplomacy may usefully be supplemented by more quiet diplomacy within the United Nations, whether directly between representatives of Member Governments or in contacts between the Secretary-General and Member Governments” [*ibid.*, p. xii].

The possibilities in this direction should certainly be explored.

23. The Bandung Conference adopted two more resolutions concerning the United Nations, to which I wish to refer here.

24. The first one concerns the admission of New Members to the United Nations. Taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, the Conference considered that for effective co-operation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal and called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States which are qualified for membership under the terms of the Charter. In the opinion of the Conference, the following, among participating countries, namely, Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal and a unified Viet-Nam, were so qualified.

25. The delegation of Thailand strongly supports the admission of all those countries and also of the following European States which have applied: Austria, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain. My delegation hopes that a way will be found, especially after the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, to overcome the difficulty which at present exists in this matter.

26. In any case, in the opinion of my delegation, the question of the exercise of the veto power in regard to the admission of Members should be discussed in a Charter review conference. This does not necessarily mean a revision of the Charter on this point, but it implies a common consultation as to how best to get rid of the difficulty which now exists.

27. The other resolution of the Bandung Conference to which I would like to refer concerns the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council. The Conference considered that such representation, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that, with regard to the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, were precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

28. South-East Asia is a region which is at the present time admittedly of great importance from the point of view of the maintenance of international peace and security, and should therefore be represented on the Security Council. My delegation hopes that this will be done in the immediate future.

29. With regard, however, to the general question of the adequacy of the representation of countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council and, in the opinion of my delegation, on the Economic and So-

cial Council as well, the matter would appear to require discussion in a Charter review conference.

30. The delegation of Thailand is, therefore, in favour of calling a Charter review conference, the date of which should be fixed at the appropriate time. The purpose of the review conference is not to revise the Charter but to review it in order to see whether any revision is necessary. Such a conference after ten years' existence of the United Nations is contemplated by Article 109 of the Charter. A special conference is required because the subject to be discussed is of supreme importance and interest to the world and to world public opinion. The discussion would, I am confident, be carried on in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill, and even if it did not lead to a revision of the Charter, I am hopeful that, with the support of world public opinion, it would bring about agreements and understandings which would be found satisfactory in overcoming the present obstacles and difficulties.

31. I am a great believer in the spirit of co-operation and goodwill in international relations. I attach the greatest importance to the Geneva spirit of harmony and concord which, I am sure, will be strengthened by the present session of the General Assembly. The sincere good wishes of the United Nations will accompany the Big Four Foreign Ministers to Geneva so that their united will may find a way further to dissipate mistrust and fear and further to instil mutual confidence and goodwill, leading to peace and security in Europe, to disarmament and to world peace in general—to a United Nations peace, with freedom and economic and social well-being for all mankind.

32. Mr. ENCISO VELLOSO (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to convey Paraguay's congratulations on the spontaneous, enthusiastic and unanimous vote whereby the Assembly elected Mr. Maza as its President, and to say how pleased I am personally about this election. Mr. Maza's ability and his deep faith in the principles of the Charter qualify him for this office. Moreover, and particularly for the Latin American peoples, Mr. Maza is the representative not only of the sister nation of Chile, a traditionally peace-loving country and the standard-bearer of international justice, but also—for the good of the whole free world—of American culture, which is founded on the political, legal and moral principles of American emancipation. Those principles, in their turn, are identical with the fundamental ideals which gave birth to the United Nations—political independence and self-determination of peoples; equality of all States, great and small, before the law; respect for national sovereignty and non-intervention, human dignity for its own sake, and as a corollary, respect for fundamental human rights. Let me express the hope that, under Mr. Maza's presidency, the tenth session of the General Assembly will take a decisive step forward towards the fulfilment in international affairs of the legal and moral ideals enshrined in our Charter.

33. I do not think it can be repeated too often that the United Nations is first and foremost a moral entity striving to establish, on the basis of moral values, a political and legal structure which will enable countries to live side by side safely and securely, in mutual respect and co-operation, in a free world—free from fear and free from want, a free world freely ruled by States and Governments for the benefit of man, as an end in itself.

34. The fundamental aim of the United Nations is international peace and security; but not any kind of

peace, not peace at the price of slavery, servitude or subjection by terror, for this is not peace. The United Nations is striving for a peace under law based on justice, a spiritual and political peace founded on the mutual respect and co-operation of all free peoples.

35. The fact that the United Nations is essentially a moral entity does not mean that it is only an ideal of perfection. In order to achieve its purposes, the United Nations is organized on a legal and political basis; and its founders had to bear in mind the awful realities and the burning passions of the nations, men, States and Governments which in 1945 were still fighting the greatest and most terrible of wars.

36. The United Nations and its Charter arose out of the spiritual impulse produced by the terrible sacrifices of 1939 to 1945, when the free nations raised the banner of lofty moral principles to encourage their peoples in the fearful struggle against imperialistic and aggressive totalitarianism and dictatorship, based on contempt for and debasement of the moral values of civilization and on the glorification of force and the instinct for power, which turns men into blind instruments of the State's urge for domination.

