

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**TENTH SESSION**  
*Official Records*



**528th  
PLENARY MEETING**

*Thursday, 29 September 1955,  
at 10.30 a.m.*

*New York*

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**President : Mr. José MAZA (Chile).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

**SPEECHES BY MR. PÉREZ PÉREZ (VENEZUELA), MR. PINAY (FRANCE), MR. DU PLESSIS (UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA) AND MR. LUNS (NETHERLANDS)**

1. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): The General Assembly is beginning its tenth session at a time when the world is cherishing firm hopes after the decade of fear and anxiety which succeeded the Second World War. As has been recognized here, these hopes are today based primarily on the possibility of an understanding between the great Powers.
2. Two events of exceptional importance took place shortly before this session—the commemoration at San Francisco of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter, and the Geneva Conference between the Heads of Government of the four great Powers. It is thus scarcely three months since the Member States, meeting in San Francisco, unanimously confirmed their desire to continue using the United Nations as a centre for co-ordinating all their efforts for the achievement of the purposes laid down in the Charter. The Conference of the four great Powers in Geneva is the other happy omen to which I would like to refer. Geneva must be the starting point for the fulfilment of our hopes by the discovery of a solution for the vast problems of the world which will bring relief to anxious humanity.
3. At the last session of the General Assembly, my delegation stated [*487th meeting*] that if the negotiations on Korea and Indo-China had not produced the beneficial results expected of them in the way of relaxing international tension, it was perhaps because world peace depended on more powerful factors which needed to be reconciled at higher levels before any real progress could be made. My delegation added that Korea and Indo-China were but partial solutions of a much wider problem, and that tension would continue if there was no settlement of matters which were perhaps of even greater import for the attainment of the supreme ideal of peace which we all long for. The present relaxation of international tension, the causes of which are common knowledge, confirms what my delegation stated then.

4. In times of anxiety, people are inclined, in their longing for better days, to over-estimate the importance of whatever seems to them to be favourable. For example, they are now perhaps attributing an exaggerated significance to what took place at Geneva. Nevertheless, whatever their importance, the results obtained were undoubtedly favourable. The best plan, therefore, is for all of us, great, medium and small countries, to build upon this positive achievement, however small it may be, and to be guided by what is known as the "spirit of Geneva" so as not to destroy the conciliatory attitude of the great Powers which took part in those discussions. In other words, we must not let indifference, or even incredulity, prevent the seeds sown by the great Powers from bearing fruit.

5. This tenth session of the General Assembly is the forum at which the international community will submit the "spirit of Geneva" to its first test. Our agenda offers sufficient opportunities for the conciliatory words exchanged at the Geneva talks to be translated into deeds. Today the peoples are not content with mere words; they have hoped so much, despaired so much, that they have a right to something more. Naturally, if we are at all realistic, we must not hope for too much from the Assembly in this regard. Indeed, for obvious reasons, it is not yet in the General Assembly that we can settle some of the major problems on which world peace now depends; these must be settled in smaller meetings. As has often been pointed out—and we repeat it with some bitterness—this is one of the weakest points of the Organization. It is therefore the imperative task of the Assembly to mobilize all the resources it has to facilitate the task of those who will in fact have to settle these problems.

6. An agenda item which provides a unique opportunity for applying the "spirit of Geneva" is that concerning the admission of new Members. Here, may I state in passing that my delegation is extremely pleased to note that Spain has applied for membership of the Organization, and will support that application enthusiastically. The United Nations can no longer turn a deaf ear to the general demand that it should open its doors to many countries that are well qualified to enter. My delegation agrees with those who have pointed out that a State's qualifications for joining the United Nations should be determined on the basis of the Charter alone, and that the will of one Member, enjoying the privilege of the veto, should not impede the entry of a State that possesses all the requisites laid down in the Charter.

7. For that reason, many of those who do not want a revision of the Charter would apparently agree to it provided it were limited to the abolition of the veto as applied to the admission of new Members.

8. These considerations lead my delegation to a brief reflection on another of the most important items on the Assembly's agenda: the proposal that a general

conference should be called for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. We believe that this review, so wisely provided for by the authors of the Charter, should be carried out. At San Francisco, in 1945, no one could think that the Charter was going to be an immutable instrument; on the contrary, a glance at Chapter XVIII suffices to show that the authors thought that revision was not only possible but necessary. Moreover, the experience gained during the past decade has shown that the factors and circumstances which influenced the drawing up of the Charter have changed so much that revision is now essential.

9. Nevertheless, if we are to be realistic and objective, we shall have to take into account the rigid machinery which the Charter itself has established by making the veto applicable to any proposal for revision. We shall then see that this privilege will automatically paralyse any effort to amend the Charter which is not to the liking of any of the Members which can exercise it. The conclusion is obvious: the Charter cannot be amended except with the complete agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council. And such agreement can be achieved only when international tension has relaxed to a sufficient degree, my delegation feels that the General Assembly should approve the calling of the general conference provided for in the Charter, but has some doubts about the wisdom of fixing a date for it forthwith.

10. Great hopes have been raised by the decision of the great Powers to exchange information and to place at the disposal of all peoples their resources and knowledge regarding the possibilities offered by the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Everyone is keenly interested in the breadth and importance of the knowledge already acquired in this field, and the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in August 1955, was proof of the progress achieved.

11. The conclusions reached by the Conference on the use of atomic energy in medicine, hygiene and agriculture, as also on its unlimited possibilities in scientific investigation, were most encouraging. We must also recognize that the general enthusiasm did not deflect the Conference from its constructive and realistic approach, especially with regard to the possible industrial uses of atomic energy. Sir John Cockroft, the Vice-President of the Conference, gave eloquent testimony of that commendable caution when he summed up as follows some of the conclusions of the papers which had been presented:

"...most of the next decade will be occupied in laying a sound basis from which nuclear power can expand rapidly to become in the end the major power source of the world. Until we have achieved satisfactory operating experience, we will not be justified in embarking on a more rapid expansion... The important point is to obtain an additional source of energy to our conventional energy resources where they are becoming overstrained" [*A/2967, para. 18*].

12. The goal to be sought in the industrial field is to supplement, not replace, existing sources of energy, to add one more element without decreasing the use of present resources, thus increasing the abundance of power sources on which the prosperity and the future development of humanity depend.

13. My delegation believes that the reasons for hope which have emerged in the political field, and about which so much is said, will take on a stable and lasting

character only if they are backed, among other things, by a clear determination on the part of States to cooperate in the economic and social fields. It is no use adopting formulae for solving political problems if we do nothing about economic and social problems.

14. In this respect there are certain encouraging signs within the United Nations. Not the least of these is the efficient work being done by the Economic and Social Council, as also by its functional and regional commissions, and the tendency in the Council for decisions on economic questions to be adopted by a large majority, and often unanimously. This shows that the idea of isolated action by States is giving way to a growing realization that desires and interests must be reconciled, and that the notion of interdependence is ceasing to be a theoretical principle and is becoming a living and vital force. All this is conducive to a happy understanding on the part of both the under-developed and the highly industrialized countries.

15. One of the tasks which the United Nations must carry out with great determination in the economic field is the full development of the potentialities of the under-developed countries. Here lies the great wealth of the future. Universal culture and material progress will be incalculably assisted when these vast regions are fully incorporated in the process of contemporary civilization. National action and determination are of course necessary for this work of incorporation. But this national action and determination will certainly fail if they are not effectively supported by the international community.

16. Here is a wide field, with incalculable possibilities, open to the action of the highly industrialized countries. Such action, moreover, viewed in its entirety, is bound to have favourable reactions for those countries themselves.

17. The coincidence of the interests of the under-developed countries with those of the highly industrialized countries is a fact which is by now fully recognized. The economic position of the under-developed countries greatly influences the economic life of the others. Their prosperity is the prosperity of all.

