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**CONTENTS**

Page

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speeches by Mr. Aklilou (Ethiopia), Mr. Unden (Sweden), Mr. Ali (Pakistan), Mr. Khouri (Lebanon) and Mr. Plate (Argentina)..... 203

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

**SPEECHES BY MR. AKLILOU (ETHIOPIA), MR. UNDEN (SWEDEN), MR. ALI (PAKISTAN), MR. KHOURI (LEBANON) AND MR. PLATE (ARGENTINA)**

1. Mr. AKLILOU (Ethiopia) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, I should like to offer congratulations to Mr. Maza, representative of Chile, on his unanimous election as President of this Assembly. Chile has long enjoyed a great reputation in the United Nations. It has always done its utmost to bring about the realization of the highest aims of the peoples represented in this body.
2. The United Nations has just celebrated its tenth anniversary. Experience has always shown that the early years of life, either in a human being or an organization, are the most difficult. Furthermore, it is during that period that the course is set for later years.
3. No one could maintain that the early years of our Organization have not been extremely difficult. Its primary responsibility is undeniably the maintenance of international peace and security, but how often has it found itself in difficult situations as it has tried to discharge that function! We need only recall some of the items on the agenda of previous sessions, for instance, item 72 on the agenda of the seventh session, and item 73 on the agenda of the eighth session, on measures to avert the threat of a new world war.
4. The very atmosphere in which our debates are proceeding today is evidence of the extent to which it has been possible to realize that hope of the eighth session. So we can be proud of the work which the Organization has done in its early years. All the small States should be thankful to the great Powers to which we owe this fortunate relaxation of tension.
5. President Eisenhower has been and still is one of those primarily responsible for bringing it about. We listen daily to the reports on his progress. On behalf of my delegation, I wish him a speedy recovery.
6. The smaller States have certainly also contributed to this result by their work in the United Nations. As the representative of a small State, I shall venture to give some account of the contribution made by the small States to the achievements of the Organization — not

with any intention of self-praise, but rather in order to draw from it lessons for the future.

7. There is no denying the fact that we are living in an age when major questions are in the last resort settled by the great Powers. That is the precise reason for the importance of the United Nations to the smaller countries. Without this Organization, it might well be wondered what part the smaller States had to play.

8. I think that the first ten years of the United Nations has clearly shown not only its importance to these States, but also the importance of the contribution of these States to the Organization. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia gave fitting expression to that idea the other day [522nd meeting], when he said that those nations did not fit into any of the old and rigid patterns and for that reason were all the better adapted for membership in a universal body like the United Nations. Moreover, he said, they were directly interested in respect for the democratic principles set forth in the Charter, disregard of which would make their participation in international life infinitely more difficult.

9. During these first ten years, the Organization has acted less often through the Security Council, which is the organ of the great Powers, than through the General Assembly itself, where the united will of the smaller States is law. The fact that our Organization was able to adopt measures to restore peace in Korea, for example, was due to a decision of the General Assembly [resolution 711 (VII)], not of the Security Council.

10. Since the establishment of the United Nations, the world has seen the birth of a large number of new States which have become respected Members of our Organization, and the emergence of other new States, such as Libya and Jordan, which ought also to be Members, but which are not yet so because their admission depends not on the smaller States but on the Security Council. All this movement towards independence has been assisted by the united opinion of the smaller States of the world, represented in this Assembly.

11. Similarly, the movement on behalf of the right of peoples to self-determination has been largely promoted by those States. It should be remembered that for some years now the General Assembly has been showing ever greater concern for the implementation of this principle. As has often been stated here, it is only natural that the small States, which have suffered so much in order to preserve their independence, should be concerned with the need to enforce world-wide respect for this exalted principle, set forth in Article 1 of the Charter.

12. This collaboration in the achievement of liberal purposes and principles has in the course of years created close ties between many Members. If countries of different races, religions and traditions were able to meet at Bandung and to show the world their unity of opinion and purpose, it was in part due to their common

labours in this Assembly, labours which had already laid enduring foundations for co-operation.

13. Today, the expression "Middle East" has taken on its true meaning — the link between the Eastern and Western worlds. For instance, Ethiopia, which belongs at once to Africa and the Middle East, is bound to Yugoslavia, a European Power, by ties of friendship and mutual understanding, upon which continued co-operation in this Assembly has set the seal.

14. So the history of the first ten years of this Organization gives us many causes for satisfaction, together with useful guidance in the fields where closer and more effective co-operation should be promoted during the stage upon which we are now entering.

15. In the future, as in the past, one of the most important of these fields for co-operation will be the right of peoples to self-determination. In that connexion, we must continually bear in mind the very pertinent comment made some days ago by the representative of India [530th meeting, para. 137], to the effect that on that question only the wishes of the people concerned count.

16. Ethiopia, which has fought in defence of that principle, has had practical experience of its application in the case of Eritrea. The General Assembly, which, under the Treaty of Peace with Italy, was competent to make recommendations concerning that Territory, reaffirmed that principle by declaring that any solution must first of all be approved by the two populations concerned, the Ethiopian and the Eritrean.

17. In conformity with this policy, which consists in the promotion throughout the world of independence and the right of peoples to self-determination, our Organization must in future redouble its efforts to furnish assistance to the under-developed countries. It is known that many of the countries represented here stand in need of such assistance, and that, only a few days ago, the representative of one of the countries considered as one of the most socially advanced stated here that in some ways his country was under-developed. The eloquent and moving appeal of the representative of Ecuador [519th meeting] for the development of the programme of technical assistance, an appeal which found an echo in the hearts of many other representatives here present, will also be remembered.

18. Another field where co-operation between States should be further increased is that of measures of enforcement. If we, the smaller States, are entitled to ask for technical assistance from the Organization, it is only fair that we should be prepared to accept all the responsibilities imposed on us by the Charter. From that point of view, Ethiopia is conscious of having discharged its responsibilities, despite considerable obstacles and difficulties. So the Ethiopian delegation would support the observations made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt [518th meeting] concerning the implementation of the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter.

19. Another subject of future concern should be assistance to the refugees driven from their homes by the unfortunate events in Palestine. They have suffered too long. Following on its intervention in the Palestine question, it is the duty of our Organization to take active steps to solve this heart-rending human problem.

20. Future co-operation between Member States with a view to the maximum development of the Organiza-

tion's activities inevitably raises the question of the review of the Charter, provided for in Article 109.

21. I know that convincing arguments can be put forward both for and against the convening of a conference for such a review at this time. My delegation thinks that such a conference would be valuable. Further, the mere fact that the conference is convened does not necessarily mean that any given points in the Charter will be revised. Any decision on the problems of revision, or even on the very question of whether the Charter should be revised, might be discussed and taken by the conference itself. My delegation will, however, confine itself to drawing attention to two points, which have in the past given us all trouble and call for special consideration by the conference, i.e., the question of the admission of new Members and the definition of national jurisdiction.

