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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ELEVENTH SESSION

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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. CASEY (AUSTRALIA), MR. MARTÍN ARTAJO (SPAIN), MR. MARTINO (ITALY), MR. KARAMANLIS (GREECE), MR. OLIVIERI (ARGENTINA) AND MR. MACDONALD (NEW ZEALAND)

1. Mr. CASEY (Australia): First of all, may I offer the warm congratulations of the Australian delegation to the President on his election. We from Australia are familiar with his work as the distinguished Foreign Minister of Thailand, one of Australia's closest friends and neighbours. Our two countries co-operate closely in a number of regional organizations in South-East Asia. As President of the General Assembly, Prince Wan Waithayakon will bring further credit to himself and to his country. To the former President, Señor Maza of Chile, we extend our thanks. The Australian delegation is happy to have served under him.

2. We meet under circumstances that make it difficult to speak of anything much other than the two big issues dominating the world situation: the urgent need to find a solution to the critical problems in the Middle East, and the tragic situation in Hungary.

3. Of the Middle East situation, it is essential to try to see things in perspective. It is clearly wrong to judge any one particular international incident by itself and to ignore all that preceded it. To use an analogy, when one man assaults another, there is usually something that went before. When the alleged aggressor comes before a magistrate, evidence is collected to establish the background, as to whether there was provocation and, if so, the nature of it, and whether or not the alleged aggressor was justified in taking the law into his own hands, for instance by reason of the police being either absent or unable to provide the necessary protection. This analogy is relevant to our consideration of the Middle East situation.

4. Do not let us lose sight of the real origin of all the strife of recent weeks. That origin was the arbitrary, unilateral and abrupt seizure of the Suez Canal by President Nasser. Until that day, 26 July, the Middle East,

though unsettled, still presented a manageable situation in which any local violence or fighting could be restrained or kept localized. I do not want to argue here whether President Nasser had a legal right to nationalize the Canal, although the Australian view on this has already been clearly and publicly stated. It is undoubted that, irrespective of the rights of national sovereignty, Egypt was a party to international undertakings which, to say the least, should have inhibited an arbitrary, unilateral act of nationalization without any prior consultation with other countries with important interests in this great international waterway. Was it not reasonable to expect that, if Egypt wished to revise its position in relation to the Suez Canal, an action fraught with such wide international implications, it would at least have consulted in advance with other countries, that it would have seen that Egypt's national interests, however interpreted, had to be fitted in and asserted in a way that took account of other interests and rights already existing in the area?

5. Just picture the situation in the Middle East as it was a few short months ago. There was the Suez Canal, which was so vital a part of the economic life stream of more than half the countries of the world. There were many vital national interests centred in the Middle East. There were many persistent causes of difference between Israel and neighbouring States: the absence of a peace settlement; the Egyptian blockade of Israel shipping and cargoes through the Suez Canal; the long continued Egyptian commando operations into Israel. There is such a thing as a slow motion aggression that is never quite recognized as the real thing but which can build up to what becomes uncontrollable proportions.

6. It would be utterly wrong to picture President Nasser as a man who had been walking along quietly, minding his own business, when suddenly somebody hit him. The plain fact of the matter is that it was Egypt that upset the balance in the Middle East without any prior consultation with other countries in the region or with others having interests in the region.

7. In short, a delicate and sensitive balance of interests was violently upset in the Middle East by the action of President Nasser. No reasonable person could have objected if Egypt had asked for reconstruction of the Canal arrangements if it considered them unsatisfactory; but no such approach was ever made. Most Governments read of the act of nationalization for the first time in the newspapers. It was this unilateral and violent upsetting by Egypt of working and generally accepted arrangements that has led in due course to the recent fighting. In other words, there was a great deal of dry tinder lying around, into which President Nasser threw a lighted match.

8. Before I speak of the longer-term objectives in the Middle East, let me say something about the immediate situation which is still critical and which could still flare up again at any moment. It is plainly most urgent that all haggling over the admission of the United Nations

Emergency Force should cease and that the Force should take up its duties at once and in such numbers that it inspires confidence and creates some stability in the area. It seems to me quite absurd that there should be a long argument about what contingents are acceptable and what are not acceptable. Such objections, if pursued, make a farce of the very idea of a United Nations operation and a United Nations Force.

9. There is also the deplorable situation of the Canal itself. It has been wantonly blocked. It must be quickly cleared. Are objections, similar to those which Egypt has raised about the composition of the Force, to be raised about the clearing operation? If so, those who welcomed the overthrow of international control of the Canal and the assumption of exclusive responsibility by Egypt now have an excellent example of what this means in terms of the interests of the world community at large. First, Egypt sabotages the Canal as an act of spite, not an act dictated by the needs of war, and then it makes difficulties over its clearance in the shortest possible time. This is something which the United Nations must not accept. We must insist on the most rapid clearance possible, so as to limit the vast economic loss that is being borne by half the countries of the world, including my own country.

10. At the same time, we must get the United Nations Emergency Force performing the function for which it was intended; otherwise we risk a possible recrudescence of fighting in the area. Passions are still high, and there must be created what is in effect a demilitarized zone between Egypt and Israel, which it will be the particular function of the United Nations Emergency Force to achieve.