18. The economic progress achieved before the Second World War did not yield all the results that might have been expected, because a large sector of humanity was left out of the picture. One of the reasons that international trade did not expand as it should have done was that the income of many of the under-developed countries was always far too meagre, and their economies were virtually stagnant. The economic welfare of the under-developed countries is also the economic welfare of the highly industrialized countries. To raise the standard of living in the large under-developed areas is to build a firm foundation for economic progress in the more highly developed countries.

19. The effective contribution of the highly industrialized countries towards the improvement of conditions in the under-developed countries cannot be underestimated. The economic policy followed by the former countries will always have favourable or unfavourable repercussions on the latter; hence the great responsibility borne by the highly industrialized countries.

20. In this connexion, the last report on the world economic situation, which the Economic and Social Council studied at its twentieth session, states the following:

"The more dominant the position of a country as an influence on international markets, the greater its responsibility. One of the phases of responsibility concerns the avoidance of policies which are harmful to the interests of other countries. A country cannot be expected to ignore its own interests, but these include promotion of a thriving world economy — in which every country benefits."<sup>1</sup>

21. It should be pointed out that it is not only the representatives of the under-developed countries that hold this view. Authoritative spokesmen in the highly developed countries themselves have also firmly upheld the thesis that economic power entails corresponding responsibility. It is on the universal recognition of this principle of economic responsibility and on the determination with which plans for the economic development of the under-developed countries are carried out that we must place our hopes for more stable foundations for future world economy.

22. Although my delegation considers that the tremendous possibilities of economic co-operation have only been partially explored, we should like to point out that, in our view, serious, and to a certain extent encouraging, efforts have been made since the end of the ninth session of the General Assembly. The recent revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, in which new provisions have been inserted favouring countries in the process of development, the good progress made towards the establishment of the International Finance Corporation, the resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council to encourage inter-regional trade, and, on the American continent, the activities carried out by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the holding of the Inter-American Investment Conference in New Orleans and the approval by the United States Congress of a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act — all these show that the nations are really resolved on economic co-operation.

23. This trend must be intensified in the future. The economic prosperity made possible by the relaxation of political tensions and the use of new technological resources must be a prosperity of the open circle, from which no section of mankind is excluded.

24. Social progress is a normal concomitant of economic progress or, in other words, there is an intimate correlation and interdependence between economic and social development. Indeed, the intellectual, moral and cultural conditions of a people reach a high standard when its material conditions are improved.

25. That is how my Government sees it. And that is why, as we carry out an ambitious programme of economic development, so we are giving equal attention to social development in all its aspects — cheap housing, mass education, full protection for the worker, hygiene and nutrition. No aspect lies outside our vast progressive action. Thus, by combining economic, social and moral progress, my Government is contributing as effectively as possible to the improvement of the level of living of our people and to the creation of a dignified and vigorous nation.

26. My delegation attaches particular importance to the problem of Non-Self-Governing Territories and Trust Territories. In accordance with the Charter, we

must see that through economic, social, educational and political progress they achieve full self-government. Everyone is aware of the zeal and even the obstinacy with which these problems are sometimes discussed in the United Nations, but we are confident that during the present session there will be sufficient co-operation to ensure that those territories are allowed to advance, without undue haste but without interruption, towards the attainment of their independence.

27. I should not like to end without conveying to the President my delegation's sincere congratulations on his election. We are sure that his qualifications are such that, under his skilful direction, this Assembly will make an important contribution to international peace and security.

28. Mr. PINAY (France) (*translated from French*): As I take the floor in this general debate, I have pleasure in presenting my compliments to our President, that eminent Chilean statesman, Mr. José Maza. As the author of his country's Constitution and an outstanding commentator on our Charter, Mr. Maza was particularly fitted, by reason both of his legal knowledge and of his political experience, to assume the responsibilities now laid upon him.

29. For ten years, at every session, our debate has revolved round one central theme: peace among the peoples in an atmosphere of mutual trust between States. For ten years, we have sustained our efforts; we have sought untiringly the ways which would lead most securely to genuine peace. There have been many deep disappointments, yet we have never yielded to discouragement or given way to despair.

30. When the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter was celebrated a few months ago, the nations assembled at San Francisco had put all their hopes in the Geneva Conference. In July, the Geneva Conference confirmed those hopes. The personal contact established there between the Heads of Government was the foretaste of a new spirit in international relations.

31. The leaders responsible for the fate of so many millions of human beings clearly and unanimously affirmed their will to work for the establishment of lasting peace between nations, a peace obtained through security and disarmament — precisely the policy consistently followed by my country. They solemnly condemned recourse to threats or to the use of force in international relations, a condemnation in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

32. In this way, the Geneva Conference gave a tremendous uplift to the hopes of all the peoples in the world. That sentiment has been spontaneously expressed by all the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum.

33. But hope, however strong, is never more than an expectation. We should now go forward from hope to certainty, without disappointing that expectation. If disappointment there should be, it will be none of our doing, for we are resolved to consolidate at Geneva in October that which was confirmed at Geneva in July. This is a duty which we owe to ourselves no less than to our peoples.

34. Public opinion is already taking for granted something yet to be won. It is for us, in steadfastness of will coupled with clarity of thought, to win the wager that public opinion has made, a wager which is as great as the impatience of the peoples.

<sup>1</sup> *World Economic Report, 1953-54, United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.C.1, p. 16.*

35. In order to succeed, we must create the conditions for success. We have said, and we shall repeat, that what is needed is the establishment of peace among the nations in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. This is a long-range undertaking, because confidence cannot be commanded, it has to be earned. It is earned by honesty of thought and tested by consistency of action.

36. The same language of peace and peaceful co-existence should be spoken in all circumstances and in all places. If the conflicts in the world are to be reconciled, all action which is divisive or disruptive in character must be avoided.

37. We have shed some light on the world stage; there are still some shadowed areas, and it is for us to dispel the shadows. It is our duty to say this, with realistic courage, without indulging in illusion, but also without yielding to scepticism.

38. This moral duty I intend to carry out here, with frankness and with clarity, without resorting to diplomatic hedging, for I am addressing a gathering which, as Mr. Dulles so rightly pointed out [518th meeting], should be the highest moral authority in the world.

39. At Geneva, the four Heads of Government defined certain objectives. They affirmed their common will to establish conditions for a lasting relaxation of tension, and they undertook to lay the foundations for peaceful coexistence between States, however diverse their political, economic and social systems.

40. What are the conditions for true relaxation of tension and genuine coexistence? In order to define them clearly, let us recall the chief distinguishing characteristic of the world in the twentieth century, as it stands on the threshold of the atomic era.

41. Henceforth, the peoples share a common destiny, for better or for worse, whether the future brings prosperity or annihilation. But at the same time, the world is divided by opposing political philosophies, which at first sight appear totally irreconcilable.

42. It is our great duty to overcome this incompatibility, and perhaps some day we may be able to eliminate it. In this endeavour, there must be no recourse to force. That is the historic principle proclaimed by the four Heads of Government at Geneva. But here, as always and everywhere, illusion must be carefully distinguished from the truth.

43. I would like now to say a few words about the hazards of a deceptive easing of tension, and to identify the conditions for a genuine *détente*.

44. The easing of tension would be an illusion if the policy of force were to continue, if it were to be carried out by other methods, under different guises and in fresh settings. A *détente* is not genuine if it is but an agreement to stay the strife over one point, entered into with the object of attacking more forcefully on another front; nor is there any *détente* if force operates under the protective colour of internal subversion or of incitement to crude nationalism. These are but attempts to cause disruption, having as their objects disequilibrium and, ultimately, hegemony — in short, the negation of coexistence.

45. A true relaxation of tension, on the other hand, rules out all disguise, all shifts, all manoeuvres. It is not the instrument of any one particular policy, but the climate of the action of all parties. It implies a reciprocal respect for the values and essential interests of each, as a preliminary to gradual progress towards a general

*rapprochement*. It lays a foundation of tolerance on which coexistence can be built up.