22. With regard to the admission of new Members, my delegation thinks it inadmissible that, ten years after the establishment of the Organization, there should still be one-third of the States of the world, most of them smaller States, outside the United Nations. It is inadmissible, for instance, that countries like Italy, Austria, Libya, Jordan, Japan, Ceylon and Finland should still not be Members. I am in no way trying to contest the strength of the political motives which have led any of the great Powers to oppose the admission of certain small States. But I would like to point out that, for the small States, the only question which arises is whether or not a given State fulfils the requirements laid down in the Charter. Unless the Charter is amended on that important point, we fear that the Organization will always be deadlocked and its efficiency gravely reduced through the absence of many important countries.

23. I now come to the second question. There is no question which is discussed more regularly and with more bitterness than that raised by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. I do not intend to start a debate on the substance of the problem, or to embark on a discussion of the question of the relationship between Article 2, paragraph 7, and Articles 55 and 56. What I do want to say is that the scope and the gravity of our debates on that supremely important question are such that the problem will call for detailed study from the future conference. It is doubtless owing to those difficulties that the Secretary-General, speaking on 15 September 1955 at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, said: "We must bear in mind the importance of respecting the proper boundaries between international and national jurisdiction, and of avoiding needless tasks and prohibitions imposed in the interests of uniformity".

24. I think that the present welcome relaxation of tension in international relations affords us the opportunity to impart, in an atmosphere of calm and co-operation, a more useful and specific form to the instrument by which all our debates must be guided.

25. By reason of its many achievements, particularly in the realm of the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has cause to be proud of the first stage of its existence. Ethiopia expresses its sincere hope that the period of relaxed tension now opening will mark still further progress, not only in this field, but, in the fine language of the Charter, in the establishment of conditions under which "justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained".

Mr. Akhilou (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

26. Mr. UNDEN (Sweden): I am going to make a few very brief remarks concerning some items on our agenda. Before doing so, however, I must express my deep regret that the deliberations of this Assembly on 30 September should have caused the declaration made by Mr. Pinay on behalf of the French Government [530th meeting]. I am sure we unanimously agree that the participation of France as one of the leading Powers in the United Nations General Assembly is of vital importance to this Organization, and I feel we all hope that an issue will soon be found to this abnormal situation.

27. As to the general debate that has been going on during the first two weeks of the session, I want to join in what seems to be a generally accepted view about the international situation. When the United Nations celebrated its tenth anniversary in San Francisco, many speakers referred with satisfaction to the marked trend towards a relaxation of tension in the international field.

28. Since then, important developments which are manifestations of the same trend have taken place. I am thinking, of course, of the Geneva meeting "at the summit". I am also referring to the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, at Geneva, which led to the unveiling of the enormous achievements in the peaceful fields of atomic science and atomic technology which so far had been kept as State secrets. Finally, I am thinking of the agreement recently concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland for the return to Finland of the Porkkala area, where the Soviet Union had established a naval base. As the representative of Sweden, I may be permitted to give expression here to the joy and satisfaction felt by the Swedish nation that our neighbour has been relieved of this foreign enclave on its territory through the generous relinquishment by the Government of the Soviet Union of the naval base long before the termination of the lease.

29. Now I should like first to deal with the plan to call a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.

30. There appears to be a wide-spread opinion against holding such a conference as early as next year. But it has been proposed that the General Assembly should decide in principle that a conference should be held, without now setting a specific date. This would be left to a future session of the Assembly, which might then call the conference in 1957, or even later.

31. This proposal would have much to commend itself if the Charter prescribed that amendments could be considered only every ten years. If that were the case, a decision in principle in 1955 to hold a conference might be necessary in order not to prevent the General Assembly from dealing with proposed amendments within the next ten years. But, as is well known, the situation is different. There is nothing in the Charter to prevent the General Assembly from considering proposed amendments at any time during the next few years. It therefore seems unnecessary now to take such a decision in principle, and then to implement it a few years later.

32. I permit myself to quote from an interim report by the Sub-Committee which was charged by the United States Senate to study the question of a review

of the United Nations Charter. This report reads in part as follows:

"The Sub-Committee notes that amendments to the Charter can be adopted at any time, not merely at a review conference. Furthermore, the process to be followed in either case is substantially the same. It is no easier to amend the Charter at a review conference than at any other time under the regular amending process contained in Article 108."

33. If I may then say a few words about the motives for a review conference, my impression is that the attention focuses upon the question of the veto. Now it is common knowledge that all the permanent members of the Security Council support the veto rule as regards questions of vital interest. I quote again from the report of the Sub-Committee just mentioned, which presumably represents a wide-spread opinion in the United States Senate:

"The United States, as a permanent member of the Security Council, therefore, cannot be bound by any Charter amendment unless it is acceptable to the President of the United States and approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The Sub-Committee believes that these requirements provide adequate safeguards against any amendment to the Charter, not compatible with the interests of the United States, which might originate at a review conference."

The veto right is thus labelled an adequate safeguard against such amendments to the Charter as would not be acceptable from the United States point of view.

34. Experience has shown that the veto has been frequently used when applications for membership have been dealt with. As my personal opinion, I would say that it would have been preferable that the General Assembly alone should decide on the admission of new Members. Now, however, we have the rule that the Security Council's opinion is required, and that the concurring votes of the permanent members of the Council are necessary for a positive decision. Thus the admission of new Members has hitherto been extremely difficult. By all appearances, however, the principle of universality will soon be accepted, and applied in practice. It may even be assumed that most of the States which still remain outside the United Nations will have been admitted to the Organization before a review conference has had time to meet. The question of the veto in the Security Council in so far as the admission of new Members is concerned will then have lost its practical importance.

35. It is easy to mention other stipulations of the Charter which my Government would wish to have framed in a more satisfactory way. We feel, for instance, that the right of veto of the great Powers is too extensive, because it applies also to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

36. But the deficiencies of the Charter should not be exaggerated. On the whole, in existing circumstances, the Charter is a good instrument — as I had occasion to state in greater detail during a previous general debate. With sufficient will to co-operate, the present Charter could function excellently. On the other hand, an increased will to co-operate can be created neither by amending the Charter nor by calling a review conference which adopts proposals that do not stand a chance of being ratified.

37. I mentioned the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Two important prob-

lems in this field will be dealt with at this session of the General Assembly.

38. One is the co-ordination of information relating to the effects of atomic radiation upon human health and safety. The Swedish Government received with great satisfaction the news that the Government of the United States had asked for the inclusion of this item in the agenda. Later, the Government of India put forward a similar request. The problem we have to face is the necessity not only of co-ordinating such information as is received from various countries, but also of analysing and evaluating the material, as well as of presenting the conclusions in readily accessible form. Considering in particular the concern felt both in scientific circles and among the public in regard to the risks for people's health, and also from a genetic point of view, it is of the highest importance that an unprejudiced scientific investigation take place as to the effects of the radiation caused by nuclear explosions.