11. So far as Suez is concerned, it is easy to castigate the United Kingdom and France for their action if one comfortably ignores the fact that such action was the lesser of two evils. When the Israel invasion of Sinai occurred, something had to be done quickly and in a practical way. The prospect was that the Suez Canal area would be a continuing area of armed conflict, which would have stopped Suez Canal traffic indefinitely and for which there was no reasonable prospect of practical United Nations remedy. As has been pointed out from the start, the Anglo-French intervention had limited aims. We should now move on rapidly to the next stage—the placing in position of the United Nations Emergency Force and the cleaning up, under United Nations auspices, of the sources of the trouble, namely, the Egyptian-Israeli relationship and the problem of the Suez Canal.

12. If we shirk this, or if we half do it, then the world will almost inevitably face the prospect of another crisis—and the world and the United Nations cannot stand another shock of this prospective magnitude.

13. One lesson of all this is that our machinery for maintaining international stability in the Middle East—and probably elsewhere—was defective and that, if peace is now to be preserved, we must try to evolve machinery that is more in line with realities. But machinery is not the whole answer; it is not even at the real root of the problem. Many of our troubles in the Middle East stem from the refusal of Egypt and others to recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist.

14. As regards the Suez Canal, the main purposes that the great body of international users of the Canal seek to achieve, in the interests of freedom of world trade, are these: internationally guaranteed freedom of passage without discrimination; fair cost of transit through the Canal; proper provision for maintenance and expansion

of the Canal; and its insulation from any national political interests.

15. There can be no substantial argument in the mouth of any country against these principles. They contain nothing that is inconsistent with the legitimate expression of Egyptian sovereignty. The problem is clear-cut and urgent. The United States has covered these principles in a draft resolution which I expect will be before us very shortly.

16. In respect of the slightly longer-range problems, I believe that at this time we must again in this Assembly examine the decisions that we took when the State of Israel was established pursuant to a resolution [181 (II)] of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947. To avoid a continually running sore, we have to work to ensure that the continued existence of Israel is an accepted thing in the area. To attempt anything less would be to deny one of the facts of international life, which would be sure to boomerang on us in the future.

17. Israel and the Arab States at present look like irreconcilable entities. If they are to be brought together, the only way will be to work by stages—one step at a time. In any case, it seems to me that an essential preliminary to any reconciliation would be for this Assembly to seize this opportunity of examining the whole situation in the Middle East and to work out the main lines of a new settlement on the basis of what seems to be fair and right. We know very well that any such settlement would not be anything like 100 per cent acceptable to everybody, but we cannot let a search for an obviously unattainable best be the enemy of the good. This operation would entail an examination of the original arrangements approved for the establishment of Israel and the directions in which these arrangements have not been carried out. In this we have to have in mind the politically practicable which will be some way short of the ideal, we may be sure.

18. I believe that an important part of our duty at this present Assembly is to insist on watertight arrangements for the physical security of the countries concerned in the Arab-Israeli dispute. Only when both sides are convinced that there is nothing to hope for or to fear from the use of force, will they be prepared to make a real peace. As an immediate measure, I think that the expansion this year of the United Nations observer group under General Burns was a good move. I would like to see more widespread use of United Nations observers and their complete acceptance by each side. We might also well consider the establishment of adequate demilitarized zones in all the areas of particular tension.

19. The two problems—the Palestine question and the economic development and well-being of all the peoples of the region—have been considered exhaustively inside and outside the United Nations for several years, and many countries have made strenuous efforts to help bring about a settlement, and yet comparatively little, if any, real progress has been made. We must make quicker and better progress, and we must regard the latest flareup in the Middle East as being not a deterrent to such work, but a warning against the perils of failure to make progress, and as a spur to further efforts.

20. I do not see how economic welfare and political contentment can be achieved in the Arab States while the very large body of nearly a million Arab refugees from Palestine remains unsettled and unsatisfied. Nor do I see how there can be real economic advancement in the area until, where appropriate, more of the resources of the region—such as the Jordan River—can be used to

the advantage of several States. To achieve these purposes Israel must make a contribution; the Arab States must make a contribution; and countries outside the area must make a contribution.

21. Up to now we have had a series of piecemeal approaches and nobody could pretend that we have achieved much more than a series of unsatisfactory palliatives. So far little progress seems to have been made in achieving a permanent and firm settlement of the refugee problem. This basic aspect of the question of the resettlement of the Arab refugees, as distinct from their mere maintenance—keeping them alive—has to be tackled as part of a comprehensive approach to the region. Even Australia, a geographically very distant country, has contributed nearly \$1,250,000 towards the maintenance—the keeping alive—of the Arab refugees. In such a comprehensive approach, perhaps we should remember that the original idea for the partition of Palestine envisaged an economic union: is it entirely fantastic to hope for some form of economic association of the Middle East States, which could open the door to substantial economic aid from abroad, which present discord and conflict is making impossible?

22. I hope that before the present session of the General Assembly adjourns some real progress will have been made in approaching these basic, region-wide problems. At the recent emergency session of the General Assembly the United States introduced a resolution [A/3272] pointing in this direction—establishing a committee to make recommendations to the parties or the United Nations for a settlement of outstanding problems, and asking the Secretary-General to continue his good offices with the parties. I know that this may be a controversial question, but it is precisely because it is controversial and involves so many fundamental differences that it is urgent for us to tackle it. I hope that the Assembly will support something in the spirit of this American approach, which will offer a hope of a lasting and just settlement of the problems of the Middle East.

23. From a practical point of view, I would believe that we are unlikely to reach any practicable, workable solution of Egyptian-Israel relations in other than a small body. Indeed I would not be without hope that the two parties principal might be brought into direct contact, with the aid of a small committee of this Assembly in association with the Secretary-General.