46. That is the true spirit of Geneva. That is also the fundamental principle of our Charter, as set forth in its preamble.

47. While it is true that the peoples, all the peoples, have one common objective, which is to live in peace and prosperity, they must be perfectly free to choose, from among the diversity of means, whichever is most consonant with the traditions of their history, their temperament and the values of their civilization.

48. We should like to be sure that everybody, everywhere, shares this view. We should like to be sure that there is no more thought of breaking down one system of values for the sake of implanting its opposite in its stead, through subversive means which would be but the continuation of a policy of force and hence repugnant to the spirit of the Charter.

49. It is, I must say, difficult for us to forget that agitation among the non-self-governing peoples has always been considered the essential weapon of communism against the free world.

50. If anyone is now thinking of opening a new front in Africa, let me tell them that the stakes are too high. I want to say, in terms which should leave no room for ambiguity, that such a course of action would more than anything else hamper the solution of the great problem of our age: the ordered realization of the wish of all peoples for independence and freedom.

51. France is watching this march of time and this movement of societies. Nowhere is France seeking an excuse for inaction. But, in the world today, there is no true independence without freely accepted interdependence. This observation, which experience has proved correct, applies most particularly to countries whose national structure is too narrow or too fragile. The duty to associate is for them no less compelling than the right to freedom, and, in practice, the right and the duty become one and the same thing, because what is a nominal independence in isolation and weakness? It would but invite the servitude of poverty and the disorder of anarchy. It is our intention to give to the peoples whose destiny is linked with ours a true independence within a voluntary association.

52. Nor does France propose to be content with preaching. Last year, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country referred in this very hall to the negotiations then in progress between the Governments of France and Tunisia: he expressed the hope that they would speedily produce results [498th meeting, para. 22].

53. The promise has been kept. The negotiations were concluded under our present Government. The agreements between France and Tunisia were signed on 3 June 1955. The French Parliament ratified them by a very large majority. The sovereign of Tunisia in his turn ratified them at the proposal of his Government, which had itself negotiated them. They are now in force.

54. France intends to make of Morocco a modern, democratic and sovereign State, united with France by the ties of freely accepted interdependence. My Government, in open discussions, has prepared the way for the constitution of a representative Moroccan government capable of introducing reforms. Decisions have been taken. These decisions will be translated into reality. A Moroccan government will be set up. I can

say definitely, and with assurance, from this rostrum, that the reforms will be carried out.

55. But it is quite obvious that a course of action thus conceived cannot be pursued in the heat of passion; it calls, on the contrary, for a meeting of minds, and France will never allow anything to jeopardize the future of a country which it has succeeded in pacifying, unifying, and lifting irreversibly above its original condition.

56. Such an orderly and constructive evolution would inevitably be retarded by foreign intervention and perverted by appeals to violence. Whoever would attack this evolution, either in its beginning or in its unfolding, would be an enemy of true coexistence and would, by an extreme paradox, be inviting the United Nations to underwrite violence and to legalize the use of force.

57. Besides, it would be inconceivable that the United Nations could be so unmindful of its functions and so untrue to its mission as to intervene in the domestic affairs of Member States. On the contrary, in the very apt words of Mr. Molotov himself, the United Nations has a "special duty to strive to lessen still further the tension in international relations" [520th meeting, para. 169]. Its moral authority, like its future, depends on respect for these obvious principles.

58. Each of the countries represented here is entitled to have an opinion on the development of other countries. The French Government, in particular, has an opinion on the conditions prevailing in certain nations. It might, with justification, complain of certain acts which are hardly compatible with normal relations between civilized States. It has never occurred to it to advocate the use of violence for the purpose of settling such problems, and, in reply to those who want to put France on trial, I shall not rely solely on the legal argument — though that in itself would constitute a full rebuttal — that such questions are outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Nor shall I tell them that the past and the present of my country, its past and continuing contribution to civilization and freedom, would entitle it to reply to its detractors by a dignified silence.

59. I shall remain completely realistic and say to them only: look where you are going; look where you are likely to lead us; you are trying to bring to naught the effort which France has made to build up a free association between itself and the peoples of its overseas territories, peoples closely bound to France by ties of geography, history and obvious mutual interests; but you know that in Africa France has a mission which she alone can discharge, therefore, whether or not you realize it, your objective is to create chaos. And who would profit by that chaos, what would follow in its train? Would not any tampering with France's policy in Africa hurt the Western community and its security organizations? I would ask you to ponder these remarks.

60. Just as States cannot achieve coexistence without mutual tolerance, so peoples can only know peace if they have the certainty of their own security.

61. So far as the West, and France in particular, are concerned, there is no true security outside the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By putting all the forces of member States which are stationed on the European continent under a unified command in time of peace, NATO safeguards the peace of Europe, for it rules out simultaneously any miscalculations concerning the

consequences of an attack on one of its members, and any individual act of aggression by those members.

62. By its very nature, it is perforce purely defensive, and it thus offers to the Soviet Union itself the perfectly legitimate safeguards which that country is entitled to demand.

63. These authentic guarantees, backed by NATO, cannot be replaced by abstract guarantees of the Locarno type which a recent past has proved to be illusory. The French Government, for its part, does not desire a return to the situation which existed in Europe in 1939, for that was precisely the situation which led to the Second World War.

64. I therefore sincerely believe that the Soviet Union is misguided in attacking NATO and in concentrating its propaganda on the removal of what it inaccurately describes as "foreign bases".

65. I should like to emphasize again today what I said at San Francisco. I know of no "foreign bases" within the framework of NATO, nor do I know of any "foreign" military establishments imposed on any State within that same framework. I know only of joint defences, pooled freely and voluntarily, solely in the service of the same peaceful ideal.

66. I feel bound to declare quite candidly that if relaxation of tension is to mean the dissolution of NATO and the departure of the Americans from Europe, then France is firmly opposed to such a policy, for it would mean the destruction of the bases of a true security in exchange for the promises of a hypothetical security. It would inevitably result in a disturbance of equilibrium which, by increasing tension, would ultimately spell the doom of peaceful coexistence.

67. Conversely, I should like to stress once more the contribution made by the Paris Agreements to this same peaceful coexistence. For the time being, they offer the only means, the only example of a system of limitation, publication and control of armaments. They are the seal on the reconciliation between France and Germany and the decisive element in the pacification of Europe. They provide the foundation for the steady and progressive building up of Europe. So they are really in a way a practical application of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

68. At the same time, they have also made it possible to advance along the path marked out for us by the Charter. It was upon their entry into force that the change in the atmosphere of international relations, so welcome to all of us, began.

69. We have heard speakers recount the international events which are described as the symptoms of the recent relaxation of tension. There is one fact which must not be forgotten: according to the calendar, which does not lie, they all succeeded the ratification of the Paris Agreements. It was as though the strengthening of Western solidarity and the desire for union affirmed by the European peoples had progressively created the conditions for genuine negotiation, subject to reasonable regard to the legitimate interests of the parties. In such negotiations, attempts at disruption and acts of pure propaganda designed directly or indirectly to destroy the foundations of security are inadmissible.

70. What are the positive tasks which lie before us? They are those which the four Heads of Government defined at Geneva: the restoration of German unity with guarantees of security, disarmament, and closer contacts between East and West.

71. The French Government considers that the re-establishment of German unity is the essential condition for a return to a normal situation in Europe. The division of Germany, in the very heart of Europe, represents a constant factor of insecurity. It hardly seems necessary to labour this point, for so long as the division remains a satisfactory solution cannot mature; the continued division is bound to complicate the facts of the case as time goes on; it is therefore more than an injustice; it is a mistake.