39. The second problem in this field is the establishment of a body within the United Nations for the consideration of questions relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. I share the opinion expressed in this debate by the representative of Yugoslavia [522nd meeting], who emphasized that this body ought to be closely attached to the United Nations. Only in that way will the General Assembly have the necessary assurance that it will be able to keep the work of such a body under continuous observance. This is of importance because, for instance, of possible conflicting interests between producers and consumers. It is desirable that the General Assembly, which represents all the Member States, should be given the opportunity in such cases to issue the necessary directives.

40. Finally, a few words on disarmament. Public opinion in the world is aware that the positions taken on this question by the various Governments are on the move. The Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission is at present fully occupied. The four great Powers represented on the Sub-Committee have all contributed fresh approaches or new ideas.

41. The Soviet Union submitted certain interesting proposals on 10 May 1955 [A/2979]. At the "summit" conference at Geneva, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, presented his remarkable plan [DC/71, annex 17] for protection against surprise attacks. May I, in this connexion, express my sincere hope for the President's speedy recovery from his illness and emphasize the importance of his being able to continue his efforts aiming at the realization of the bold "Eisenhower plan". Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, presented his proposal [DC/71, annex 19] for regional agreements on the establishment of a continental zone in which armaments would be limited and subject to international supervision and control. The Prime Minister of France, Mr. Faure, put forward proposals [DC/71, annex 16] for the limitation of defence budgets and for the use of savings on defence appropriations for assistance to under-developed countries.

42. In recent years, we have grown accustomed to a permanent deadlock in the disarmament debate. This deadlock has at last been broken and the positions have drawn closer to each other.

43. It has been generally assumed that a report on the disarmament question would not be submitted to the General Assembly until the latter part of this session.

I wonder, however, whether the Sub-Committee could not consider publishing the texts of the proposals so far presented, and possibly also of the requests for clarification put to the sponsors of proposals and the replies of the latter. Such an interim document might, if found desirable, provide the basis for a preliminary debate in the First Committee of the General Assembly and, above all, would serve the purpose of supplying more ample information to the Governments not represented on the Sub-Committee and to the public.

44. Such a "white paper" published by the Sub-Committee would be of value also in that it would present a firmer basis for public debate in the various Member States. Both in the United States and in other countries, the view has been maintained, for instance, that a treaty on a general reduction of armaments is an unattainable goal. It has been said that the United Nations — and the sooner the better — ought to face realities and abandon the obsolete idea of general disarmament. In itself, there is naturally no harm in advancing and discussing such a point of view. But, if I mention it here, it is because it has been suggested that this point of view has found a certain support in the Sub-Committee. Presumably this rumour is without foundation. I refer to Mr. Dulles' emphatic declaration in his speech the other day [518th meeting] that the United States of America maintains as a goal a general agreement on disarmament. But the opinions just mentioned might contribute to creating confusion in the public debate.

45. Should we really separate with the explanation that after ten years of investigations and debates the problem has been found insoluble? Our generation has solved the problem of constructing the atomic bomb. How could we accept to capitulate before the difficulties we have to face when trying to control man's use of the bomb? I do not believe that such a defeatist attitude towards the problem of disarmament is politically possible.

46. Mr. ALI (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation views with profound regret and concern the absence of the French delegation from the General Assembly. We express hope for its return. Without the full participation of France in all the organs of the United Nations, this Organization will, we feel, be greatly handicapped in fulfilling its purposes. France, we sincerely believe, has a great contribution to make in this forum to the peace, security and progress of mankind.

47. This year, we are meeting in a more harmonious political climate than that which prevailed at many of our previous sessions. It is indeed encouraging that the four-Power Conference at Geneva should have brought about a definite measure of relaxation in international tension. We hope and pray that this new spirit of conciliation will extend to all nations and to all questions.

48. The United Nations can contribute significantly to this spirit of Geneva. Through our actions, this spirit may be endowed with substance and become an enduring reality. Let us be determined that it should permeate our deliberations on every issue, however much our points of view may differ. The application of this spirit can make this world forum in fact, as it is in name and purpose, an effective instrument for the achievement of peace and amity among the nations of the world.

49. Within the next few weeks, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union will meet at Geneva to consider out-



standing questions which have disturbed international relations during the last decade. Disarmament, the reunification of Germany, the security of Europe, the threat of international political subversion and other grave issues still await solution. The outcome of these efforts will be of the greatest importance to all of us, for we have a vital interest in the removal of causes which might spark a third world war, and in the attainment of a just and enduring peace.

50. A great deal has already been said about the stark and simple choice which confronts the United Nations in the nuclear age. If the present race in armaments, in the manufacture and stockpiling of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, continues unchecked, we may well pass the point of no return, to a war of annihilation in which will perish man and all his works. There will be no victor and no vanquished, no consummation of the ends of national greatness, gain or power.

51. The dawn of the nuclear age demands a radical reorientation of our outlook and a transvaluation of national and international values if good is to triumph over evil and life over death. The disarmament question must, therefore, be given the foremost priority by the Powers represented on the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission.

52. The Pakistan delegation was profoundly impressed by President Eisenhower's offer to exchange with the Soviet Union information on the military establishments of the two countries and facilities for unrestricted aerial reconnaissance over their respective territories. In our view, this is an unmistakable demonstration of the fact that the United States harbours no aggressive intentions against the Soviet Union. We express the hope that the current negotiations will lead to the acceptance of President Eisenhower's offer as the first great step forward in the progressive achievement of disarmament under a system of effective international inspection and control.

53. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Prime Minister of France in proposing that the savings resulting from a reduction in armaments should be earmarked for the purpose of assisting the underdeveloped countries in strengthening their economies. Nearly two-thirds of the human race are today living on the margin of subsistence and are a prey to unavoidable disease and ignorance. The diversion of resources from the production of weapons for man's destruction to his economic betterment would, in a great measure, enable this major segment of humanity to achieve that social progress and those better standards of life in larger freedom which are among the goals of our Charter. Improving the lot of these people will benefit all mankind. It will prove the wisest collective investment ever made. A city that is two-thirds slum is not a healthy city economically, culturally, socially or politically, and this is equally true of the world community.

54. The Chairman of the Soviet Union delegation, Mr. Molotov, affirmed, in the course of his address to this Assembly on 23 September [520th meeting], that regional security arrangements, like the South-East Asia Collective Security Treaty, constituted a direct danger to the security of the peoples of Asia and the Far East and to their national independence.