24. Now on another subject. A most important matter in the Middle East situation is the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States. This relationship is not something that concerns these two countries alone. It is of world-wide importance that there should be the most confident and unshakeable trust between these two great democratic countries. Any disturbance of this intimate relationship must rapidly be bridged. This is of urgent and crucial importance to 90 per cent of the countries represented here, including of course my own country Australia.

25. I would like to turn now, if I may, to other matters connected with this present Assembly. First of all it is good to see so many Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers leading their respective delegations this year. The value of close personal relations is undoubted between responsible persons in various countries, many of whom are dangerously ignorant of each other and of each other's countries. By no means the least part of the value of the United Nations Assembly is the opportunity for us all to meet and to mix and to discuss privately. Personal contact is a considerable solvent.

26. On still another question. More than ever before it is the result of our debates which counts, not the debate itself. The experience of the past leads me to say that I hope we shall be able to curtail the tendencies which have grown in recent years for the Assembly to interfere more and more in what might be called in plain terms, other people's business.

27. For my part, I do not come to the Assembly to inject Australia into what may reasonably be held to be essentially domestic and regional interests of countries sometimes half the world away from us. I think we would get on with our work far better if countries concerned themselves less here with matters of which they have no first-hand knowledge and in which, frequently, they have no direct and immediate interest.

28. I believe it would be a very good thing if there were more decentralization and specialization in the work of the General Assembly, particularly in the political field. To do this effectively would probably involve the elaboration of new techniques, such as, for example, the establishment of sub-committees comprising specially interested Member States to report to main committees on particular problems.

29. I think there is a great deal to be said for having those primarily acquainted with a problem and primarily concerned with its solution sitting down together to discuss it; at least in such circumstances one might have a chance of a solution which dealt with the real facts of a situation as they impinged upon the countries principally interested.

30. What I say is particularly relevant, of course, to the new type of item which seems to be becoming more popular in the General Assembly—problems, one might call them, of acquisitiveness in which one Member State says in effect to the Assembly, "I want a piece of territory which at present is attached to another Member State. I want to ask the Assembly's moral support in furthering my claim."

31. The present philosophy in the General Assembly is based on the assumption that if enough people get round a table and talk about a particular problem—even though they may know little about it and are almost wholly unaffected by it—a solution will be forthcoming. We are all in favour of having full, free and frank discussion of problems which are legitimately brought before the United Nations, but the trouble is that, in the circumstances of the General Assembly, one does not get full, free and frank discussion. As I see it there are three pre-conditions for any chance of success of a conference to solve international problems. First, there must be understanding of the problem; second, there must be good faith; and, third, there must not be irreconcilable national interests.

32. Very often in the General Assembly there are national interests which are completely irreconcilable. This is particularly the case when territorial claims are made, no matter how specious the guise under which these claims are presented—the most popular here being the magic words "self-determination" and "anti-colonialism". But take off the wraps, take off the disguises, and you will often find a barefaced national interest. It is surprising that in cases where anti-colonialism is invoked to justify claims, too little account is taken in most cases of the provisions of the Charter which safeguard the interests of the indigenous inhabitants.

33. The provisions of the Charter on colonial matters were drawn up primarily to safeguard the interests of dependent peoples against abuse by the sovereign Power

concerned. There is also the important point that peoples which are for the time being dependent should be protected from becoming pawns in international conflicts for control over the colonial territories themselves. The Assembly should encourage the emergence of all lands and peoples to or towards self-government or independence and thus bring colonial rule—even in its modern and enlightened form—in due course to an end. But it would be disastrous to our purposes if, in the name of ending colonialism, we encouraged the development of new colonial aspirations and withdrew from the dependent peoples the Charter safeguards assuring them a free life in the years to come. In short, the Charter was designed to bring colonialism to an end by fair and orderly means and bearing the interests of the dependent peoples in mind. The Charter provisions should have ended all new claims to colonial territories by other sovereign Powers.

34. The past year has brought many changes in the over-all international situation. A year ago, at the General Assembly, I ventured to speak about peaceful co-existence and the conditions under which it might be possible. Since then such evidence as has been forthcoming from Communist sources leads one to believe that peaceful coexistence will come about and continue only so long as it is regarded as in Communist interests for it to do so. In other words, peaceful coexistence, even in such limited areas as it may be found to operate, is a temporary tactic—which does not engender any confidence in the hearts of democratic countries. It is surely bitter and bloody irony and hypocrisy to find Soviet leaders writing this very month to the Prime Minister of India to reaffirm the “five principles of peaceful co-existence” while at the same time they were ordering Soviet forces to wipe out bloodily the political freedom of the Hungarian people.

35. A situation now exists in this Organization which must be regarded, in the perspective of history, as one of the most incredible examples of international delusion of all times. The one great Power which since the last war has denied freedom of political choice to a great many millions of people is permitted to pose here, in this Organization, as the champion and protector of those who, during those same years, have been honestly given national independence, real sovereignty, genuine political freedom and generous economic assistance. The attitude and actions of Soviet Russia are the very antithesis of all that the United Nations stands for.

36. As we look out upon the world, we in Australia are impressed by the fact that there are still great mental barriers between the peoples which were until recently under colonial administration and the countries that previously ruled them. This is understandable. I certainly do not attempt to defend all that was done by colonial rulers in other parts of the world in the past. Whatever may have been, on net balance, of advantage or disadvantage, of good or of bad within countries under colonial rule in the past, it is understandable that the memories of foreign rule should not be expected to disappear quickly. In particular, the failure to achieve good human relations in former days has now to be paid for. We are all suffering from the whip-back of past resentments.