72. Reference has been made to the possibility of a gradual re-establishment of unity through the development of contacts between the Federal Republic of Germany and Eastern Germany. I am afraid that this theory of two Germanys is likely to lead us into a deadlock. The French Government, for its part, knows of only one elected government in Germany, that is, the Government of the Federal Republic. It is impossible to place a lawful government and *de facto* authorities on the same footing. Moreover, the Soviet formula comes up against certain practical obstacles. German unity cannot materialize, as some speakers have said again and again, from mechanical and automatic measures; yet it is precisely the bald juxtaposition of two diametrically opposed systems that constitutes the most mechanical, the most automatic and the least feasible of measures. In this case, as in others, the law of democracy must be observed; in other words, genuinely free elections must be held throughout the territory.

73. While we consider that there can be no security in Europe without the reunification of Germany, we also believe that Germany cannot be reunified unless a system of security is established. The essential connexion of these two premises was affirmed in the strongest terms by the four Heads of Governments at Geneva.

74. As I said just now, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Paris Agreements provide the most comprehensive and reliable guarantees of security that we can imagine. These guarantees might be extended, on a contractual basis, in connexion with the re-establishment of German unity. Of course, we cannot entertain the idea of setting up a contractual system of security which would have the effect of legalizing, and thus perpetuating, the present division of Germany.

75. With regard to the system of security itself, I repeat that it is inconceivable that purely legal guarantees should be substituted for the genuine guarantees provided by the defensive organizations already in existence. Nevertheless, France is prepared to go as far as possible in the direction of these real and specific guarantees.

76. A united Germany should, in our opinion, be subject to controlled military restrictions, although these restrictions and controls should not be in any way discriminatory. We are also in favour of reciprocal controls, which would guarantee to every one the observance of rules established by common agreement.

77. On these bases, it should be possible to arrive at an equitable agreement between East and West, and if the Soviet Union is really concerned only with ensuring its own security — a very legitimate concern — I can say on behalf of my country that agreement is indeed possible.

78. But apart from the organization of security in Europe, there is the question of initiating general and

controlled disarmament, which is an ever-present objective of French foreign policy.

79. The United Nations has had this problem before it for a long time, and, in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, it has made steady and appreciable progress in the treatment thereof. Among the many constructive suggestions that have been made, I should like to mention those put forward by the French delegation [DC/71, annex 16]. The Head of the French Government, like the other three Heads of Government who met at Geneva, paid a well-deserved tribute to the Sub-Committee, with which I should like to associate myself.

80. The question will also be discussed at Geneva by the Foreign Ministers. They will have to consider the plans submitted by the Heads of Government, as well as the results of the proceedings of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission.

81. It is both a long-term task, the difficulties of which we must not under-estimate, and an urgent mission, to which the peoples rightly attach fundamental importance.

82. All the Governments are profoundly convinced that the terrifying threat of nuclear war which hangs over civilization itself must be warded off. They are anxious to lighten the burden of armaments, with the object of bettering the standards of living of their peoples and contributing to the development of the less fortunate regions.

83. How can we bridge the gap between the difficulties of the problem and the urgency of its solution? Both the Soviet Union and the United States have cogently stressed certain very real obstacles which must be taken into consideration if any progress is to be made.

84. The Soviet Union recognized in its note of 10 May 1955 [A/2979] that the implementation of a disarmament programme would presuppose a preliminary re-establishment of mutual confidence between States. This view is shared by the Western Powers.

85. Furthermore, the Soviet Union and the United States have drawn attention to the specific problems raised by the organization of control in respect of atomic energy. The French delegation, incidentally, has given repeated warnings on this subject for three years.

86. In its note of 10 May 1955, the Soviet Union expresses the fear that international control may prove powerless to prevent the manufacture, and hence the use, of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The conclusion it draws is the following:

“Until an atmosphere of confidence has been created in relations between States, any agreement on the institution of international control can only serve to lull the vigilance of the peoples.”

We thus run the risk of being caught in a vicious circle, since the institution of control depends on the re-establishment of confidence, and confidence is obviously dependent on control.

87. We cannot reconcile this contradiction otherwise than by entering upon the first stage as soon as possible, while at the same time setting the goals to be reached. The measures to be taken at this first stage will create the atmosphere of confidence which is indispensable for the implementation of a general programme of controlled disarmament.

88. It is necessary, however, to confine the discussion to the question of disarmament proper; the problem is

so complex already that it should not be complicated further by the introduction of political conditions.

89. By subordinating the restoration of confidence among States to the evacuation of Germany and to the prohibition of foreign bases — in other words, to the death of the North Atlantic Treaty — the Soviet note of 10 May introduced an element of confusion. It would be most desirable that the problem of disarmament should be rid of this confusion as soon as possible. It would indeed be a curious method of restoring confidence to begin by depriving the peoples of Western Europe of their defences even before security had been really ensured by the implementation of general and controlled disarmament.

90. At this first stage, we might, by means of the aerial inspection proposed by President Eisenhower, by means of control on land at certain strategic points, as suggested by Mr. Bulganin, and by means of a system of inspection such as that proposed by Sir Anthony Eden, satisfy ourselves that no Power is preparing a surprise attack.

91. And since I have the opportunity of recalling the bold initiative taken by Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the great American Republic, I should like once again to express France's wishes for his speedy recovery.

92. This machinery would find a fitting complement in the system of financial controls suggested by Mr. Faure. The French proposals have the essential merit of initiating a reduction of military expenditures and approaching the problem of disarmament from a particularly constructive point of view; they would constitute a dynamic element of a general disarmament and at the same time would make it possible gradually to raise the standard of living of vast under-developed and under-equipped areas.

93. It is by carrying out simultaneously a series of measures based on these various plans, and by synthesizing their main features, that we shall advance towards the restoration of confidence in international relations and that we shall be able to proceed to the execution of a general disarmament plan, which would, of course, relate both to conventional armaments and to nuclear weapons.

94. The third problem which we shall have to consider at Geneva is that of contacts between East and West. The French Government is deeply convinced of the need to repair the cleavage of the world by drawing the two halves of Europe closer together, on the economic as on the cultural level. What we are concerned with is how to facilitate the movement of people, ideas and goods to the fullest possible extent.

95. We are glad to note the efforts recently made in this direction by the Soviet Union. We sincerely believe that it is to our mutual advantage to get to know each other better and we fervently hope that further progress along these lines will be made at Geneva. This subject is so full of possibilities that I cannot undertake to explore it thoroughly now. I should merely like to stress that, here again, the question is how to extend and expand the action taken by the United Nations in a spirit of international co-operation.

96. I also wish to emphasize the great value of the example set by the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held at Geneva in August 1955.

97. I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating our distinguished and energetic Secretary-

General, Mr. Hammarskjold, on his part in the Conference. I shall not say that we expected any less of him, for we have had plenty of experience of his successes.

98. In a great upsurge of solidarity, the scientists of the whole world, showing a sincerity equal to their zeal, undertook to exchange publicly their knowledge of a subject which is of vital concern to mankind. They gave us a magnificent lesson in disinterested co-operation, and the Conference will go down in history as an astonishing effort of the will to peace. It is thus undoubtedly the first and the most moving earnest of the new spirit which can develop in international relations, since the Governments also played their part by not hesitating to authorize the publication of what until then had been most jealously guarded State secrets. When further progress has been made, after a period of time to be determined later, France would welcome another general exchange of information on the discoveries made.

99. The communications exchanged at Geneva and the reports on practical achievements have already shown how the weapon of fear can become the instrument of prosperity. Immense prospects have been opened for the economy of the future. The economic map of the world may have to be revised. Countries which are under-developed owing to lack of power resources may henceforth reasonably entertain the hope of passing from want to prosperity, as modern science makes headway.

100. In the context of the economic development of these countries, the United Nations will have to encourage access to new sources of power. It is to be hoped that the current negotiations on the establishment of an Atomic Energy Agency, which is specifically intended to ensure such access, will soon be successfully completed.

101. In this way, in the years to come, a new field of action, incalculable in its scope, will be open to the United Nations. In order that the Organization may be able to fulfil all its present and future obligations, with that universality which should be its natural attribute, it is desirable that the greatest possible number of States should be associated in its work.