55. Such fears are totally baseless. There is certainly nothing in the Manila Treaty to justify any such apprehensions. A reference to the preamble to the Treaty

and the Pacific Charter should dispel any lingering doubts. I quote from the preamble:

"The parties to this Treaty,

"...

"Reaffirming that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities, desiring 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..."

The Pacific Charter reiterates these provisions of the preamble to the Treaty and further proclaims that, "to be worthy and effective", common action to maintain peace and security in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific "must be inspired by the highest principles of justice and liberty".

56. The people of Pakistan have known centuries of colonial rule. It is unthinkable that they would support any kind of arrangement which, directly or indirectly, might be exploited for the purpose of enslaving other peoples. If Pakistan had imagined for a moment that the Manila Treaty could be perverted to serve such ends, it would never have signed the Treaty, nor would it have become a party had not the pledge to uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples been solemnly proclaimed in the Pacific Charter and written into the preamble to the Treaty. Our stand on such questions in the United Nations and elsewhere is a matter of record and open to the scrutiny of the world.

57. The charge that pacts for regional defence constitute a direct danger to the security of other States is one with which the world has become familiar. Its repetition does not enhance its validity. It may not be altogether irrelevant to point out in this connexion that there has been in existence, since 1950, a treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union has also concluded agreements in the nature of military alliances with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, and these nations are also linked to one another by a series of bilateral agreements; the whole constituting a regional military combine of great potency.

58. The Manila Treaty threatens no nation and no people. It is not a treaty of aggression, but purely one of self-defence. It is based on the inherent right of every State to individual and collective self-defence under the rules of general international law recognized in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

59. At the Bandung Conference, I met with the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai. As a result of our talks, I believe that he was convinced that Pakistan had joined the Manila Treaty not with any aggressive intention against the People's Republic of China, but to safeguard the security of South-East Asia. The *communiqué* issued at the conclusion of the Conference, by unanimous agreement of all the twenty-nine participating States, including the People's Republic of China, expressly recognizes the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively.

60. The two parts of Pakistan are divided by over 1,000 miles of foreign territory. Pakistan has common frontiers with Iran, Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China, and also with India and Burma. We have thus a vital interest in the security of both the Middle East and South-East Asia. Hence our participation in the Manila Treaty and the Bandung resolutions.

61. In Bandung, last April, twenty-nine Asian and African nations met in conference to promote world peace and co-operation and also to consider certain political, economic and social problems of common interest. The sponsors of the conference were the Colombo Powers, namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. Prior to the conference, there was a certain degree of anxiety in some parts of the world as to the possible outcome of a meeting of so many nations which only a few years before had been subject to colonial domination. It was apprehended that the conference might set itself apart from the United Nations and so detract from the prestige and moral authority of that Organization. What was the actual result? Bandung belied those fears while exceeding the hopes of its sponsors. By demonstrating unanimous allegiance to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and endorsing recommendations of its various organs, Bandung enhanced the prestige and moral authority of the United Nations.

62. Bandung is an event in history, both in itself and for that which it achieved. Never before had so many countries of Asia and Africa come together in such a conclave. As many as thirteen of them had achieved their independence since the Second World War, and no fewer than fourteen were members of the great community of Islam. In area they comprised one-fourth of the land surface of the globe, and in population over half of mankind.

63. Apart from the unanimous recommendations which emerged from the week-long deliberations of the twenty-nine nations, the Bandung Conference contributed in no mean measure to the easing of tension in the Far East and to the promotion of greater understanding and goodwill among the nations of two continents.

64. One of the problems which is of special and continuing concern to the peoples of Asia and Africa is the struggle of dependent peoples for freedom. The Bandung Conference agreed in declaring that colonialism, in all its manifestations, was an evil which should be speedily and peacefully brought to an end. The Bandung Conference called for a change in the *status quo* in the relations between the subject peoples and their rulers.

65. In a recent address to the American Bar Association, President Eisenhower touched upon a similar theme, namely, the need for a change in the *status quo* in regard to captive peoples. There could be no true peace, he affirmed, if it involved the acceptance of such injustices. There must be a change, for change was a law of life, and unless there was peaceful change there was bound to be violent change. Is not this law applicable in all its fullness to the relations between the dependent peoples and those who exercise dominion over them?

66. At this stage, my delegation considers it appropriate to commend for the consideration of the General Assembly two specific recommendations of the Bandung Conference. The first relates to the admission of new Members to the United Nations, and the second to the

need for more adequate representation of Asian and African nations in the non-permanent seats of the Security Council, in conformity with the principle of equitable geographical representation.

67. For many years, a number of nations which fully satisfy the tests for membership set forth in the Charter have been seeking admission to this Organization, but unfortunately in vain. The Bandung Conference called upon the Security Council to support the application for admission of all those States which qualified for membership under the terms of the Charter, and specifically the following Asian and African countries which so qualified: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal and a unified Viet-Nam. My delegation, therefore, trusts that the Security Council will speedily recommend their admission, except in the case of Viet-Nam, which still awaits unification.

68. With reference to the question of the composition of the Security Council, the final *communiqué* of the Bandung Conference provides as follows:

"The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that, as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian and 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."

69. We are all aware that, under the understanding reached in London in 1946, the countries of South-East Asia and the Far East, comprising a vast land mass and inhabited by over 700 million people, are not adequately represented on the Security Council, for countries of this region which are members of the United Nations can hardly hope to be elected to this principal organ. Applications for admission from a number of other countries of the region are now pending. When admitted, these countries also will be precluded from serving on the Council. This situation is inequitable and needs early rectification through amendment of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

70. At this session, we are required to take a decision whether a general conference of the Member States of the United Nations should be convened for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. The Pakistan delegation does not believe that the Charter is a perfect instrument. There is, for example, the right of veto, which militates against the concept of the sovereign equality of States, one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations. But what is even more to be deplored is the manner in which this prerogative has been exercised in the history of the Organization. On the other hand, it would be unrealistic to believe that the ills which beset the Organization can be cured by merely altering its constitution. The causes of the *malaise* lie much deeper. Also, my delegation cannot but give expression to its sense of disappointment at the failure of the United Nations to implement its own resolutions relating to grave problems affecting international peace and security.

71. Until the basic antagonism between East and West is removed, we cannot expect the United Nations to become that potent instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security which the authors of the Charter intended it to be. Alterations in the funda-

mental provisions of the Charter must therefore await a more favourable international climate. Nevertheless, my delegation believes that amendments to the Charter designed to eliminate the power of veto in connexion with the admission of new Members, and to enlarge the non-permanent membership of the Security Council so as to give more adequate representation to certain regions in Asia and Africa, should be given urgent consideration. We trust that attempts in this direction will not be frustrated by a resort to the veto.