37. For our part we in Australia sincerely offer our friendship to all peoples on a basis of complete and frank equality. We are determined to continue to work with our friends, in Asia and elsewhere, for the strengthening of mutual security, and for the improvement of understanding and of social and economic conditions.

38. I have a fear, however, that resentment against alleged exploitation by colonial Powers in the past is still colouring the minds of even young people with but little personal memory of colonial days. I would appeal to our friends in Asia and in other under-developed areas to accept our friendship in the spirit in which we offer it. I would ask our friends if they are helping the cause of peace and stability by maintaining resentment and adopting a posture of suspicion. We all want the good life; we all want to survive and build up what is good in our own countries. Yet none of us can ensure this by the strength of our own right arm alone. Let us expand the area of friendship and mutual confidence, and not diminish it.

39. Another point occurs to me in this regard, and that is the peculiar fact that the concept of colonialism is usually only applied to rule from overseas and not to cases where two territories have a common land frontier. This narrow concept of colonialism as being something that comes only from overseas would, of course, rule out Russian and Chinese colonialism. I believe one has only to point out this anomaly for it to be appreciated.

40. This difference in man's attitude of mind to what may be called “overseas” and “overland” colonialism no doubt springs from the fact that in the past almost all the ex-colonial countries in the United Nations have experienced foreign rule from overseas. Perhaps it is worth remembering, however, that throughout history colonial expansion overland has been just as frequent and more permanent than sea-borne colonialism, and that overland colonialism has vastly increased in the last generation at precisely the time that colonialism from overseas has vastly decreased.

41. I have enough imagination, I think, to understand an emotional feeling which associates colonialism exclusively with rule from overseas, but this does not provide a rational basis for consideration of this general subject of colonialism. What remains of sea-borne colonialism today is subject to the benevolent and ever-vigilant eye of the United Nations—whereas the vast area of land-borne colonialism of the Soviet Union and the tens of millions of human beings who are subject to it are totally and wholly removed from the protection of the United Nations and indeed made a mockery and a sham of our benevolent efforts. One need only mention, of course, the name of Hungary in this regard.

42. I have devoted some little time to matters that I like to believe are of some importance. We shall explain our point of view on the large agenda of items before this session as the work of the Assembly develops. I would not wish it to be thought that, because I have not dealt with a particular subject this evening, Australia does not attach importance to it. The Australian delegation will make every effort to contribute constructively to this Assembly's work.

43. There are, however, a few things which I should like to mention very briefly—almost in telegraphic form—in order to save the time of the Assembly. Australia welcomes the great advance made towards universality of membership of the United Nations. We look forward confidently to the admission of Japan to the United Nations during the present session of the Assembly.

44. Australia takes most seriously its present responsibilities as a member of the Security Council and the Disarmament Commission. Australia pledges its best efforts to assist in finding a safe way to control modern weapons, with their fearful destructive power.

45. Australia heartily welcomes the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency and will contribute as actively as possible to its success.

46. Australia supports an expansion of the Security Council by two non-permanent seats, and will deal with proposals for the expansion of other United Nations organs on their merits.

47. Australia has pledged itself to develop the people of New Guinea to the stage of running their own affairs, and we shall carry out our tasks with vigour and in good faith. Meanwhile, we are strongly opposed to any doctrinaire application of the concept of "attainment targets", as they have been called, for various stages of development—particularly when this concept is applied to stages in political development. Drawing up time-tables is particularly unreal in a primitive and fragmented society such as New Guinea, where social and psychological factors make any such approach to development unwise and, indeed, dangerous—if not impossible.

48. Australia is confident that the International Finance Corporation will conduct its business with the same efficiency as its related agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The new Corporation has the full support of Australia, which earlier this year announced the Australian contribution to the Corporation—nearly two and one quarter million dollars.

49. Australia appreciates the great work of the International Law Commission in the study of the law of the sea, and supports the Commission's proposal for an international conference with a view to the preparation of suitable conventions or other instruments on the subject.

50. Australia will continue its contributions to voluntary programmes. I am glad now to make known the Australian contributions to other voluntary programmes of the United Nations: to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, for the year ending 30 June 1957: \$436,800; to the United Nations Children's Fund for the calendar year 1956: \$448,000; to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for the year ending 30 June 1957: \$112,000; to the United Nations Refugee Fund, for the calendar year 1956: \$112,000.

51. These contributions are in addition to Australia's part in the Colombo Plan, which, during the current year, will amount to the equivalent of well over ten million dollars. Thus, the total Australian contribution to international projects of economic aid, technical assistance and humanitarian relief will amount, during the financial year 1956-57, to about twelve million dollars in addition to our contribution to the International Finance Corporation.

52. Australia has also given the equivalent of \$67,000 to the relief of the people of Hungary and has announced its readiness to receive 3,000 refugees from Hungary. Actually, the first group of seventy is to leave Vienna by air for Australia in the very near future. These contributions are an earnest of our firm and continuing belief in the value of these voluntary programmes of international aid.