102. The admission of new Members is one of the most crucial questions for the future of our Organization. The Charter opens the doors of the United Nations to all peaceful States which are willing and able to carry out the obligations it imposes.

103. It is regrettable, for the advancement of peace and for international understanding, that the object of the rules governing admission should continue to be frustrated by the denial of an examination, on its merits, of each separate application. Applications with unequal claims are linked together in such a way that States are being kept out which fulfil the prescribed conditions and which could make a constructive contribution and at the same time ensure a better representation of certain continents.

104. The French Government hopes that, in consequence of a sounder understanding of international co-operation, some progress will be possible this year, and that the United Nations will admit countries which have been kept out unfairly; and first and foremost among these I would mention Italy.

105. We consider that the admission of new Members should not be subordinated to the revision of the Charter. The Charter is an adequate instrument if the

nations which have subscribed to it are determined to seek understanding and if they refrain from interfering, in furtherance of their own purposes, in problems which do not concern them.

106. If this determination exists, problems will be solved without any amendment of the Charter; if this determination is lacking, problems will remain unsolved, even if the instrument is perfected. It therefore seems to me to be wiser to await a more propitious atmosphere before undertaking whatever reforms may be desirable.

107. I have not dealt with all the problems which are now before the United Nations. I should like to say, however, that my country is not indifferent to a single one of them. In the course of the session, my delegation will have many opportunities of stating the views of the French Government.

108. Before I conclude, however, I should like to mention one point. My country, with its unfailing respect for treaties, intends to carry out all its obligations to the letter; this naturally applies to the obligations which it undertook last year at Geneva, at the time of the Conference on Indo-China.

109. I have spoken to you absolutely frankly about the matters which concern the French Government. I have done so, as I told you I would, in perfectly simple terms. I hope that in this straightforwardness of thought and expression you will see only respect for the importance of our deliberations, only the expression of our determination to go to the root of problems, in order to ensure that our actions will be right and effective.

110. By reason of its geographical position and of its place in history, France is at the very heart of the great dispute which divides the world. In view of the particularly onerous responsibilities which it has to undertake, it is perhaps more determined than any other country to reach constructive and lasting solutions with the least delay.

111. That is why I was anxious to state precisely what we ought to do, and not to minimize the obstacles which may delay our progress. I am confident that these obstacles can be overcome and that our tasks can be accomplished.

112. You may rest assured that France will do everything within its power to enable mankind to regain its awareness of the great good that can be done by collective effort in a world at peace.

113. Mr. du PLESSIS (Union of South Africa): It is my great pleasure and privilege at the outset of my statement to tender to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your election as President. Our sincere good wishes go out to you in the execution of the onerous responsibilities attaching to the high office to which you have been elected unanimously by the Member States of this Organization.

114. You have been called upon, Sir, to preside over the Assembly at a time when high hopes are being entertained by all the peoples of the world that the tensions and anxieties which have been such a marked feature of the post-war world will steadily and progressively give way to an era, if not yet of peace and stability, then at least of relaxation which can be the beginning of such an era.

115. Indeed, if one has in mind the atmosphere at our recent commemorative session at San Francisco, so clearly marked by a desire to return to the original spirit of San Francisco, there is every reason to hope that one of the essentials postulated at that time for a success-

ful functioning of the United Nations can now perhaps gradually come into fulfilment. This condition was that there would be co-operation between the great Powers — a co-operation which has been absent during this past decade of the Organization's existence.

116. Perhaps, in all the circumstances, it would be as well not to hark back too much or too often to the bickerings and discords of these years but to assign to them their proper place in the perspective of time, while at the same time drawing upon these formative years for the wisdom which experience — and painful experience especially — brings.

117. In this context, many speakers have referred, and rightly so, to the advances in international understanding made at Geneva, and which have since continued. My delegation joins with them in sharing the hope that San Francisco and Geneva together will inaugurate the beginning of a period in history which will be marked, if unfortunately not yet by those conditions of stability so heartily desired by the common man all over the world, then at least by a willingness amongst nations to show understanding of one another's problems and difficulties. In seeking measures for the solution of those problems and difficulties, let us avoid the negative and destructive approach which cannot make any contribution at all unless it be a contribution towards greater confusion and greater mistrust.

118. My delegation, too, joined with our fellow representatives at the commemorative session in expressing the hope that, in our future deliberations and actions, there would be a return to the spirit which had animated the founders of our Organization in 1945. But the leader of the South African delegation stressed on that occasion, as I stress now — and as we shall continue to stress in future — that a return to the spirit of San Francisco of 1945 must also mean that full recognition is given in word and in deed to a basic factor governing friendly relations between States, namely, non-intervention in one another's domestic affairs. I have no doubt that all delegations attach the greatest importance to the strict observance of that basic condition, as they must if they honestly desire peace and tranquillity.

119. We all realize that the world consists of States and of groups of States whose social and economic systems differ markedly from each other. Several delegations in this general debate have pointed out that it is essential for the future of the United Nations — for the future peace of mankind — that these States should learn to live in peace together, no matter how much they may differ in their ways of life. As we have learned over the centuries, and especially since the war, there can be no peace unless all States respect each others' sovereign rights and refrain from intervening directly, or indirectly, in each others' domestic affairs. This is surely the meaning of "peaceful coexistence".

120. But it is very evident, not only from the debates in the years that have gone by, but also from the debates of this present session, that Member States are still far from being in agreement on what constitutes intervention and what does not. The clear wording of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, is all too frequently misconstrued to suit the particular circumstances or designs of individual Member States.

121. All who listened to the debate on the meaning and purpose of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, during the initial stages of our present session, must agree that those who argued for the right of inter-

vention were fairly consistent in one thing, and that was in ignoring the clearly expressed intention of the authors of the Charter.

122. Those who founded this Organization suffered from no confusion. No doubt anticipating the emotional upheavals which could be expected in a world shaken to its core by the strife and bitterness of a global war, they devoted particular attention to this problem. They recognized that if it was not clarified beyond any question right at the outset, it could continue to poison international relations and so frustrate one of the principal purposes of this Organization, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of harmony and friendly relations amongst nations.

123. Article 2, paragraph 7, has since been invoked before the United Nations on many occasions by many countries, including my own. Every occasion has provided a test for Members of the Organization regarding the respect in which they hold the Charter.

124. The record shows that whenever Article 2, paragraph 7, has been invoked, the great majority of delegations have voted in favour of United Nations competence when their own interests or those of their friends were not affected, and against such competence whenever those interests were affected. In some cases, delegations have pointed out that the assumption of jurisdiction in a given case would be unconstitutional, yet have abstained when the question of competence was put to the vote. This very inconsistency in the voting record of the different delegations goes to prove that the Charter is not being interpreted as a legal document or as a constitution for the Organization — which it undoubtedly is — but purely in the light of the political self-interest of the chance majority at a given time. The recommendations of the General Assembly and its organs in this field are almost exclusively based on political considerations, with little regard for their legality.

125. Speaking in the General Committee [103rd meeting] on the inclusion in the agenda of the item concerning Algeria, the representative of Pakistan conceded that discussion of an item in the United Nations was tantamount to intervention within the meaning of Article 2, paragraph 7. But he then argued that the competence of the Assembly so to intervene was no longer in doubt, as evidenced by the case law of the United Nations, which he claimed had been built up over the past ten years.

126. It is very understandable that a distinguished lawyer should rely on case law, as in legal practice. But the United Nations is not a court of law, and the majority of representatives at any given time are not lawyers. The case law of the United Nations on the meaning and scope of Article 2, paragraph 7, should therefore be seen against this background. But it is clear that if case law is to have any authority at all, it has to be traced back to its very source, and that source will be found in one place and one place only, namely, the records which have been left to us by those who framed this contract on the basis of which we are united as Member States of this Organization.