37. The grim and frightful logic of facts would have it that our Charter, a gospel of peace, freedom and dignity for men and nations, should become at the same time the victors' code, an instrument of power politics, an instrument for consolidating the conqueror's victory. But ever since its foundation, the United Nations has striven with patience and tenacity to co-ordinate and reconcile the practical necessities of power politics and the moral exigencies of peoples and civilization. We have faith in the perfectibility of man, and we consider that past frustrations and temporary disillusionments regarding the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance and consolidation of a world peace in justice and prosperity are not inherent in the Charter and the Organization, but are the bitter fruit of the conjunction of might with right, which was unavoidable at the time but can be dispensed with.

38. In keeping with the legal principles and moral values enshrined in its preamble, and with its aims, purposes and principles, the Charter granted the great Powers the right of veto; but it was not foreseen at the time that this right would be used in a manner contrary to those aims, purposes and principles. In a world which had sacrificed millions of lives and incalculable material and cultural wishes to save humanity enslaved by greed for power, the other nations had confidence in the victorious Powers which had borne the greater part of the burden of the war, and assumed that the great privilege of the veto would be exercised in the defence of justice and in the interests of peace under law among nations. The civilized world, with its respect for law and its moral sense, was still struggling at that time against the barbarous remnants of aggressive and imperialistic totalitarianism, and it did not of course envisage or condone the illegal use of the veto to thwart and frustrate the high and noble purposes of the Charter.

39. Unfortunately, the right of veto has in the past been exercised quite unlawfully to give a semblance of legality to injustice and iniquity, and to support and justify aggression and conquest. The arbitrary use of the veto as a weapon against the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter — a remnant of the barbarity against which the conscience of the free world revolted — makes it necessary to revise the Charter, not its purposes and principles relating to the maintenance of

peace and respect for law and moral obligations, but those articles which appear to countenance the unlawful use of arbitrary powers. It is on this basis that the delegation of Paraguay urges that the Charter be revised. Under the laws, systems of morality and philosophies of the great civilizations and religions of the world, it is out of the question that a right such as the right of veto should be exercised in an arbitrary, illegal, irrational and anti-moral way to attack the principles for the defence of which it was established. The use of the veto without justification is not only unlawful; it is also a remnant of totalitarian vandalism, an example of might against right. We believe that the time has come to think seriously of revising the Charter in such a way as to make the use of the veto, if it is retained, compatible with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

40. At the same time, the arbitrary use of the veto, at will, by perhaps a very small minority against an immense and overwhelming majority, and in the face of the opinions and the spiritual strength of this majority, is contrary to the democratic principle that the will of the majority shall prevail. If the veto is retained when the Charter is revised, its exercise must be based on law and must be justified. Otherwise, even though it may actually be effective, the arbitrary use of the veto will always be immoral and wrong in the eyes of the civilized world, and it will only help to weaken the moral and legal authority of the United Nations. Moreover, in the long run, the Powers which use it arbitrarily and in defiance of the principles of the Charter will be less and less respected. It is gratifying and inspires optimism as to the perfectibility of our Organization to hear criticisms from some of the great Powers which have the right of veto condemning its arbitrary use, and favouring a reasonable revision of the Charter.

41. As I have said, the Charter was the work of the victors in the last world tragedy. But the war must finally be ended by a settlement based on law. Article 107 of the Charter, which was approved as a transitional arrangement, still authorizes action, any action, i.e., action regardless of any rule or standard, in relation to any State which, during the Second World War, was an enemy of any signatory to the Charter. This division into victors and vanquished cannot continue forever: justice and co-operation for the victors; arbitrary action for the enemies. And after all, which are the enemy States? Only those States whose Governments were responsible for the aggression in 1939 or which continued that aggression? Or does the list include States which were victims of aggression, whose territories are still occupied and annexed, and whose populations are still subject to the arbitrary rule of foreign Powers? That is why the Paraguayan delegation is in favour of revising the Charter, in due time and without haste, in order to ratify the fundamental principles, aims and purposes which it enshrines.

42. Year after year, free and independent nations, worthy of respect for their contribution to civilization, law, philosophy and science, and universally recognized as qualified for membership of the United Nations, have failed to gain admission. Why? For no reason, save that the veto has been used arbitrarily and without justification. The Paraguayan delegation believes that the time has come for the Security Council, as an organ at the service of the United Nations, to take up this question again in conformity with the basic legal, political and moral principles of the Charter, and to admit the peace-loving nations which qualify for membership.

43. Reference has been made to the spirit of Geneva. If that spirit means anything, as we hope it does, it means making amends and redressing the injustices which still survive as a legacy of the war; it means co-operation and faith in a better world.

44. In addition to Portugal, Italy and other free and peace-loving nations already explicitly recognized as qualifying for membership in the United Nations, the Paraguayan delegation urges the admission of Spain, the mother country and cradle of the people, the culture, the religion and the language of 18 free and independent American republics and of other peoples in different parts of the world.

45. In accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and as a regional body, the Organization of American States is effectively implementing the fundamental principles of the Charter. Within the organization, 21 free and independent American States have achieved peace founded on justice and mutual respect. Certain principles are already deeply rooted in the conscience of America and regularly applied — for instance, non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for the right of self-determination of peoples. These are the foundations of peace in America and of mutual confidence and co-operation. Thanks to this peace based on justice and respect for the liberty and dignity of sovereign peoples, the nations of America, most of them economically underdeveloped, have been able to concentrate all their efforts on improving their cultural, moral and material standards.

46. The Paraguayan delegation hopes that the so-called spirit of Geneva will spur on the great Powers at this session to end the cold war, which flares up sporadically in an orgy of bloodshed, and slowly but surely, without regard to cordial smiles or sullen, menacing gestures, to remove the injustices to nations which perpetuate the war atmosphere, as well as the threats and fears which cause mistrust among nations.