53. We stand at a time of crisis in the development of the United Nations—and I use the word "crisis" advisedly. There are those who have great confidence in the United Nations, and there are those who have no confidence at all in its ability to cope with the great task of bringing stability to the world. On the one hand, this world organization offers what should be magnificent opportunities for co-operative action in the maintenance of international stability and in the solution of interna-

tional economic and social problems. It can open the way to great advances in the living conditions of countries that are still economically weak, through the generous assistance of more fortunately placed countries. On the other hand, the United Nations could easily be reduced to a mere forum for futile bickering—and for the attempted forwarding of national interests at the expense of the confident international stability on which the security of the world depends. If we want this United Nations to survive, let us be on our guard against those who, for whatever purposes, would sow distrust or dissension or half-truths.

54. Mr. MARTIN ARTAJO (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has a few words to say on some of the interesting items on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. I shall confine my comments to those particular items, not because I am unaware of the importance of the others, but because my delegation intends to deal with those at the appropriate time. The items on which I now propose to speak briefly are the following: the Suez crisis, the safety of the Holy Places at Jerusalem, the new nations and the review of the Charter. As for the occupation of Hungary by the Soviet Army, I spoke on that at the meeting last Monday [583rd meeting] when I asked the United Nations to adopt a firm and forceful attitude as regards aid to an heroic people fighting for its lost freedom.

55. As Spain was one of the signatories to the now celebrated Convention of Constantinople of 1888, my Government has from the outset been involved with the situation created by the Egyptian nationalization of the Universal Company. I myself took part in the London Conferences, while at the same time keeping in constant touch with the Egyptian Government. I accordingly feel that I am in a position to say a few words to the United Nations General Assembly on how a happy ending to the Suez drama or, in other words, a just solution to the problem of the Canal, can be found. First, however, the attitude of Spain on Suez at the London Conferences of last summer, must, if only briefly, be recalled.

56. At those conferences, Spain maintained a position of her own, because she was convinced that the object of some of the other Canal-user nations, to submit the Canal entirely to a purely international control would disregard the national status of Egypt and subject the sovereignty of that country to conditions that implied discrimination which an independent State could hardly accept. That was the case more especially as, in international relations, the test of whether or not a country is sovereign, and so eligible for membership in the international community, is precisely its capacity to fulfil the obligations imposed by the law governing those relations. The obligations imposed on Egypt by the Convention of 1888 would not, in our view, justify the intervention of an international body which would relieve Egypt of responsibility for directly complying with those obligations. It is true that the Convention provided for the concession of the Canal to the Universal Company and that the reversion of the Canal has been forestalled by the nationalization of that Company, but that fact merely constitutes a change of circumstances which, although providing adequate grounds for revising the Convention and bringing it up to date, do not authorize the user States to take over absolute control of the Canal.

57. The proper course of action in our view, would accordingly have been to supplement the provisions of the Convention and bring them up to date for the purpose of effectively guaranteeing the free use of the Canal, en-

sure its proper maintenance, promoting its future development in accordance with traffic needs and establishing a procedure for the equitable disposition of the tolls.

58. In order, therefore, to take into account both the sovereignty of Egypt and the rights of the users, the Spanish delegation felt, and my Government still feels, that the management of the Canal should be in the hands of an Egyptian body the membership of which would include an adequate representation of the users. This arrangement is considered justified by the nature of the interests involved and by the fact that the economies of the countries using the Canal are to a large extent dependent upon that waterway, so that those countries should have some voice in its administration.

59. In addition to the participation of the users in the management of the Canal, there should, we think, be some arrangement for submitting disputes between the owner and the users to an arbitration commission, from whose decisions an appeal would lie to the United Nations, which, moreover, might provide the legal framework for the entire system.

60. This Spanish proposal, which we might call a "balance of interests", might, if it had been taken as the basis of negotiations, have made possible a final settlement between the users and Egypt and thus ended the crisis provoked by the nationalization of the Canal.

61. To judge by subsequent events, two of the principal users did not regard a median solution such as that just referred to as adequate, because, despite the United Nations decision in favour of negotiation, they preferred to resort unilaterally to force. This they did regardless of the fact that the nations participating in the London Conferences, and the United Nations Security Council itself, had repeatedly expressed hopes for a peaceful settlement even though the renewed hostilities between Israel and Egypt provided a pretext for military intervention.

62. Even if we refrain from passing judgement on the moral and juridical significance of that action and even if we disregard the threat which it represented to world peace and which forced the United Nations to take the emergency resolutions now being carried out, there is still occasion to wonder whether, at the least, it was not a grave mistake to have failed to exhaust the possibilities for negotiation, perhaps on the basis of a formula such as that proposed by Spain in London, to secure a peaceful settlement of the Suez Canal problem.

63. The emergency resolutions passed by the General Assembly to localize the conflict and to put an end to the military operations which caused it do not in themselves solve the essence of the problem, for they are designed merely to eliminate the consequences of unilateral action and thus restore the juridical order which had been disturbed. The problem of the Canal's future and of revising the anachronistic Convention of 1888 so as to adapt it to present conditions therefore remains unsolved. My delegation thinks that the only way to achieve this purpose is by negotiation, whether direct or through the United Nations, but in any case negotiation, between Egypt and the users, which, of course, must be clearly understood to include all the countries concerned in the traffic through the Canal.

64. In these negotiations, the regulations governing the free use of the Canal must be clearly specified in accordance with present needs, and the six principles contained in the Security Council resolution [S/3675] of 13 October 1956 must be taken up and further developed. In any case, my delegation would venture to insist on the following: that the management of the Canal should be

entrusted to an Egyptian body, in the membership of which the Canal users would share; that compliance with the regulations to be established should be ensured by a procedure for recourse to a permanent arbitration commission with headquarters in Egypt itself, which would deal with infringements of the regulations and clear up any doubts concerning their interpretation; and that the whole system should be placed under the United Nations as the ultimate guarantee of its effective operation.