127. There are many, however, who choose to ignore these records. This makes it all the more important that we who adhere to the original intentions of the Charter should not remain silent, lest by our silence we appear to acquiesce in a process of emasculation of the Charter, a process which takes the form of reinterpreting its

most fundamental provision and of building up, on this basis, a body of spurious case law. It is for this reason that I shall again place on the record for this session — although I shall do so as concisely as possible — the basis on which, in regard to the question of non-intervention, we accepted membership of the United Nations and thereby the obligations resulting from such membership.

128. For this purpose I cannot do better than to quote from the speech of the Minister of External Affairs of the Union of South Africa at the recent commemorative session at San Francisco, when Mr. Louw addressed himself as follows to the assembled delegations:

“It was not only at the San Francisco Conference that the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of Member States was insisted upon. The same principle was included in the Covenant of the League of Nations. But more important is the fact that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals expressly provided that certain provisions dealing with the pacific settlement of disputes should not apply to matters which were within the domestic jurisdiction of the States concerned.

“This principle was thereafter incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations, where it is enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. It is, however, important to note that at the San Francisco Conference an amendment was adopted to transfer this provision from Chapter VIII to Chapter II, where it would become a governing, and thus an overriding, principle for the whole Organization and its Members. The transfer to Chapter II was considered to be necessary, so as to make it quite clear that the United Nations, when dealing with economic, social and cultural questions, should not intervene in the domestic affairs of the Member States.

“There was a spirited debate when the proposed amendment was discussed by the appropriate committee of Commission I, and certain amendments which tended to restrict the principle of domestic jurisdiction were defeated with large majorities. It is thus clear that at the San Francisco discussions it was decided that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter was to be a basic and overriding principle.

“But the San Francisco Conference went even further, and made it clear that no pretexts should be resorted to for the purpose of circumventing the principle laid down in Article 2, paragraph 7, relating to non-interference in the domestic affairs of Member States.

“Chapter IX of the Charter deals with international co-operation in regard to social and economic affairs, fundamental human rights, and allied subjects. The discussions at San Francisco revealed two tendencies. On the one hand, there was the desire to make the United Nations an effective agency for “promoting” international co-operative action in regard to these aims. On the other hand, concern was expressed by a number of delegations that the proposed co-operative action might provide a basis, or even a pretext, for intervention by the United Nations in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. When the Drafting Sub-Committee’s text was considered by Commission II, the representative of the United States proposed that the clause be redrafted, so as to ensure that there would be no interference by the Economic and Social Council in

the domestic affairs of a Member State.<sup>2</sup> Later, it was decided, in order to remove all possible doubt, to extend the prohibition to the United Nations itself, and to include in the records of Committee 3 the following statement concerning the interpretation or implication of Article 55, namely,

“The members of Committee 3 of Commission II are in full agreement that nothing contained in Chapter IX can be construed as giving authority to the Organization to intervene in the domestic affairs of Member States.”<sup>3</sup>

“Commission II included the same statement in its report, and it was later adopted by the plenary session of the Conference, as proof of the intentions of the founders of the United Nations.”

This ends the quotation from Mr. Louw's statement.

129. If it is considered, as the delegation of Pakistan and others apparently believe, that since 1945 a body of case law has been built up in the United Nations which sets aside these clear intentions of the founders, then I say that these so-called “cases” were not based on law but on political expediency. Being in their origin unlawful and unconstitutional, they lose all validity as case law and therefore as precepts for future action.

130. During the first days of this session, my delegation has been heartened to see that there is an ever-growing realization that the discussions in the United Nations of the domestic affairs of a Member State against its wishes, far from serving any good purpose, only exacerbate feelings, increase tensions and promote the adoption of rigid attitudes.

131. I make no apology for dealing with this question at length. More than any other Member State, my country has been the victim of the subversion of this basic principle that there shall be no intervention in the affairs which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

132. For nine successive years, the Union of South Africa has been attacked at the United Nations on the Indian question, the South West Africa question, and generally on South Africa's domestic policies. Each year the attacks have followed the same pattern, and the same arguments have been repeated *ad nauseam*. For nine years, leaders of Union delegations, beginning with Field Marshal Smuts, have replied with patience and forbearance to these attacks, and dealt with the arguments advanced.

133. But there is a limit to the patience of even the most reasonable of men. Our opponents must admit that South Africa has, through all these years, shown exemplary courtesy and forbearance when it has had to submit to unfair and often malicious attacks. For some delegations these annual attacks on South Africa have become a sort of Roman holiday to which they look forward with relish, and in which they engage with zest. I leave aside the fact that many of our detractors fall far short of the principles of fundamental human rights and freedoms to which they so often pay lip-service, and are guilty of racial and other forms of discrimination.

134. But, while certain delegations have pursued their vendetta against the Union of South Africa, we are glad to know that there are many others who have grown

heartily tired of these annual performances. Nevertheless, should it be decided to include items 20 and 23 in the agenda, the Assembly will once again embark on a discussion of South Africa's internal affairs.

135. I must repeat that for nine years my Government has shown great patience. But it is no longer prepared to continue replying to these attacks. I have been instructed to inform the Assembly accordingly. If certain nations wish to continue attacking the Union of South Africa they are, of course, at liberty to do so. The South African delegation for its part intends, if and when these matters are raised in the Committees, to confine itself to opening statements substantially reaffirming what I am saying here today. It will not participate further in the discussions.

136. This attitude will apply in the first instance to the item entitled “Treatment of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa”. With reference to this item, it is necessary briefly to recall certain developments which have taken place since the last session of the General Assembly.

137. On 17 December 1954, the Government of the Union of South Africa took the initiative in approaching the Governments of India and Pakistan and indicated that it was prepared, without prejudice to the juridical position consistently taken up by South Africa on the subject of domestic jurisdiction, to have discussions with the two Governments with a view to seeking an acceptable solution. Although the Union Government went out of its way to seek a friendly settlement of this question, the effort unfortunately had to be abandoned as a result of attacks made on the Union by India while these telegraphic discussions were proceeding, attacks which were of such a nature that it was clear that a continuation of this attempt would be fruitless. In the circumstances, it would have served no purpose to have continued the discussions with Pakistan alone, since in any event there is only a comparatively small percentage of Indians of Pakistan origin in the Union. I wish to add that Pakistan had no part in the failure of the negotiations.

138. As to the subsequent approach to the Government of the Union of South Africa, by the Secretary-General, designating a mediator to facilitate a solution of this controversy, the Assembly is familiar enough with the South African position in regard to the domestic jurisdiction issue to appreciate that my Government was debarred from accepting mediation, as it would certainly have prejudiced that position. The Secretary-General was informed accordingly, and, in the communication addressed to him by South Africa's Minister of External Affairs — which will no doubt become available to all delegations in due course — the history of these events is set out fully. As stated in this letter, as far as South Africa is concerned, the question of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa is regarded as definitely closed.

139. Similarly, in respect of the reports of the so-called United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, my Government has made its position abundantly clear. There is nothing in the Charter which permits the United Nations to discuss or to adopt resolutions regarding a matter which is purely and essentially of domestic concern. In presuming to make recommendations regarding legislation passed by the Parliament of the Union, the General Assembly has gone to the utmost limit in transgressing the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organization, II/3/23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II/3/27.

At previous sessions, and also at the recent San Francisco Conference, the Union of South Africa has clearly stated its position on this issue. There is nothing to add to what has already been said.

140. As far as South West Africa is concerned, the attitude which I have indicated my delegation will adopt in the Committees on items specially concerned with South African affairs does not apply to the constitutional aspects of the South West Africa question.

141. The Union of South Africa is a foundation Member of this Organization, as it was a foundation Member of the League of Nations. Both the Charter of the United Nations and the Covenant of the League bear the imprint of the statesmanship of the late Field Marshal Smuts. There can be little doubt that his purpose was to make the greatest possible contribution to international amity and understanding. Yet he himself became the first victim in this Assembly of the wave of emotionalism engendered by the vast changes in national structures which followed the end of the war.