47. The Paraguayan delegation places its faith and hope, not so much in the fear of a suicidal atomic war, as a factor for peace, as in the determination of the free peoples and the will of their truly representative leaders to respect the right of nations to self-determination. This implies, in theory and practice, the elimination and condemnation of the foreign intervention which now oppresses peoples who formerly prided themselves on their freedom and independence.

48. As far as the relations between the democratic world and the Soviet world are concerned, it also implies the elimination of aggression through infiltration and subversive activities carried on in free and democratic countries by foreign Powers or international organizations obeying the dictates of the power politics of foreign Powers. God grant that the spirit of Geneva may enlighten the leaders of the totalitarian States, so that they may understand with their minds and feel in their hearts that domination and brute force are not the only values worthy of men and of nations, and renounce their plans for world domination and their subversive tactics for undermining the liberty of free nations. The transition will then be easy from the physical and material coexistence of aggressor and victim to a world in which peoples can live a dignified, honourable and co-operative life side by side in mutual respect.

49. Finally, in the name of God and of the souls of the millions of men and women who sacrificed their lives, their homes, their wealth and their health during

the Second World War and in Korea in defence of the right of peoples and men of goodwill to live in peace, free from fear, to determine their own destiny, and to seek their own material and spiritual welfare, I reiterate my fervent hope that the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly, in its quest for peace and security based on justice and moral values, may be crowned with success. Paraguay will contribute its grain of sand, its modest capacities, its stubborn determination and its incorruptible loyalty to the principles of the Charter.

50. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): Before beginning my statement, I would like to convey to the United States delegation our deep distress on hearing of the illness of Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States, and our sincerest hopes for his prompt recovery.

51. This year, the United Nations enters upon its second decade of life. The ten years which have elapsed since the end of the Second World War have been a period of unceasing effort by the peoples on behalf of peace, against a new war and the new and still more horrible suffering which such a war would mean for mankind.

52. The beginning of the United Nations second decade coincides with the beginning of a new period in the international situation. The diminution in tension which had been noticeable for some time has now become more marked, and in a number of fields this common tendency to settle international problems by peaceful negotiation has prevailed. This is a creative and constructive trend in line with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

53. The contribution of the United Nations to these changes has not always been the same. Our Organization's first ten years of life have unfortunately been marked by many failures and difficulties. Sometimes those difficulties have reached such a pitch that some statesmen were ready to write the Charter off as useless and were predicting the speedy end of the Organization. The country which I have the honour to represent has never shared this point of view. On the contrary, together with some other countries, Poland has always proclaimed that all Member States should make a common constructive effort to maintain the prestige of the United Nations so that it could play the part assigned to it in the Charter.

54. Despite the difficulties which I have just recalled, the United Nations has survived. This clearly proves that the principles on which it was founded were just, that they coincided with the basic necessities of the state of international relations at the time, and with the need to maintain and develop co-operation among the nations.

55. Since the first days of its existence, the People's Republic of Poland has based its foreign policy on the principles on which the United Nations was founded, and it has always bent its efforts in the international sphere towards strengthening the Organization.

56. The new situation, marked by decreasing tension, has not come about suddenly or by chance. It is the result of long joint effort by all the forces hostile to war and devoted to the maintenance of peace. The important contribution of the socialist States to these changes cannot be denied.

57. As many speakers before me have emphasized, the meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Powers at Geneva opened up new and far-reaching prospects of considerable scope for a lessening of tension and for

closer co-operation. Certain broad lines for international co-operation in the present phase were traced at Geneva. It was recognized there that international relations must be marked by a spirit of understanding, instead of some countries imposing decisions on other countries. It was recognized that the task of all States, and of the great Powers in particular, was to prevent another war, with the mass slaughters that would be incomparably greater even than in previous wars.

58. That was why the Geneva Conference was welcomed with such relief by millions of men throughout the world who had been awaiting and had demanded such a meeting. Nevertheless, the outcome of the Geneva Conference is only a beginning, for the progress made in decreasing international tension does not mean that peace is already assured. In various parts of the world problems remain unsettled. The atmosphere which has been called the "Geneva spirit" can help to solve these problems, in accordance with the interests of all parties and with the requirements of world peace.

59. We have to put the idea of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different political and social systems into practice. Coexistence, as we see it, is not a mere passive acceptance of the fact that States with different systems live side by side. A lasting peace can be secured only by constructive co-operation in the political, economic and cultural fields, and in many others.

60. The idea of the coexistence of States with different systems is gradually gaining ground. There was a time when, in certain circles, the very word "coexistence" was suspect. Now it is a stock word in international relations. The Geneva Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy was imbued with the idea of peaceful coexistence. It is significant that the Inter-Parliamentary Union, an organization in which many and diverse ideological and political trends are represented, should have adopted unanimously a resolution proclaiming the necessity and validity of the idea of peaceful coexistence. The resolutions of the last conference of the World Federation of United Nations Associations at Bangkok were marked by the same spirit.

61. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that there are still forces unfavourable and even hostile to the idea of coexistence. They are destructive and backward forces governed by blind and narrow selfishness. All men of goodwill who have the peaceful development of all nations at heart must help in combating, weakening and isolating these forces.