65. It may perhaps be thought premature to make specific suggestions concerning the substance of the future regulations for the Canal, but by way of anticipation and example, my delegation ventures to propose for consideration by the eventual negotiators that the Canal-user members of the Egyptian body responsible for the management of the Canal, whose functions would comprise technical operations as well as direction and administration, need not constitute a majority—for that might be regarded as prejudicial to Egyptian sovereignty—but should merely be sufficient in numbers and prerogatives to ensure that the Egyptian members could not single-handedly decide such important matters as the free passage of ships, the fixing of charges, physical improvements and the like. That could be accomplished through a system of quorums for the various boards and committees, both administrative and technical, responsible for the operation of the Canal, so that any important decision would always require the consent of the representatives of the users.

66. There is another element of crisis in the situation in the Middle East to which my delegation would like to draw the Assembly's attention. I refer to the precarious position of those places in Palestine which Christendom regards as holy and which also to those of the Jewish and Moslem faiths have a sacred character. Owing to the failure to give effect to the General Assembly resolution of 9 December 1949 [303 (IV)] by reason of the conflicting territorial and political claims of the States in that area, the situation now is precarious and unstable, and for that reason liable to deteriorate into conflict.

67. However well-founded those claims may appear to be, none of them can be allowed to take precedence over the respect demanded by the religious interests of the faiths which have their holy places in that country. These interests are of such outstanding spiritual significance and are so deeply rooted in history that they cannot be subordinated to aspirations of any other kind.

68. The many political vicissitudes through which that area has passed in recent times should dissuade the countries now striving for political supremacy from such aspirations and should incite them to try a system of collective equilibrium by which all would be the gainers. My delegation does not believe that there have yet been exhausted the possibilities of a special international régime for the Holy City, according to the plan suggested by the Trusteeship Council acting on the instructions of the General Assembly, the main features of which are that Jerusalem would be a *corpus separatum*, there should be free access to the Holy Places and they should be protected against all threats, and the spiritual interests of the three great religions should be safeguarded.

69. The recent crisis in the Middle East has also made it obvious that some settlement of this kind is urgent to promote peaceful co-operation between the peoples of Palestine. The strong political influence of this or some other kind of international régime would have helped to neutralize Arab-Israeli hostility at Jerusalem. That would

have resulted not only in safeguarding the Holy Places but also in reducing rivalries between the neighbouring peoples and would thus have laid the foundations for an agreement in principle which might have had a far-reaching effect throughout the frontier area.

70. I therefore hope that the United Nations will consider this question again and will at the appropriate time adopt decisions giving effect to previous resolutions or embodying other similar proposals, centred in all cases around the idea of the internationalization of the Holy Places.

71. If we were asked to be more precise concerning what we mean by internationalization, we should explain that we would like the city of Jerusalem and the other Holy Places to be treated, not as a "no man's land", but as an "everyman's land". The main object is not to withdraw those areas from either the Arabs or the Israelis but to arrange matters in such a way that they could live there together with each other and both of them with the Christians so that everyone might feel at home. We Spaniards think of internationalization as a régime under which there would be three kinds of personal legal status, one for the adherents of each of the religious faiths which do in fact live together in the Holy Land—a régime in which there would even be a system of administrative and judicial authorities, some of which would serve each community alone whereas others would serve all three and consequently be composed of representatives of all three on a tripartite basis.

72. Working along these general lines and in accordance with the criterion previously stated, the United Nations legal authorities should not find it difficult to prepare a satisfactory statute that would, I repeat, not only ensure peaceful relations among the inhabitants of the Holy Places but would doubtless also foster good neighbourly relations between the frontier countries by interposing along one section of the border this kind of intermediate zone which would serve in its own way as a kind of shock absorber.

73. Peace is not endangered only by a violent change in the *status quo*; it is also threatened when the aspiration of peoples to express their own personality in international life is systematically thwarted.

74. The United Nations has always been careful to place strict limitations on its right to intervene in the internal life of nations, and rightly so. To interfere in what is private and essential to each State would only create new conflicts or aggravate existing political difficulties.

75. Many of the nations represented here today have existed for centuries, others have only acquired legal personality more recently; all have perfectly valid credentials. Experience teaches that it is those very nations which have expanded most that should give sympathetic attention to independence movements outside their metropolitan territories, against which any determined and persistent opposition is likely to inflame feeling and poison the atmosphere. All creator peoples have known these extremely difficult situations. We ourselves never tried to conceal the heart-searchings which it cost us to accept the vigorous national personalities which have sprung from our own stock and which today are gloriously free and the pride of our lineage. Other outstanding examples have been given, and will continue to be given, by the nations chosen by Providence to bring civilization to less fortunate lands, later worthy of independence.

76. In my opinion, success in dealing with these dynamic tendencies of international society will be as de-

cisive for the maintenance of peace as the system of guarantees which our Organization provides to defend the political independence and territorial integrity of its Members. Each country must seek practical solutions called for by concrete situations according to its own national characteristics and experience.