72. We would not, however, favour any increase in the number of permanent seats, for here it is not a question of a principle of the United Nations which is involved, namely, equitable geographical distribution of seats, but a question of doubtful fact, the recognition of great Power status. Enlargement of the number of permanent seats would result not only in a further derogation from the concept of sovereign equality, but would also add to the number of states enjoying the veto power in the Security Council.

73. Considering all the circumstances, my delegation finds itself in agreement with the proposal of the Secretary-General that the Assembly should decide at the present session in favour of a review conference, leaving open for the time being the question of when it should be convened [A/2911, p. xi].

74. Among the activities of the United Nations are its technical assistance programmes. These have been most helpful to the under-developed countries in providing the technological skills needed for economic development and the improvement of living conditions in these areas.

75. In the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Conference of the world's leading scientists held in Geneva last August is a historic landmark. The breaking down of the barriers of secrecy which it accomplished and the consequent free interchange of ideas and information which took place was one of the most valuable features of the Conference. The foundation for accelerated scientific progress in the sphere of atomic energy has been well and truly laid. It is evident beyond a doubt that a new industrial revolution, far greater in scope than the one which transformed society in the nineteenth century, is in the making, holding forth the promise of a more abundant life for thousands of millions of people all over the world.

76. The Conference also contributed to reducing international tension, and held out the hope that a shift in emphasis from war-like to peaceful utilization of atomic power might in itself become an important factor in lessening the danger of nuclear war.

77. The Pakistan delegation is heartened that negotiations are in progress for the creation of an International Atomic Energy Agency. In order to ensure that the beneficent activities of the agency encompass all the principal areas of the world, an adequate voice in the making of its policies and programmes must be given to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

78. The first decade of the United Nations has had its measure of achievements and of failures. The future holds both hope and fear. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the great task of strengthening this Organization, consecrated as it is to the eternal values and the highest aims of mankind.

79. Mr. KHOURI (Lebanon): We have gathered here this year with renewed hopes and revived faith in

the ability of this Organization to assist in solving international problems and improving world conditions. Several developments have taken place since the last session which have resulted in reducing world tensions and creating a favourable climate for dispelling fears and suspicion and encouraging mutual trust and confidence. This, we believe, will enable the United Nations to work in greater harmony and with more efficacy.

80. I shall not enumerate all the events which seem to have affected so favourably the currents of international life. Many representatives before me have dwelt abundantly on that matter. However, I feel it opportune to recall at least the Geneva Conference, which brought together for the first time since the end of the Second World War the responsible Heads of Government of the four big Powers in whose hands, primarily, lies the responsibility of promoting and safeguarding peace in the world. Nor can we omit mentioning the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, which proved that this tremendous force would be mostly used for the benefit of humanity and the well-being of mankind, dispelling the fears that it was doomed to serve as an instrument of destruction. We also note the Austrian State Treaty which has stabilized conditions in that especially delicate area where East and West come into contact.

81. All these events are significant manifestations of a new spirit arising in the world. We consider no less significant the tone used in the speeches made in this general debate, which is in striking contrast with the past.

82. It is in that same spirit, we believe, that another important event took place in the current year, namely, the Bandung Conference. Many might have regarded this Conference as a purely regional one concerned with purely regional problems, or as an attempt on the part of the Asian and African countries to group themselves in opposition to the rest of the world. This impression of the Bandung Conference, in which my country took part, is, in our opinion, completely erroneous.

83. Actually, the Bandung Conference was an expression of the desire of the peoples of Asia and Africa to participate actively in the solution of problems which are of common concern to all nations and, as such, was a new manifestation of the solidarity of mankind. What in reality took place at that Conference was a renewed endorsement of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, aimed at reactivating them and giving them a new impetus.

84. The recommendations of this Conference with regard to the right of self-determination of all peoples and nations, universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the elimination of racial discrimination, the principles necessary for the maintenance of peace, and the universality of the United Nations, as well as its recommendations concerning specific problems such as the Palestine question, the question of Aden and the protectorates, the question of West Irian and the questions relating to North Africa — all these recommendations were only made in an effort to help the United Nations in its endeavour to settle these issues.

85. Furthermore, the principles of economic and cultural co-operation established by the Conference show clearly that the peoples of Asia and Africa, while

undeniably striving to establish closer relations among themselves, are also eager to broaden these ties so as to embrace the whole world. Finally, the Bandung Conference recognized the need of the world today for coexistence, not in its accepted interpretation of peoples merely living and tolerating the lives of others, but in its real and more profound meaning of the need for peoples to live together in a more intense spiritual and material intercourse. This is the true meaning of peace; it is a positive and constructive reality and not a mere negation of war. We believe that this spirit of Bandung cannot have failed to contribute to the lessening of world tensions and to the emergence of the spirit under which we are starting our deliberations in this Assembly.

86. All these favourable conditions, which have brought about this atmosphere of confidence, tolerance, conciliation and understanding, will certainly be of great assistance to the Organization in its work. But, at the same time, they also constitute a challenge. It is a challenge because, in the past, it was always possible for the supporters of the United Nations to attribute many of its weaknesses or deficiencies to the then prevailing world tension and unfavourable international atmosphere. If it is true that present conditions are better, it follows that there will be less justification in the future for such failures or deficiencies, because the Organization will be working under the conditions which were in the minds of its founders when they drew up the Charter ten years ago. If, in these circumstances, the Organization should still fail to prove its efficacy, then it would be logical to believe that the weaknesses stem from the structure of the Charter itself.

87. In this latter case, a review of the Charter becomes imperative. The experience gained so far is not a proper indication of the inadequacy of the Charter to implement its aims, because the machinery of the Charter has functioned for the most part under adverse conditions. It appears to us, therefore, that a new chance should be given to the Organization to function under normal conditions before considering a review of its Charter. It should not be understood from this that we are opposed to the idea of deciding in principle to hold a conference to review the Charter. However, we believe that the date of such a conference should be left open for a future decision, bearing in mind that the Organization should be given sufficient time in these new and more favourable conditions to prove its efficacy.

88. The duty of the United Nations today is, therefore, to try with a new impulse and a new approach to solve the main problems still outstanding, problems whose solution might have been hindered in the past by the existing world tension and the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion.

89. Foremost among these is the problem of disarmament, which has remained static for several years and which should find a speedy and proper solution. We hope that those who are primarily concerned with this problem will find it possible to agree on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, including provisions for adequate control, which are in our view of paramount importance.

90. Similarly, the problem of the admission of new Members should find, under the new prevailing conditions, a long-awaited solution. This Organization is by its nature intended to be universal, and it cannot develop all its potentialities so long as universality has not been attained. We believe that all the countries qualified for membership should be admitted without delay, and

thus be permitted to contribute to the activities of the Organization. We will favour any proposal by which this could be achieved, provided it respects the principle of individual merit laid down in the Charter. This problem is of particular interest to us since there are two Arab countries — Jordan and Libya — which are qualified for membership and which we are anxious to see admitted. We are likewise in favour of the admission of a number of other States which possess the necessary qualifications for admission.