62. Naturally we realize that time and much constructive effort will be needed to put coexistence into practice and to sweep away the inheritance of the cold war. The creation of an atmosphere of confidence will facilitate the adoption of specific measures for the settlement of disputes. There is a close link between the creation of such an atmosphere and the settlement of international disputes.

63. That is why constant reference to the so-called problem of the Eastern European countries in no way helps to create an atmosphere of relaxation and confidence. It is unfortunate that a sense of realism did not put the United States representative on his guard against some of his utterances here [518th meeting], utterances without any foundation in fact and at the same time hardly conducive to mutual understanding. As far as the countries of Eastern Europe are concerned, the days are over and done with when certain forces in international politics could treat them as mere pawns on

the political chess-board. Nowadays, Poland and the other peoples' democracies enjoy complete sovereignty, that is to say, economic as well as political sovereignty. That is why there can be no question of interference in their domestic affairs on any pretext whatever.

64. The representative of Australia spoke at some length about coexistence [520th meeting]. However, his words sorted ill with his remarks on and his compassion for the Eastern European nations in their alleged isolation. I would suggest that the Australian representative should count the number of works by classical Western authors, contemporary authors and political writers translated in Poland, and the number of columns in the Polish Press reproducing the statements of Western statesmen and news reports from Western agencies. The result then might be compared with the space given by the Australian Press and publishing industry to the reproduction and translation of accurate news of life in Poland. The Australian representative might then perhaps change his opinion on that point.

65. If there is to be an atmosphere of confidence, all peoples must be given a feeling of security and their peaceful labours must be safeguarded. The history of contemporary international relations shows us that the organization of collective security is the best known system for the defence of peace. Moreover, the principle of collective security was at the basis of the United Nations Charter.

66. The experience of the last decades has shown the fundamental importance in world peace of the system of collective security in Europe. The absence of such a system means the maintenance in Europe of conditions conducive to the activities of forces which are hostile to international co-operation. First and foremost among these have been the forces of German militarism and revenge, which have so sorely affected the peoples of Poland, France, Belgium and other European countries in the course of history.

67. The conclusion of a European treaty of collective security would open the way to a settlement of the German problem by the unification of Germany in a single, democratic and peaceful State. Pending that, the two parts of Germany — the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic — could co-operate within a European system of collective security. The absence of such a system and the ratification of the Paris Agreements providing for the re-militarization of Western Germany were bound to lead to an act of self-defence on the part of the countries threatened. This was the Warsaw Treaty, which will cease to be in force as soon as a system of collective security is set up in Europe.

68. The need for regional collective security pacts is not confined to Europe. It is coming to be felt in other parts of the world too. A collective security pact in the Far East, mooted by the People's Republic of China, would help to settle important problems in Asia.

69. The proceedings and the unanimous resolutions of the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African States are further proof of the fact that such co-operation on behalf of peace and security is possible. This Conference was a historic event in the life of the peoples of these continents, peoples who, a relatively short time ago, were still under the colonial yoke and were the objects rather than the subjects of international relations.

70. Bandung was a demonstration of the will of the peoples of Asia and Africa to join in the struggle against colonialism, against the threat of atomic warfare and

against the military groups which can drag their continents into the chaos of another war. The principle of peaceful coexistence found powerful confirmation at Bandung. The Conference breathed new strength into the peoples of Asia and Africa in their fight to determine their own lives.

71. In taking the initiative, with the Government of Indonesia and other Governments, in convening the Bandung Conference, the Government of India, which has played an important part in many complicated international problems, rendered great service to the cause of world peace.

72. Nevertheless, the creation of regional systems of collective security can never replace a system of collective security covering the whole world. These regional systems are, as it were, the pillars on which a general system should rest, and it is the United Nations which should put such a system into effect.

73. The present situation is particularly favourable to the United Nations. The settlement of a number of disputes, the conclusion of a State Treaty with Austria, the normalization of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, the conversations at Geneva between representatives of the People's Republic of China and of the United States, are so many factors enabling the United Nations to play a more active part in the present international situation.

74. The United Nations is faced today with a task of paramount importance: it must encourage the trend started by the Geneva Conference in the development of international relations, help to bring about an atmosphere of mutual confidence and make the hopes which mankind has placed in the work of our Organization come true.

75. However, it is not easy to speak of fruitful work by the United Nations as long as one of the great Powers, with its 600 million inhabitants, is unrepresented. The Polish delegation considers that if the United Nations is to act effectively, and if we want to facilitate the settlement of a number of problems on our agenda, China must be allowed to assume its rightful place in the United Nations.

76. One of the essential problems on the agenda of this session is undoubtedly that of disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, which is of such basic concern to mankind. This question has had a long and difficult history in the United Nations. Nevertheless, some progress was made at the ninth session, and since then, as a result of the Geneva Conference, the situation has further improved thanks to the greater mutual understanding which has been achieved and to the fact that the parties have made an effort to find an area of agreement.

77. A paramount role has been played in this field by the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union on 10 May and again on 21 July 1955 [A/2979], which take into account the principle of the proposals submitted by France and the United Kingdom [DC/71, annexes 9 and 13], on ceilings for armed forces in the various countries, on the progressive reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, and on the establishment of an effective system of inspection which would prevent a surprise attack on any State from any quarter. The Polish delegation believes that these realistic proposals of the Soviet Union, marked by a desire to achieve mutually acceptable decisions, and the proposals made at Geneva by the other Powers and now being dis-

cussed in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, are creating a favourable basis for the understanding which the peoples long for, always provided that all the parties show a constructive spirit and a will to transform words into deeds, and that in these discussions the key problem of effective measures of disarmament is not ignored.