77. At this moment Spain can point to its relations with Morocco as an example of the prompt understanding of a people's national rights, since it anticipated Moroccan aspirations for complete independence and took steps leading to a recognition of the full sovereignty of that empire which today is seated among us. Moroccan independence was expected by Spanish public opinion and planned for by the Spanish Government, since, by its very nature, the Protectorate is a transitional system, the object of which is precisely to bring about this independence gradually and by degrees. And this is what has been done—generously, without reservation or mistrust, so that both Spaniards and Moroccans are satisfied that they understand each other and that, in the future, the neighbourly and friendly relations between them and their common heritage of high moral principles will enable them to work effectively side by side in the general design embodied in the United Nations.

78. The example of Spain shows that the solution of highly delicate matters must always be approached by direct negotiation, by considering problems openly, and in a mood of confident hope, since it is seldom that anything can be gained by submitting such matters to international discussion and controversy. It is better to make a sacrifice and to offer a magnanimous solution ahead of time, than to indulge in indefinite delays, which are liable to embitter men's minds and to be exploited by trouble-making proselytizers.

79. Another matter of concern to the countries represented in the General Assembly of the United Nations, must be the persistence of those mistakes and injustices which the passage of time can never heal, and which harbour within themselves dangerous and disturbing factors, while at the same time casting a shadow over what might be pure friendships and keeping alive unjustifiable conflicts in a world already overwhelmed with anxieties and complications.

80. Another age with fewer moral scruples than our own was able to subordinate the obvious dictates of public morality to alleged military necessities and security requirements. The so-called strategic positions, and their occupation by the Great Powers of the day acting as a self-constituted international police, have lost their last semblance of justification with the establishment of the collective security system of the United Nations, supplemented by the military agreements subscribed to by countries in the service of law.

81. The southern point of the Iberian peninsula presents an example of one of those anachronistic survivals which, it is hardly necessary to say, has engaged the painful attention of our country. With the disappearance of all the ostensible military reasons which were invoked to justify a usurpation of sovereignty in flagrant violation of international law, even the crudest realism would not serve to excuse its persistence today. The Spanish Government, deeply concerned with international peace and the general equilibrium as well as with its own inalienable rights, hopes that the juridical sense of the other party will help to solve this standing dispute bilaterally, and that it will not have to seek in the United Nations the moral and legal support provided by the provisions of the Charter.

82. I should like to complete my statement in this general debate by a few words on the Organization itself. Spain has joined with several Latin-American Members of the United Nations in proposing that the present Assembly make certain necessary amendments to the Charter for the purpose of increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the number of votes required for its decisions, for increasing membership of the Economic and Social Council, and for amending the Statutes of the International Court of Justice and the International Law Commission, and increasing the membership of these bodies. The present Assembly has accepted the inclusion of these proposals in its agenda, thus recognizing the need for adapting the provisions of the Charter and the aforementioned Statutes to the new circumstances arising from the larger membership recently acquired by the United Nations.

83. It seems logical to hope that as far as possible States recently admitted will also have a share in the new seats created in the above-mentioned bodies, although this might involve a readjustment of the practices and agreements previously governing participation by States from different parts of the world. Those practices and agreements might be regarded as inapplicable at the present time by reason of their regional character, and in any case are unsatisfactory to the new Member States which do not consider themselves bound by them.

84. It would also be desirable that the proposed increase in the number of seats should allow in practice as many Member States as possible to take part in the direction of United Nations activities and that suitable arrangements should be made to prevent plurality of seats. It would not be fair or reasonable for one country to be represented simultaneously in more than one of the principal organs of the United Nations, thus keeping out some other Member State from the same geographical area.

85. With respect to the Economic and Social Council, it is hardly necessary to recall that it occupies a completely different position from that of the Security Council, since it is not, like the latter, a primary organ, but functions under the direct authority of the General Assembly. This characteristic in our opinion, justifies a greater increase in the number of seats in the Economic and Social Council than in the Security Council.

86. From the constitutional point of view, the question of increasing the number of Member States represented in the International Court of Justice and the International Law Commission is a more complicated one. The legal nature of these two bodies seems to require a new form of organization which will be less subject to the changing political contingencies of the moment, and will safeguard the specific competence and complete impartiality of the Court. However, it is still desirable that the various legal systems of the world should be properly represented in the Court, as provided by its Statute. It is for the General Assembly carefully to weigh the balance between these two principles. The case of the International Law Commission is somewhat similar. Its membership should be increased in order to make it a more faithful reflection of the Organization.

87. However, it is hardly necessary to say that the most important amendment among those to be considered is the restriction of the right of veto, to which I have referred on earlier occasions. As is well known, the Security Council bears the chief responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the international community. Nevertheless, experience has shown that until the

right of veto is modified there is not much hope that the Security Council can fulfil the obligations assigned to it by the Charter.

88. We feel that the right of veto should be limited to questions connected with coercive action when they arise. It is not only the right but the duty of the Council to settle disputes between States, the Council should be organized in such a way that none of its members have the right to oppose resolutions aimed exclusively at bringing about a peaceful settlement of such disputes.

89. In closing, I should like to add a few words about the absent nations. During this general debate several representatives have requested that Japan be admitted to the United Nations. Spain, which maintains excellent relations with that State, adds its voice to those of the others and announces its intention to cast a favourable vote for Japan when the time comes. However, the Spanish delegation, on the first occasion on which its country appears in this Assembly, cannot conceal its sorrow in finding that there is no representative of Germany here. And I say Germany advisedly, without any territorial qualifications, because, in the eyes of Spaniards and, I believe, of the whole world, there is only one Germany, although some of its provinces have been separated from it, and it is not possible to recognize any German Government except that of Bonn, which rightfully represents all Germans, although a part of its population has been forcibly removed from its obedience.