91. In the economic field, it is to be hoped that the new world political situation will favour the intensification of the activities of the United Nations for the development of the under-developed areas of the world and the strengthening of the programme of technical assistance. We would do well to start thinking of plans and schemes of development and assistance which could be implemented with funds made available by a massive reduction of armaments and with power derived from atomic energy. The Secretariat of the United Nations could, in our opinion, play a useful role in carrying out the preparatory work to that effect.

92. We entertain the same hope with regard to the activities of the United Nations in the social and cultural fields, and in particular in the field of human rights and freedom of information. My delegation, which played an important role in these activities, is convinced that the drafting of the two covenants on human rights and of the conventions on freedom of information was delayed because of the desire of many States not to yield some of the powers which they are eager to keep in a tense world situation. With the improvement which has come about in the world situation, a new effort deployed with a greater degree of sincerity and goodwill could, we believe, lead to agreement on these documents.

93. Let us now turn our attention to other problems of less universal character, but by no means of less importance. Here again, we believe that the new political climate should contribute to their early and just solution.

94. I am thinking, first of all, of the tragic problem of Palestine, which continues to be the overriding concern of the peoples and Governments of the Arab world and the centre of their preoccupation and worries. We believe that this Organization will gain in prestige and authority as its efficacy increases in the improved world situation. Consequently its decisions and recommendations will bear more weight and command more respect. At the same time, the stronger feeling of security which the new world situation brings with it will result in a sharper sense of justice and fairness within this Organization.

95. These two factors could lead to the solution of the Palestine problem if a real, sincere and determined effort is made to exert due pressure on the Israel authorities to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly and to respond to the requirements of justice and fairness. This is the only ground on which any hopes for the settlement of a painful and explosive situation in the Middle East could be built.

96. We had thought that Mr. Hammarskjöld, in the valuable report which he has submitted to this Assembly, would not contemplate, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, any other "basis" for the solution of this problem. We had also hoped that the Secretary-General would fulfil what we consider to be his duty in recalling that "basis" to those who seem to forget it.



I must confess, unfortunately, that we have been disappointed by the views he has expressed on the matter in the introduction to his annual report. The Secretary-General says:

"It should be one of the principal objectives of the United Nations in the coming year so to influence conditions in the area as to create a basis on which the parties may find it possible to consider a more lasting settlement" [A/2911, page xiii].

97. As Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Hammarskjöld could not and should not, I submit, think of any other basis than the existing resolutions of the General Assembly. I hope I have not misinterpreted his words. He may well have intended to mean that the "conditions in the area" to be influenced are the hearts and minds of the Israelis; if such is the case, we owe him an apology, but still would wish him to say it more clearly and unequivocally.

98. With regard to the problem of the Arab refugees, we were heartened to see Mr. Hammarskjöld reaffirm with the following words — which he wrote with sincerity and anxiety — the responsibility of the Organization and its Member States as to the fate of the refugees: "The fate of the Palestine refugees has been far too long upon our conscience" [*ibid.*]. The responsibility of the United Nations to which he refers consists, we believe, not only in having created the problem of refugees, but also in having failed to exert the necessary pressure on the Israelis to submit to the solution recommended by the General Assembly.

99. We fail, however, to understand the attitude of the Secretary-General when, in an effort to find at least a partial solution to that problem, he thinks only of the Jordan River project and does not mention the repatriation of those refugees desiring to return to their homes. We submit that, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld should have pointed out this principle which was proclaimed and has often been reaffirmed by the General Assembly.

100. I come now to the problem of North Africa. We note with satisfaction the efforts made by France in finding a solution to the problem of Tunisia and trust that its endeavours to solve the Moroccan problem will be crowned with success. As for the problem of Algeria, we think that its inscription on the agenda of the present session will prepare the ground for a favourable solution.

101. In this connexion, I should like to express the hope that the intentions of the Asian-African countries in requesting the discussion of these North African problems by the United Nations will be well understood and appreciated. This request cannot stem from any desire on the part of any of the fourteen sponsoring Governments to profit by the emancipation of these countries. Furthermore, none of them has any interest in creating trouble in or disturbing the peace of that area. Nor is it their intention to antagonize France, for all of them entertain friendly relations with France.

102. The request stems first and foremost from their conviction that the peoples of North Africa, whatever their legal status, have the right to self-determination and should enjoy this right for their own benefit, for the sake of justice and in the interest of international co-operation and peace; it also stems from the fact that the fourteen sponsoring States, having closer affinities with the peoples of North Africa, are in a better position than others to know and understand the real feeling of the peoples of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, their

growing consciousness as national entities and their eagerness to decide by themselves, and in freedom, their own fate and destiny. Therefore the sponsoring States realize more clearly than others that repression and the use of force can only make the situation much worse. By bringing these questions to the United Nations, their aim is only to facilitate the finding of a peaceful solution thereto.

103. We trust and hope that France and its supporters will view our purposes and intentions in their true perspective. We are sorry that our action has been misunderstood by the French delegation, and regret that delegation's absence from this Assembly.

104. It is in the same spirit that the Asian-African countries have also requested the inscription of the West Irian question on the agenda of the present session. As long as the Netherlands authorities refuse to enter into negotiations with the Indonesian Government, we feel there is no other course we can follow but to ask this Assembly to call for such negotiations. We hope that this will facilitate a just solution of this problem.

105. Finally, my delegation has constantly joined the Asian-African countries in sponsoring resolutions regarding the questions of the treatment of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa and of racial discrimination in that State. These items are on our agenda again this year. We hope that the Government of the Union of South Africa, having sought in vain the protection of paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter, will, this time, put aside this feeble shield and come forward before the Assembly to discuss with us the substance of the matter. I am convinced that many delegations here — and my delegation is among them — appreciate the difficulties which confront the Union of South Africa with its manifold populations. We sincerely wish that the South African delegation would expound these difficulties before us, and are confident that the United Nations will find a fair and just solution to that problem.

106. The improvement which we now witness in the world situation — and which we hope will continue — will, I trust, have its effects on the manner in which the purposes and principles of the Charter are applied. It is our deep conviction that all these, and other, problems could be solved if only the United Nations would sincerely abide by the principles and purposes of its Charter, which was established to guide the policies of the States and not to serve the egotistical interests of its Members. We are also sure that the Organization will fulfil its mission when these principles and purposes are no longer applied to suit the policies and interest of this or that State, but, on the contrary, when Member States mould their policies on the principles of the Charter.

107. Mr. PLATE (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): Before I begin my statement, I should like first of all to express my delegation's pleasure at the election as President of this august Assembly of an eminent public figure from our sister republic of Chile, Mr. Maza. I should also like to express our best wishes for the rapid recovery of the President of the United States of America, Mr. Eisenhower.