78. In the circumstances, the importance of the decisions taken recently by certain Governments to reduce their armed forces cannot be overestimated. Among them, the Polish Government has decided to reduce the armed forces of the People's Republic of Poland by 47,000 men, thereby setting an example of active co-operation in solving the problem of disarmament. We hope that others will follow this example, so that the armaments now burdening mankind may be gradually reduced, even before the formal decisions are taken, and that the vast sums now spent on armaments can be used for raising standards of living and improving living conditions for millions of human beings.

79. We can already note, too, the first steps towards the peaceful use of atomic energy. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva showed the bright prospects which will open before mankind if scientists throughout the world combine their efforts to make the atom serve progress instead of destruction, so that the standards of living and of education of the masses can be raised. This scientific conference marked the starting point of a new kind of competition, of a noble and constructive rivalry, so different from the destructive armaments race.

80. The relaxation in tension which began at Geneva should favourably affect international economic relations; it has in fact already done so to some extent. Through the Economic and Social Council and its organs, the United Nations can do very useful work in this field. We must intensify the activities of the regional economic commissions and stimulate co-operation between the various regions. All artificial barriers to international trade must be abolished.

81. In connexion with economic questions, the problem of the development of the economically under-developed countries cannot be left out. The attitude of Poland towards the justifiable aspirations of those countries which wish to strengthen their economies and make them independent, is one of sympathy and understanding. Despite the adoption in this connexion of a number of equitable decisions, among which was a resolution sponsored by Poland at the sixth session of the General Assembly on long-term commercial agreements between the industrialized countries and the economically under-developed countries [resolution 523 (VI)], the question has not yet reached the stage of practical achievement. The technical assistance programme, in which Poland participates, is useful, but does not cover the entire problem of a broad programme of economic development. In our view, the idea of establishing an international economic development fund is worthy of support. However, the creation of such a fund is not enough in itself to stimulate economic development in the under-developed countries. These conditions can best be created by economic co-operation based on equality and reciprocal advantage, consonant with the needs and potentialities of those countries.

82. A great deal can be done in the field of cultural co-operation, which is an important means of creating understanding among peoples and of removing all the "curtains" created during the cold war by the forces

interested in maintaining international tension. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization will have a wide field of action if it is to bring the cultures of the various countries together so that they can enrich one another and each make their greatest possible contribution to the cultural wealth of humanity.

83. The United Nations should take energetic steps to put an end to war propaganda and propaganda poisoning international relations, and to promote the use of modern methods of information and the opportunities they afford for spreading accurate information about countries, stimulating respect for culture and spreading friendship among the peoples. Contacts between worldwide social, trade union and professional organizations with differing outlooks should be promoted. We must also put an end to the attempts which are being made to use refugees who, as a result of the war, found themselves far from their countries and families, in the struggle against their countries. They must be given the opportunity of returning to their own countries as soon as possible. Visits by tourists should also prove most useful in bringing peoples closer together.

84. These are the fields in which the United Nations can play a great and constructive part. The bringing together of nations and men, inspired by a faith in mankind and in the future of our civilization, is undoubtedly a most effective method of securing peace.

85. The United Nations can and must carry out all these tasks within the framework of the Charter, which is the essential guide to its work. Under the Charter, the tenth anniversary of which we have just celebrated at San Francisco, we can accomplish a great deal. It is absolutely useless — as experience has shown — to say that because some of the tasks incumbent on the United Nations have not been carried out, responsibility lies with the Charter or with one or other of its provisions. The root of the evil does not lie in the provisions of the Charter or in the differences between the pre-atomic and the atomic age. As the representative of Egypt very rightly pointed out here [*518th meeting*], the key to success for the United Nations will lie not in amendments to the articles of the Charter, but in their application. A number of other representatives have also opposed the revision of the Charter. The activities initiated some years ago on behalf of such revision were the product of the cold war. We think it is time to banish this myth of the cold war and to create the necessary conditions for the implementation of the Charter, to the greater good of the peoples of the earth.

86. During the ten years which have elapsed since the end of the war, Poland has striven actively for the creation of conditions favourable to co-operation between all nations. All who know the loss and destruction suffered by my country during the last war will realize the earnestness and the sincerity of the Polish people in supporting all efforts to reduce international tension. We welcomed those efforts and we support them now because our Government's basic concern is to co-operate in the creation of conditions favourable to international security which will enable the Polish people to continue to exert their peaceful and creative efforts in tranquillity, to go on building new towns, new factories, schools, hospitals and cultural centres.

87. We are bound to many States by defensive treaties of friendship. None of our frontiers is in dispute. For the first time in history, our relations with all our neighbours are friendly. Poland, which has settled its

relations with the German Democratic Republic in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, wants to establish cordial relations with all the German people. As there are at present two German States, we declare ourselves in favour of establishing peaceful, normal relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Poland is a consistent defender of coexistence. It wants normal relations with all States.

88. Poland is contributing to the cause of peace and security in Asia by participating in the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea and in the international supervisory commissions in Indochina. Often under difficult conditions, particularly in South Korea, where the authorities are instigating acts hostile to peace tending to render the Commission's work impossible, the Polish representatives spare no effort to carry out their duty. We do so because we consider that peace is indivisible.