142. As I stated at the outset, one is encouraged to hope, by the portents of this year, that this Organization, as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations and for the promotion of international peace and security, will henceforth steadily and ever more rapidly discard its negative methods of approach. In the past, these negative methods have too often marred its discussions and deliberations. They have inevitably tended to undermine the confidence of many peoples in the United Nations as the most important co-ordinating instrument in international affairs.

143. Nothing has done so much to restore the belief that there is a fruitful field in which the nations of the world can meet and co-operate, not only in restoring much of the destruction wrought by the Second World War, but also in creating new conditions of well-being and happiness for all the peoples of the earth, than the action which has resulted from the initiative of the President of the United States of America in his historic "atoms for peace" proposal [470th meeting].

144. Here I wish to say, on behalf of my delegation, that our very best wishes go out to President Eisenhower in his illness. We hope that his recovery will be rapid and that he will soon be restored to complete health.

145. To those of us whose attention and energies have, of necessity, mainly to be focused on matters in the political sphere, with all the preoccupations and frustrations which are ever present in that field, it is indeed a comfort and a consolation to be able to say that an international occasion as fruitful and successful as the recent International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva was a product of our labours in this Assembly. One hopes that the success achieved in the field of common endeavour will act as a spur to all of us in our forthcoming deliberations on this subject. Time should not be lost unnecessarily in harnessing, for the benefit of all the peoples of the world, the power which scientific progress is making available for the creation of those conditions of material well-being still sadly lacking in so many countries.

146. South Africa, as one of the world's most important producers of fissionable material, was happy last year to act as one of the sponsors of the resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy [resolution 810 (IX)]. In the interim, South Africa has continued to co-operate with its associates in a common endeavour

to give form and substance to this proposal, from which so much good can be expected.

147. Bearing in mind our position as a sovereign Power on the vast continent of Africa, from large parts of which the curtain of ignorance has not yet been lifted and which still remains trammelled by the fears, distrust and suspicions of primitive life, it is our hope and expectation that Africa will receive its full share of the benefits which the creation of such an international agency can bring. At the same time, it cannot be too strongly stressed that, in the manner of application, every precaution should be taken that the advantages which civilization can offer should be introduced to the African continent with care and circumspection, so that they can become the blessings which they should be and not the disruptive force which they so easily could be.

148. In his annual report, the Secretary-General states:

"The peoples of Asia today, of Africa tomorrow, are moving towards a new relationship with what history calls the West" [A/2911, p. ix].

Later in the same report the Secretary-General says:

"The great changes that are under way in Africa present a challenge to the rest of the world—a challenge to give aid in guiding the course of events in orderly and constructive channels" [ibid., p. xiv].

I am sure that, in his approach to this question, the Secretary-General will be guided in the first place by the conviction that Africa is not and should not become a field for ideological experimentation.

149. While the constructive advice of friends will always find a sympathetic hearing, the ready-made solutions of idealistic theorists, and the even more dangerous intrusion of subversive ideologies, either from the East or from the West, must always be combated by those who have responsibility for African development. I am speaking here mainly of that part of Africa in which my homeland lies, that is, Africa south of the Sahara. The "orderly and constructive channels" to which the Secretary-General refers must of necessity be channels through which the multi-racial and multi-lingual African life can move without impediment towards its own destined end, shaped by the forces deriving from its own being.

150. The peoples in my part of Africa know and understand one another and are steadily moving towards a solution of their common problems and difficulties in a manner which will ultimately ensure to each the conditions necessary to develop naturally and fully according to his own way of life. Progress has been far greater than may appear to those who view the scene from afar.

151. If, however, the development towards greater maturity and towards a fuller life is to be an orderly one, it must, at the same time, be accompanied by a corresponding capacity to assume responsibility. For rights, in so far as they are related to the conduct of society, can never exist in isolation, but are ever accompanied by corresponding obligations. The enjoyment of the one presupposes the observance of the other. If, therefore, the capacity to assume obligations is not yet fully present, it is a condition precedent to the acquisition of rights that such a capacity must be nurtured and fostered, if, in the words of the Secretary-General, the course of events is to be guided "in orderly and constructive channels".

152. Perhaps it is just as well that this be said now, for it is my impression that in the United Nations too

much stress has been and is being laid on rights and too little, and sometimes none at all, on the duties and responsibilities that are irrevocably attached to the enjoyment of those rights. This can have no other result than the creation of a condition of unbalance which must of necessity retard the growth towards maturity of any people who are led to believe that they can be the recipients of rights but who are not at the same time brought into a full realization of the obligations which those rights place upon them. Assistance, which is a word we so often hear, should therefore also include assistance and guidance in the capacity to assume responsibility and to exercise authority.

153. I have already spoken about the new and encouraging spirit of understanding and accommodation which now animates the conduct of official relations between the great Powers. And it is fitting that I should conclude my remarks on this hopeful note. There have been numerous references to this new spirit during the course of our general debate, a spirit which gives promise of a better appreciation of the differences which lie between us and which could well lead to a narrowing of these differences on the fundamental problems of peace and security. Faced with the awful realities of the hydrogen age, the great Powers have now begun to give a lead in the evolution of that sense of responsibility in international relations so vital to the preservation of peace and security among all nations, which is, in fact, the primary purpose of the Charter.

154. But there are still a number of other spheres in which it is almost equally important that the Members of this Organization should make a determined effort to promote a more objective and sympathetic understanding of the realities of the problems involved. It will surely not be necessary for me to list these topics here. They embrace a most extensive field of United Nations activity and have given rise to much bitter controversy in the past. It remains our hope and belief that the new and improved atmosphere which quickens the international scene will now also pervade the deliberations of this Organization on these subjects; that there will be a growing tendency here, too, to turn away from the barren and debilitating controversies of the past and to direct our energies and efforts with renewed vigour towards the real and constructive tasks which still lie ahead.

155. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Many representatives have already addressed this Assembly in the course of the general debate. This simplifies my task here, because in respect of a number of issues I am in the happy position of being able to express my agreement with what has been said by previous speakers.

156. First and foremost, I wish to follow the example of my predecessors at this rostrum by voicing my Government's profound satisfaction at Mr. Maza's election to the highest function in this Assembly. This satisfaction first of all concerns him personally. In the second place, we are happy to see a representative of Latin America unanimously elected to this important office. A short time ago, it was my privilege to visit a part of Latin America for the first time. During my stay there, I was deeply impressed by what I saw and was strengthened in my sincere conviction that a cordial understanding between the old world of Europe and the new world of Latin America is and ever will be one of the most essential conditions for the safeguarding of our civilization. It is especially for that reason that my delegation rejoices in having a representative of Latin

America preside over the tenth session of the General Assembly.

157. I cannot but agree whole-heartedly with those speakers who have welcomed in warm terms the emergence of what has been called the spirit of Geneva. The novel attitude of the Soviet Union has brought new hope to millions of people all over the world — the hope that we are about to enter a better era, an era of lessening international tension. Whether this hope will be fulfilled is a question that may well be answered in the coming year. We should be completely aware of the importance — stressed in such a statesmanlike way by the representative of Australia [520th meeting] — that our great expectations of the future should be seen against the background of the reality of the present.

158. We should not forget that no real problems have as yet been solved. A first opportunity for finding solutions will present itself at Geneva towards the end of next month. A relaxation of international tension will be most easily achieved on those issues which merely require a mutual acceptance of the existing situation. The real desire for peace will be put to the test when an attempt is made to deal with those problems whose solution implies a change of the *status quo*. For instance, if the Soviet Union should not accept the unification of Germany, a lasting settlement would remain out of reach.

159. However, let me say once again that my Government rejoices in the results of the meeting "at the summit" in Geneva. To the Heads of Government who met there we owe a tribute for the upright fashion in which they discussed ways and means to solve the problems which keep the world divided in uneasy and suspicious factions.