108. In addressing this tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of the Argentine Republic, let me say at once that the people of my country are most gratified at the emergence of a new spirit of harmony and understanding in international relations.

The pessimism with which we formerly watched the course of these relations is now happily being dissipated by events such as the Geneva and Bandung Conferences, which we hope mark the beginning of a new era in international affairs. I sincerely trust that now the world will find the road to peace, all private and local interests being subordinated to the cause of universal understanding. My Government is ready to do all in its power to contribute to this end.

109. Perhaps at this point I may be allowed to make a digression which I think will answer some of the questions which have understandably exercised public opinion in the countries represented here. I wish to speak about the political situation in Argentina.

110. Although history has already given its sanction to the principles governing our international policy, it is fitting that I should restate them before this Assembly, to show that the fundamental and permanent policy of my country remains unchanged, and has indeed taken on an even more liberal and generous character at this time, when our feet are once more firmly set on the path of law, justice and human freedom. The people of Argentina have shown that they are able to risk their lives rather than live without honour and freedom.

111. The provisional Government of General Lonardi guarantees respect for the human person, freedom and the rule of law, in accordance with the true feelings of the Argentine people. It therefore declared, clearly and emphatically, from the very outset, that the Argentine nation would scrupulously fulfil all its international commitments, that it would promote friendly relations with all countries throughout the world, especially with its sister nations of the American continent, and that it offered its unconditional support to all peoples ranged in defence of the principles of liberty, which are the heritage of our Western world, without excluding those who are struggling to maintain similar principles anywhere else in the world. One of the corollaries of these principles is that liberty, that noble ideal which we never abandoned, implies an effective guarantee of the rights which make its exercise possible, among them freedom of religion, freedom of the Press and freedom of association and assembly.

112. I claim for my country the unqualified confidence of all free peoples on the grounds of its clear record of honourable conduct, of the respect for law which has been an invariable feature of Argentina's foreign policy from the very beginnings of our nation, and of the complete good faith in international dealings which has always been characteristic of my country, so much so that Argentina is now without question the champion of every noble cause throughout the world.

113. The Argentine Government, with the genuine and sovereign support of the people, is at pains to re-establish this international confidence; and our past history, known the world over, gives us the right to give this assurance in this world forum, in the confident knowledge of the respect we have earned by our unsullied international conduct, from which we have never wavered, in defence of fundamental human rights. This confidence has been generously confirmed by the spontaneous manner in which practically every nation of the world has recognized our new Government, which faithfully reflects the traditions characterizing and inspiring the Argentine nation.

114. Before stating its views on the various items on the agenda for this session, my delegation would like

to refer to the position it has always upheld on one particular point, and which was most clearly expressed at the Tenth Inter-American Conference held in Caracas in 1954. At that Conference it was stated that the peoples of America were determined to eliminate colonialism completely, as well as the occupation of American territories by non-American Powers. Argentina's position on this point applies also to the American Antarctic territories which, as a result of scientific and technical advances, have now become regions of special importance. In this matter, the Argentine Republic confidently relies on the principles of international justice and law which govern political coexistence and respect for territorial integrity.

115. The proposal for the inclusion of certain items in the agenda of this Assembly has given rise to heated debate, and it has even been suggested that a generous policy with regard to the inclusion of items put forward by Members might jeopardize the very existence of the United Nations.

116. In the controversial cases of Cyprus and Algeria, the Argentine Republic voted in favour of their inclusion in the Assembly's agenda. I shall not at this point elaborate on the legal interpretation of the text of the Charter on which our vote is based; but I feel it desirable to make certain points which I think are important in clarifying the stand taken by Argentina during the discussions which have taken place.

117. In the first place, I should like to say that, when the alternative is put, whether it is advisable for certain matters to be discussed publicly here in the Assembly, or whether it would be preferable to try to settle them in a more discreet way through ordinary diplomacy, my delegation is decidedly in favour of the former course. For surely the aim of the United Nations is precisely to establish better understanding and closer relations between peoples, and one of the best ways of achieving this is to bring them together here, so that they can work in concert for the solution of problems which may affect their future and the maintenance of international peace and security. Senator Vandenberg put it in a nutshell when, in his now famous phrase, he called the United Nations "the town meeting of the world". This idea would seem to imply a form of public diplomacy contrasting with the secret diplomacy which has been the rule hitherto.

118. If anything weakens the Organization, it is just this — the removal from its cognizance of problems which can be discussed under the terms of the Charter itself. It was for this that we created the United Nations and hence we must firmly oppose any restriction of its competence. Otherwise, we might sap the vitality of the United Nations, or even deal it a death blow. But again I must emphasize that any such discussion must be conducted on the basis of good faith on either side, which implies understanding and friendliness on the part of States. We should all be ready to seek the best solution — within the realms of possibility — for each case that arises, since diplomacy is, so to speak, the science of facts and the art of the possible.

119. My country advocates an equally liberal policy in regard to the admission of new Members to the United Nations, on the grounds that the broad and unrestricted application of Article 4 of the Charter cannot fail to be helpful in achieving the aims of the Charter.

120. In this connexion, I should like to refer to a case which, for reasons both of history and sentiment, is of special concern to Argentina. While in principle we endorse the support given by the USSR to sixteen States which have not yet been admitted to the United Nations, we ask you to consider how incongruous it would be for the Security Council not to recommend the admission of a nation like Spain, the motherland of America, the history of whose civilization has been marked by the most admirable achievements in the fields of religion, art, science, discovery, and indeed in every important field of human endeavour. If the only qualification for membership of this Organization is to be peace-loving, I am sure that no Power would venture to use its veto against Spain, the cradle of an ancient culture of which we today are the direct heirs.

121. My country regards the question of reduction of armaments as a matter of vital importance to all mankind. If the vast sums now being spent on armaments by the great Powers could be used for economic and social development programmes, it would mean a substantial contribution to the well-being of mankind. For this reason, I should like here and now to pledge our agreement to any constructive programme to this end, and I sincerely hope that the discussions now taking place in the Disarmament Commission, as well as those to be held at Geneva, will make it possible for this Assembly to achieve tangible results.

122. With regard to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, I should like to convey the congratulations of the Argentine Government on the recent United Nations Conference on that subject convened on the United States Government's initiative, and on the admirable way in which the Conference was organized by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Argentine Government is most anxious that in the near future this stupendous source of energy should be placed once and for all at the service of humanity instead of hanging like the sword of Damocles over the very prospect of human survival.