89. Poland believes that in the commissions in Indochina its essential duty is to see that the parties carry out and respect all the armistice conditions. We hope that in Viet-Nam also, despite present difficulties and the attempts of certain elements in southern Viet-Nam to go back on their obligations under the armistice agreements, all the States concerned, particularly the great Powers, will seek to promote consultation between the two parties and to see to it that the elections take place within the prescribed period.

90. Our political and economic relations with the Asian countries are expanding daily. An important event in this field was the recent visit of the Prime Minister of the great country of India, Mr. Nehru, to Warsaw, and the declaration signed on that occasion by the Prime Ministers of India and Poland. In that declaration, Poland reaffirmed its support for the five principles of coexistence, thus demonstrating once more its fidelity to the idea of international co-operation between States with different systems.

91. Within the United Nations, we have always defended and will continue to defend the principles of the Charter. We declare ourselves, in all sincerity and with complete consistency, in favour of peaceful international co-operation. We gave constant proof of this even at the acutest stage of the cold war.

92. Turning now to the present period, let me recall that during the past year, we have welcomed a number of delegations from various countries, statesmen, members of Parliament and economists, including members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Recently, there was a friendly exchange of visits between Polish and British warships. Poland and France exchange companies of actors. Musicians came to Poland from all over the world to take part in the Chopin competition. Last August, 30,000 young people from 114 countries took part in the fifth world festival of students and young people at Warsaw. Recently, industrialists and journalists from various countries visited the International Fair at Poznan. We have growing commercial relations with all countries, some of them many thousands of miles away from Poland, like the countries in Latin America or in the Far East. These are examples showing that Poland is doing its share to promote peaceful coexistence.

93. We come to the tenth session of the General Assembly with the deep conviction that the problems facing the Organization can be solved. Despite their complexity and despite the considerable difficulties they present to the Organization, we believe that there is no international problem which cannot be solved with

goodwill on the part of all concerned. The task of settling the problems submitted to the United Nations lies with us. We can succeed if all Member States respect each other's views, if they do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, and if they recognize the fundamental principle of respect for the equal rights and sovereignty of all States, large and small.

94. The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union on measures for the further relaxation of international tension and the development of international co-operation [A/2981] calls upon all States to continue their joint efforts to consolidate universal peace and security. The Polish delegation warmly supports this draft resolution and urges all Member States to adopt it. The peoples want us to work together for peace. We must not disappoint their hopes.

95. Mr. PRICE-MARS (Haiti) (*translated from French*): None of our great annual meetings, since the United Nations was established for the lofty purposes set forth in the Charter, has begun its work under more brilliant auspices than those which mark the opening of our discussions at this tenth session. The number and nature of the items on our agenda, the importance and gravity of the problems with which we are confronted, the action to which they must lead — or ought to lead, if world peace and stability are to be made more secure — all this confers upon our mission an exceptional authority and grandeur.

96. We are, moreover, beginning our task in an encouraging atmosphere of optimism, charged with hope and prospects of success. The period from July 1954 to June 1955 reported on by the Secretary-General [A/2911] closed with endeavours towards mutual understanding, marked efforts to relax international tension and unmistakable and comforting signs of better relations between the principal world Powers.

97. The horror of the destruction threatening our planet should nuclear weapons be used in international conflicts has led the Heads of Governments of some of the greatest Powers in the world to approach each other directly in an attempt to overcome the differences which divide them. Those who have won mastery over nuclear forces have become increasingly aware of the responsibility they would bear for the terrifying carnage which would inevitably accompany an atomic war. This monstrous prospect has provoked such panic in the world at large that no one is willing to stand aloof from the search for a way of avoiding a catastrophe which would threaten man's very survival.

98. It was this psychological process, if I am not mistaken, that gave rise to what is now known as "the spirit of Geneva", that is, the sudden emergence, in the settlement of international affairs, of an atmosphere of mutual concessions, and of appeals for co-operation with a view to substituting for the armaments race the fruitful and less costly policy of seeking ways of saving human beings from the despondency and degradation that sickness, suffering and poverty bring in their wake.

99. These, I believe are the auspices under which the tenth session of the Assembly is beginning its work. Is there really any relationship between what the world expects from the new era and the work to which we are going to devote our best efforts? Is it from us, and from us alone, that the world awaits the miracle of international peace without rift or contradictions? We should be greatly overestimating the impact of our decisions were we to make such a claim.

100. However, we have only to consider the questions on our agenda to realize to what extent we are account-

able to public opinion and how much the solution, even partial, of four-fifths of the problems raised here would bring relief to the anguish of the multitudes hungering and thirsting after peace, and would give concrete expression to that longing for collective happiness common to almost all mankind. Have we the power to achieve such prodigies? So many contingencies have to be taken into account in establishing the relevant facts, there are so many conflicting trends and so many complexities, that it would be futile to believe that we can find easy and quick solutions.

101. What we can do, however, is to bring to the study of these problems an unwavering and keen approach, an active and unswerving will and infinite perspicacity. Nor must we let ourselves be influenced by considerations of party, clique, race or belief or dominated by inveterate and age-old prejudices. What is expected of us is to impart to those whom we represent an understanding of the ever greater sacrifices which are called for as mankind steadily moves towards a clearer realization of its destiny. What is expected of us is that we should prove ourselves equal to the dramatic events taking place in certain parts of the world: blood is flowing in North and East Africa, in the Middle and Far East, in the islands of Asia and in South-East Asia.