160. In this connexion, it is of vital importance that the two most powerful nations of the world, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, should try to bring about a *rapprochement*. If they are able to settle their differences, the chances of peace increase. This we most fervently hope, and we shall watch further progress towards this end in a constructive and positive frame of mind, while maintaining our careful vigilance. For the mere fact that agreement exists between the United States and the Soviet Union does not necessarily mean that all world problems have been solved.

161. In no circumstances can Europe relinquish the duty of making its essential contribution to the cause of world peace. I hope I shall be forgiven for making special mention of Europe in this context: it is very near to my heart. I am, of course, fully aware of the significance of other groups of nations in this respect.

162. Everyone who is sensitive to the main trends of history realizes that the role of a sound and strong bloc of Latin American nations is of the greatest significance for the conservation and strengthening of our ideals of peace and justice.

163. My Government also attaches the utmost importance to the economic and social advancement of Asia and Africa for the future well-being of mankind. The Conference of Asian and African nations held at Bandung was an impressive manifestation of the political awareness of the many countries in those parts of the world — countries which hold such substantial promise for the present, and in particular for the future.

164. No one could be surprised, however, that, at that same Bandung Conference, rather marked differences of

opinion became apparent on such fundamental issues as dictatorship, communism or a free way of life.

165. In the free part of Europe a very large measure of cohesion exists as to those problems. The slowly but steadily advancing unity of Europe is the most promising guarantee for the realization of our ideals of one world. Progress towards unity in Europe is slow; I readily admit that. However, with every passing year progress becomes more noticeable, and every year European cohesion grows more solid. Under the chairmanship of that great Belgian statesman, Mr. Spaak, discussions are taking place in Brussels with a view to achieving the integration in supra-national communities of new sectors of economic life, following the example set by the coal and steel community in Luxembourg.

166. On a smaller scale — that is in Benelux — integration is making even more progress. The Governments of the three countries constituting Benelux have now decided to establish a joint parliamentary body which will deal with a number of problems resulting from the union between the three partners.

167. I have expressed my profound conviction that the role of Europe in the world is indispensable. If Europe is to fulfil its essential task, it is a first condition that its representation in the United Nations be adequate. For that reason it is really a matter of urgency to put an end to the absurd situation which at present prevents a country with such great political and cultural traditions as Italy from being a Member of our Organization. I sincerely trust that this and similar situations will be eliminated when we discuss the question of the admission of new Members.

168. There are several other items on our agenda which will have the fullest attention of my delegation.

169. First of all, there is the question of Netherlands New Guinea, which will be dealt with perhaps this afternoon in the General Committee. I shall not anticipate what will be said in that Committee, except to say that the Netherlands Government trusts that this matter will not be included in the agenda of this session. All that could usefully be said about the matter was brought forward at the last session. The Netherlands delegation then made its position quite clear, and the stand of my Government has remained unchanged. We stated, *inter alia*, that the inhabitants of Netherlands New Guinea would, in due course, be given the opportunity to decide on their own political status. That promise still holds, and we will abide by it.

170. I listened with great attention to what the representative of Indonesia said on this subject yesterday [527th meeting]. While fully endorsing Mr. Anak Agung's plea for better understanding between our two countries, and while voicing my Government's earnest desire to do all we can to achieve this end, I must, however, disagree with him on one point. We are convinced that, far from serving the cause of a *rapprochement*, the inclusion in the agenda and a subsequent discussion of the Netherlands New Guinea issue would seriously harm our common purpose. Therefore I cannot but describe the insistence of the Indonesian Government on having this matter placed on the agenda as a sad and regrettable error.

171. Since we met last year, a momentous development has taken place in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The three parts of the Kingdom — the Netherlands, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles — have in joint consultation worked out and voluntarily accepted a new

constitutional order, in which each of the countries autonomously conducts its internal interests and affairs, while they jointly conduct their common interests on a basis of absolute equality. It is a matter of great satisfaction in all three parts of the realm that this equitable solution of co-operation in freedom and equality has been achieved and that, in respect of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, the goal set in Chapter XI of the Charter has now been reached. During the course of this session, representatives of the three parts of the realm will have occasion to explain to the Members of the United Nations in detail the new structure of our kingdom.

172. Another item to which we attach great importance — and I am certain that this will be fully understood by all Members — is the financing of the economic development of under-developed areas. This subject was extensively dealt with at the twentieth session of the Economic and Social Council. For the first time in many years, it has been my country's privilege to participate in the work of that Council. I call this a privilege because our delegations to this year's sessions have been deeply impressed not only by the importance of the subjects dealt with but also by the high quality of the discussions themselves.

173. My Government still considers the solution of the problem of the financing of economic development as the most essential condition for our future progress. Our Organization is advancing on the road towards this solution, but the advance is slow — to our mind, far too slow. During the debates in the Second Committee, we shall draw attention to this matter and we again shall advocate a more rapid implementation of our plans. I know that the countries which will have to bear the main burden of the execution of these plans hesitate to arouse false hopes. Of course, we respect their opinion. In the Committee, however, my delegation will again most earnestly request those countries not to stress their reservations on the subject to such an extent that they block the road to a further realization of the vast concepts that are to determine the future of hundreds of millions of people. We intend to ask them, in particular, not to decide, for instance, to abstain from co-operation in elaborating existing plans, a decision which in practice would almost amount to a veto.

174. A subject which is to some extent related to the previous one, but which implies a different classification of the regions of the world, is that of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. At the opening of this session, and in another capacity, I mentioned the immeasurable promise implicit in the Geneva Conference on atomic energy. In the months before us, it will be our duty to draw our conclusions from the Secretary-General's report on that Conference [A/2967] and to indicate the possibilities for future international co-operation in this field. In that connexion, we shall have some observations to make on the International Atomic Energy Agency. We consider the plan to create this agency to be of paramount importance. We shall study the information which we may receive in relation to this plan with great care, bearing in mind the desiderata mentioned by our delegation in the First Committee during the ninth session of the General Assembly [708th meeting, para. 58]. One condition which we consider vital for the success of the agency is that there be no division of the countries of the world into "haves" and "have-nots" as regards nuclear material. Such a division would

prove fatal. For this reason I express the hope that the agency will be clearly based on principles that will enable it to become a part of the structure of the United Nations.

175. The subjects dealt with in the Fifth Committee are generally of a less spectacular nature than those discussed in the other Committees. My delegation intends, nevertheless, to devote its fullest attention to the items which will be allocated to this Committee, and in particular to the questions relating to the status of United Nations personnel. Fortunately, the regrettable period of unrest which for some time prevailed in the Secretariat has now ended. I wish to pay tribute, in this connexion, to our eminent Secretary-General for the wisdom and consistency which have marked his policy in this matter.

176. We cannot overlook, however, that this period has left scars on the body of our Organization. One item of our agenda bears witness to that unhappy past. We shall revert to that matter at a later stage. But I should like to state now the conviction of my delegation that the well-being of the United Nations is to a large extent dependent on the existence of a staff of the highest quality, fulfilling its duties under the most favourable conditions, which must include an unquestionable legal safeguarding of their position. The absence of a reason-

able sense of security would inexorably cause an inadmissible lowering of the high standards that are now being applied. The events which unfortunately took place some years ago are perhaps the reason for the difficulties that have already been encountered in finding a sufficient supply of highly qualified personnel.

177. I am not unaware of the fact that my slightly pessimistic appraisal of the present situation is based on rather vague indications. I have wished to draw your attention to this situation here and now because, if more indications of this kind should become manifest, we would find ourselves in a very embarrassing situation. I shall not say more on this subject.

178. A heavy task awaits us in the weeks and months ahead. Formidable is the pile of problems that confronts us. Ours is a heavy responsibility, but we also have a wonderful opportunity for co-operation in the interests of the whole world, which are ultimately the interests of each one of us too. The Netherlands delegation intends to take its full share in the discussions of the Assembly and will contribute its faith in the principles of the Charter and its goodwill towards all mankind in order to ensure, under God's indispensable guidance, the success of this tenth session.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*