123. These ten years during which the United Nations has been in existence, while they have been marked by slow but sure progress towards international stability, have undoubtedly revealed defects, some important, others insignificant, in the structure and functioning of our Organization. The Argentine Government realizes that this is quite natural in any constitutional body, and therefore feels that an effort should be made to adapt the Organization to the new claims of a world which has undergone marked change in the short time since the San Francisco Conference was held. But as with any constitutional revision, we must await the opportune moment and the circumstances in which modifications will be acceptable and appropriate.

124. Meanwhile, it may not come amiss to recall what Mr. MacMillan, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said [529th meeting] with reference to the Geneva Conference, that the same words are often used to mean different things. We would add that what matters is that we should reach agreement, not on the letter of the texts which govern our action, but on the spirit underlying those texts.

125. At the same time, whether these ideas are shared by the majority or not, it is clear that the Charter can and should be thoroughly studied in the utmost detail with a view to perfecting it as much as possible. Perhaps we should add that any revision of the Charter must of course keep strictly intact the great fundamental prin-

ciples set forth in the preamble for, as Grotius so well put it, fidelity to its word is the basic principle not only of each individual State, but of the great community of nations as a whole.

126. It is more or less unanimously agreed that the world economy during the last few years, in spite of its ups and downs, has on the whole developed favourably. At the same time, it is also recognized that this development has not been homogeneous.

127. The most striking and significant features of the upswing are to be found mainly in the industrially more highly developed countries of North America and Western Europe. In contrast, while the countries belonging to the less developed regions throughout the world, where the bulk of the world's population is to be found, have also made notable progress, their rate of progress has been far slower, so that there is an ever-widening gap between the volume of economic activity in the more highly developed countries and in the less developed countries. This has aggravated instead of relieving the lack of balance in the international economic structure.

128. Without going more deeply into past history, we feel that at the present time we are faced with a new problem which strikes us as highly important. In our view, it is essential to the expansion of the world economy that its structural deficiencies should be remedied and its foundations strengthened so as to ensure a sound dynamic balance.

129. The Argentine Republic has developed its economy essentially on the basis of its own efforts and resources. Today more than ever, therefore, we feel we must stress the fundamental responsibility of each country for its own economic development.

130. We feel, too, that countries which are in the process of development must give adequate, palpable evidence of their ability and willingness to promote that development, and make every effort to use all their productive resources in the most efficient manner possible. There is no denying that economic development implies certain prerequisites, without which no effort can bear fruit, namely, a clear sense of responsibility and a complete willingness to work on the part of every citizen. At the same time, there must be an honest and efficient public administration.

131. Even where those conditions are fulfilled, of course, the underdeveloped countries will still have to rely to a considerable extent on the international co-operation of the more highly developed countries, their initiative and their understanding. If the countries in process of development had to rely solely on their own resources then, at best, their advance would be too slow to ensure the attainment of a reasonably even balance. The recent easing of international tension opens up vast possibilities and raises great hopes for international co-operation in the field of economic progress.

132. In our view, the United Nations should assume the paramount responsibility for promoting an international economic system based on justice. We also believe that there can be no healthy international economy until the national economies have first achieved a sufficiently sound basis. For this reason, we feel that the problems of international trade deserve the utmost attention from the organs of the United Nations.

133. For the past ten years, we have been witnessing a series of attempts to re-establish a system of multi-lateral trade and to promote its expansion in a balanced

manner. The problems still outstanding are extraordinarily complex, and the attempts made so far to arrive at a solution of some sort have either failed or have yielded meagre results. Of all the schemes put forward within the United Nations since the war, perhaps the most signal failure in the field of trade has been that of the Havana Charter, which in its turn largely inspired the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

134. We attribute the failure of the Havana Charter and the difficulties encountered by GATT to the fact that, in the world today, the necessary conditions are not forthcoming to enable an international organization to impose contractual obligations which ensure the elasticity vital to the trade policy of individual countries. This is especially clear if we bear in mind the great variety of ways in which the various States depend on international trade for their stability and economic development. But at the same time it is not right that, in such a vital matter as this, the instrument should be lacking which would make it possible to take a comprehensive view of trade problems and to discuss the best way of directing the efforts of each country for the benefit of all.

135. Hence the Argentine Government considers it essential that within the United Nations there should be adequate organs and machinery for thorough discussion and analysis of the tendencies of international trade, and for the study of the most suitable ways and means of finding solutions for the benefit of all.

136. The same applies to the question of basic commodities. In international trade, the trade in basic commodities is a definitely critical sector, first of all because of its importance, and secondly owing to the fluctuations attending it, which affect not only the producing countries vitally dependent upon such trade, but in a very serious way the industrial countries which in general are large-scale importers of basic commodities. For this reason, we attach great importance to the current international action to study this problem, especially in the United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade, and in the appropriate organs of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

137. Without prejudice to the over-all study of international trade, we attach great importance to the study of regional trade problems. The important part played by trade in the recovery of Western European economy is no indication that Europe's experience should weigh heavily in the study of the problems of other regions, particularly those of Latin America. Hence we regard as highly important the studies carried out at the Meeting of Ministers of Finance or Economy of the American States held at Rio de Janeiro in November 1954 and, secondly, by the Economic Commission for Latin America.

138. The question of the international financing of economic development programmes is also a matter of great moment. Ever since the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established, there has been evidence of great progress in the granting of international credits. During the last few years, there has been a very healthy trend towards promoting the movement of private capital for financing economic development. Any increase in this trend will depend upon the joint efforts made by the capital-investing countries and the countries which need capital for their development. We are confident that regular co-operation and mutual understanding will further accentuate this healthy trend.

139. Without pretending to lay down a universal rule, the Argentine Government affirms its belief and its confidence in private enterprise as the most effective factor in economic development and social progress. Consequently, no effort should be spared to ensure that international economic co-operation is directed in accordance with these principles.

140. With regard to the noteworthy progress made in the studies carried out by the United Nations, the Argentine Republic would like to express its appreciation of the benefits they have brought, especially in the economic, legal and social fields. These achievements have a direct influence on intellectual circles in the various countries, which have grown to seek their inspiration in the general trends revealed by the brilliant teams of experts working for the United Nations.

141. Human rights, as now being crystallized in practical schemes, declarations and enlightened debates, embody true ideals which it is hoped will be applied in every country. These rights were recognized in the Argentine Republic from the very dawn of our national life:

142. I should like also to refer to the importance attached by the Argentine delegation to the reorganization of the Secretariat and the economies which have been effected, and to point out the necessity for a realistic and discerning policy, so as to ensure that objectives which we regard as vital to the purposes of the United Nations are not jeopardized.

143. The delegation of the Argentine Republic would like once again, with the help of Divine Providence, to pledge its enthusiastic co-operation in the cause of maintaining peace, perfecting the international system and promoting the advancement of peoples and of the human person; and to express its sincerest wishes for the success of the work of this tenth session of the General Assembly, which opens in such auspicious circumstances.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*