102. Can the dictum of Jean Jaurès be true that mankind is accursed, if in order to prove its courage, it is condemned to kill eternally? Peoples as well as their Governments resort to force to impose on the enemy their own solution of problems. Both, however, are warned by experience and history that solutions imposed by force so often prove precarious and illusory that they would be better advised to try other means of more lasting efficacy. In that case, there remains the great hope of which we are the symbol. It is, then, towards us, towards the United Nations, that people are turning in the hope that by common consent it will propose those means of adjustment and conciliation most likely to reduce the clash of interests and temper the fiercest conflicts.

103. Since this, in fact, is our role and our task, since this is our essential duty, my delegation, in the name of the Government and people of Haiti, renews here, at the opening of these discussions, the pledge of its faithful co-operation in ensuring the triumph of the principles of justice and human solidarity which are the very foundations of the United Nations.

104. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (*translated from French*): May I be permitted to convey to Mr. Maza my warmest congratulations and those of my delegation on his election to the presidency of this Assembly, an election unprecedented in that it was unanimous.

105. Most speakers during last year's general debate welcomed the end of hostilities in the Far East and noted with satisfaction that for the first time for years blood had ceased to flow. This year, we are faced with an even more encouraging situation. A new era of conciliation and mutual understanding is dawning throughout the world, and it is the duty of every Member State to do all in its power to ensure that this new atmosphere leads to the attainment of those aims which all men have at heart.

106. This change of atmosphere has already produced some tangible results which deserve mention. The United Nations, in particular, is entitled to note with pride that three of its most important resolutions have reached the stage of effective implementation.

107. In 1948, when peace was increasingly threatened by international tension, the General Assembly, reflecting the concern felt throughout the world, made an urgent appeal to the great Powers inviting them to settle their differences by peaceful means [resolution 190 (III)]. This appeal remained long unheeded. The preparatory work of the last six months, which led to the meeting of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers, has now opened up new and hopeful prospects. The entire world devoutly hopes that at their forthcoming meeting, the Foreign Ministers of these Powers will succeed in drawing up constructive plans in the field of security and disarmament.

108. It will be readily understood that I cannot recall the Geneva Conference without expressing the grave concern of my delegation at the news of the illness of the President of the United States. We express our sincere wishes for his speedy recovery.

109. In 1952, the General Assembly adopted a resolution requesting the occupying Powers in Austria to settle the differences which still existed between them and which held up the signing of the peace treaty with that State [resolution 613 (VII)]. The Powers concerned have finally responded to that appeal and have signed a peace treaty which, *inter alia*, defines the manner in which their troops are to be withdrawn. My delegation sincerely shares in the joy of the Austrian people and Government at the liberation of their country and its attainment of full independence, and congratulates the signatory Powers.

110. Finally, there was another General Assembly resolution, which, we are delighted to see, has been implemented in less than ten months, concerning the release of those American airmen who had been captured when undertaking a mission at the direction of the United Nations Command [resolution 906 (IX)]. In that resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to give his assistance to that end, and we are glad to note that, through the goodwill of both parties and the praiseworthy and patient efforts of Mr. Hammarskjöld and his assistants, the difficulties were overcome and the prisoners released. It is a very pleasant duty for me to add my delegation's congratulations to those which have already been addressed to the Secretary-General, not to mention the distinguished head of the Indian delegation, Mr. Menon, whose assistance in the settlement of this matter was of the utmost value.

111. Concurrently with the direct action within the United Nations, and in the same context, there occurred a new and unprecedented event which is worthy of mention. This was the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. The course of the discussions at this Conference is too well known for me to recall, but I should like to stress that the participating countries, inspired by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, contributed greatly to the reduction of tension in the Far East. They will continue to make every effort together to attain the paramount aim which we all seek: the establishment of a lasting peace based on equity and justice.

112. The favourable international atmosphere which prevails today is therefore the result, as it were, both of efforts within the United Nations and of those made outside it, but more or less under the auspices of the United Nations and in any case inspired and encouraged by it.

113. We are not among those who view with distrust accomplishments of special conferences, of direct or

indirect diplomacy or of regional meetings. In our view, any procedure or action designed to facilitate the task of the United Nations is good. Nevertheless, we agree with the Secretary-General when he says in his annual report on the work of the Organization:

"There are strong reasons for using the institutions of the United Nations for questions appropriate to world organization, unless special circumstances make it necessary to go outside those institutions" [A/2911, p. xi].

114. We must make use of our Organization in a way that meets the needs of the international community. We must adopt new methods conducive to the success of efforts at conciliation. We must, at the same time, imbue our meetings with an atmosphere of serenity and try through discussion to find universally acceptable solutions to the problems of our times.

115. It is difficult, in a brief statement of this kind, to review all the questions which we shall take up during this session, but I should like to stress some problems to which we attach particular importance.

116. In the first place, I should like to speak briefly of an item which has appeared for some years on our agenda, namely, the admission of new Members. My Government, which believes that this Organization should be universal, continues to think that applications for admission should be examined separately, on their merits, and in the light of the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter. We hope that the relaxation of international tension will induce the permanent members of the Security Council to revise their policy on this subject and will facilitate the admission of States desirous of contributing to the work of the United Nations. We should like to praise the efforts of the Committee of Good Offices and to see them redoubled in this friendlier atmosphere, which holds out prospects of success where hitherto the Committee has only met with insurmountable obstacles.

117. I should like next to allude briefly to the complex problem of the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments.

118. The effective establishment of an international system of supervision and control still seems to my Government an essential prerequisite of disarmament. We note with satisfaction the progress achieved by the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London and New York. In the hope that its efforts will bring about a compromise acceptable to everyone, I would prefer not to go into the details of certain proposals and leave the discussion of this important problem until it is taken up by the First Committee. I should like, however, to stress the importance which we attach to the plan proposed by the French Prime Minister, which has the advantage of combining the immediate reduction of armaments with a long-term programme of economic expansion.

119. I should also like to make a few comments on the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held at Geneva — not because I regard these two problems as necessarily linked, but because it is clear that a satisfactory solution of the disarmament problem would greatly facilitate the work of the United Nations in the field of atomic energy, and hasten the achievement of a great and noble ambition dear to our hearts, that of harnessing the power of the atom for the service of mankind.

120. I should like, finally, to reaffirm my Government's unshakable determination to give its moral

support to the aspirations of peoples still under foreign yoke, so that they may attain full and complete freedom and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

121. Convinced as we are that the old colonial régime, based on the enslavement and exploitation of one people by another, is doomed to disappear, we express the hope that the governing Powers will take scrupulous account of the political aspirations of the non-self-governing peoples in order that they may develop their free institutions and attain their independence in calm and harmony. This is the only way to avoid violence, which inevitably leads to loss of life and breeds hatred and bitterness. Such a solution will facilitate future co-operation between the peoples concerned. The experience of these last few years, particularly in Asia, should encourage the great Powers to take this path, in the interests not only of the peoples concerned but also of world peace.

122. In this connexion, the recent appeal of the peoples of Asia and Africa at Bandung, revealing the "self-awareness" and the awakening of these two continents, should make us think about the responsibilities borne by the United Nations, for it is dangerous to leave these questions too long in the background under the pretext of having more urgent problems.

123. We cannot disguise our concern at the recent events in North Africa, which have resulted in bloodshed and loss of life. We still think that repressive measures, far from contributing to any relaxation of tension in that part of the world, serve only to inflame the situation further, being neither in the interest of the peoples concerned nor consistent with the establishment of security in Africa.

124. We hope that France, which, during its history, has made such great sacrifices and has lost so many of its sons for the cause of freedom, will make new efforts to re-establish its relations with the North African peoples on the basis of the noble principles which it has itself spread throughout the world, principles summed up in the three words, which, since the Revolution, have been the proud motto of the nation: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity".

125. A similar question to which I should also like to call attention is the dispute between the Indonesian and Netherlands Governments about the territory of West Irian. There again, we hope that the two Governments concerned will resume negotiations with a view to a peaceful settlement of this dispute and will achieve positive results in keeping with United Nations principles.

126. Finally, in the field of international economic and social co-operation, we subscribe unreservedly to the following opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his annual report:

"...international economic equilibrium must be sufficiently dynamic and flexible to provide for the attainment of the three interrelated economic goals of the Charter: higher standards of living, full employment and economic development. Any economic balance which fails to provide for satisfactory progress towards these goals would be a false balance and could not be maintained" [A/2911, p. xiv].

127. We are glad to note that, during the past year, the industrialized countries have made progress along these lines. The same cannot be said for the under-developed countries, where the inadequacy of technical knowledge and the lack of national capital, not to mention other handicaps, constitute so many obstacles to their rapid and harmonious development. I venture to add that the ever-increasing speed with which the industrialized countries are moving towards stabilization and expansion widens still further the gap which separates them from the under-developed countries and, to some extent, runs counter to the economic and social objectives of the Charter.

128. For a long time, the United Nations has concerned itself with both aspects of this problem of economic development, and a programme of technical assistance has been in action for several years. What remains to be done in this field is to speed up the tempo of assistance. It is chiefly in the financing of economic development that progress has been extremely slow. Hints can be found in the Secretary-General's report of the forthcoming establishment of an International Finance Corporation. Let us hope that we shall soon be able to announce the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, and that both these institutions will get resolutely under way to help the international community as a whole to speed on its development.

129. In the Secretary-General's view, "a substantial increase in the capital resources made available to the under-developed countries would represent only an insignificant fraction of the capital accumulated each year in the industrial countries" [A/2911, p. xv]. I hope that all States will lend an attentive ear to the Secretary-General's appeal. However bold — to use his own expression — the approach he has indicated may appear, it is one which my delegation feels to be full of wisdom.

130. This brief review leaves us with a feeling of optimism greater than any we have ever felt with regard to the Organization. The resurgence of vitality and the new fervour which characterized our commemorative meeting at San Francisco presaged this era of improved relations and conciliation which is steadily taking shape before our eyes. Thus the tenth session of this Assembly opens under propitious auspices. It is therefore its duty to try to find constructive solutions to the questions on its agenda. In particular, it is to be hoped that good results will be obtained in the field of disarmament, so that the United Nations, freed from this crushing load of anxiety, may concentrate on the achievement of the economic and social objectives of the Charter, and so that the industrialized countries, freed from their very heavy burdens, may contribute more generously and more effectively to the desperate efforts of the great majority of mankind to do away with poverty and privations endured for generations.

131. It is in this spirit and with this hope that the delegation of Iran will take part in the work of this Assembly.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.