90. Hence the Spanish delegation asks the United Nations to take the proper steps to consider the case of Germany, to help restore the separated provinces to the Federal Republic of Germany and to invite the latter to become a Member of the Organization. It is Germany's right to belong to the United Nations, and it is the right of the United Nations to have the valuable collaboration of this great people.

91. Mr. MARTINO (Italy) (*translated from French*): It is my pleasant duty to offer to Prince Wan Waithayakon my heartiest congratulations on his election to the office of President of this Assembly. The Italian Government is particularly glad that such a person, who has acquired so much respect for his work in the United Nations, has been called upon to preside over and direct our work and that this honour falls to his distinguished country, which is demonstrating so admirably that a love of independence can be combined with a love of freedom and justice.

92. I should like to express once again the gratitude of the Italian people to all the States that voted for the admission of Italy to the United Nations. This decision was a source of deep satisfaction to us, not only because it enabled us henceforth to associate ourselves fully with other peoples working for peace, for social advancement and, in short, for civilization, but also because it gave a fresh impetus to the movement which is leading the United Nations towards universality.

93. The Italian Government is convinced that the few operational difficulties which have been constantly arising during the last few years will gradually diminish as the presence and co-operation of all States strengthen the authority of the United Nations. When the General Assembly decided to admit our country, together with other countries, we were justified in thinking that after a period of consolidation, not to say immobility, the United Nations would resume its forward march. Today, speaking on behalf of the Italian Government, I could not state our feelings more clearly or accurately than by expressing the hope that the admission of other States, such as

Japan, that are fully qualified to sit among us will not be further delayed. In expressing this hope, we feel that we are stating a vital need which governs the future development of the United Nations.

94. By its desire to become a Member of the United Nations and by all its activities the Italian Government has for long shown that it endorsed the objectives pursued by the United Nations. In its opinion the United Nations is the most complete expression of that education of the human race, acquired, as Lessing said, through suffering and error, and which synthesizes, so to speak, a direct experience of good and evil. After so much suffering and bloodshed, the people of the world drew from the misery caused by the last world war the superhuman strength to rise again and to look to the future, determined to break with the hitherto uninterrupted tradition of war as the ultimate means of settling their disputes. Again and again, in the not too distant past, there have been signs of this determination, but it was apparently not firm enough, since it finally collapsed. Tempered by the drama of the Second World War, hardened by longer and deeper suffering, and grown wiser as a result of its very setbacks, this determination has today produced the United Nations.

95. At present we are more inclined to remember—and this is unfortunately a natural tendency—what it has failed to do or to prevent rather than its positive achievements or the dangers that it has averted. It is not simply in order to strengthen our faith but rather to do justice to the truth that we shall refer to the watchful presence of the United Nations and its great contribution to orderly progress during these years of feverish, social, economic and political activity. We know perfectly well what has happened but we do not know what would have happened without the action of the United Nations. The modern world boasts tremendous material forces: had those forces become the instruments of conflicting passions they could have brought about incredible destruction and unspeakable suffering.

96. The credit for the fact that this has not so far been the case must go primarily to the United Nations. It has been possible to set up and to maintain the rule of law even though there have been local violations from time to time and even though it has been necessary to come to terms with those responsible for such violations, in order to prevent even greater evils befalling the international community. The judicial organs within each State went through a similar experience at the beginning of their history, when they stood up before men as the only alternative to violence, until they came to be regarded as the normal and customary instrument for settling individual disputes. For a time, in fact for quite a long time during those slow-moving times, justice rubbed shoulders with violence, yet justice exercised a restraining influence on violence and eventually triumphed over it. The United Nations, as the active organ of international justice, is at present going through a similar stage. It is still faced by unresolved and thorny problems and by differences that are difficult to eliminate in the relations among the peoples who are, so to speak, within its jurisdiction.

97. Nevertheless, in expressing our appreciation of the success achieved during the past few years, we cannot but regret that the resolute action of the United Nations in obtaining respect for the law has not always been matched by far-reaching political action in its attempts to solve outstanding problems. United Nations action has often been effective in preventing armed conflicts, or in limiting and containing them, and for that we should be grateful

to it. Its action has unfortunately been less effective in solving disputes, or in other words in eliminating the causes of disputes. It has even been said that the United Nations, which was set up to preserve justice, has actually been used by some as a means of avoiding the consequences of certain actions that are inconsistent with international law. If such suspicions were too often confirmed by facts, the time would come when each would wish to take the law into his own hands.

98. It is therefore not enough to prevent warlike manifestations: it is necessary to go to the root of the evil and to eliminate the causes which make a conflict inevitable. Negative action has never proved effective; at most it has delayed the fire that was smouldering beneath the embers. Failure to act at the crucial moment may lead to the outbreak of a conflict which it had been thought possible to avoid by disregarding it. Recent developments in the Middle East are an obvious and painful proof of this. The problems that have shaken this part of the world for many years have been left too long unsolved. The present crisis is simply the inevitable outcome of a long period of inaction, which is being covered up but scarcely changed by a police action, commendably zealous and selfless but nevertheless of limited value. The present happenings should teach us that the United Nations must expand its activities and play a greater part in the political field, for it is there that the prior conditions for its legal activities and its economic and social work are to be found.

99. The present state of the world calls for far-reaching, enterprising and courageous political action. The fear of tackling the crucial problems with which the peoples of the world are faced must be overcome. Failure to deal with these problems on the pretext that the attempt might prove unsuccessful would increase present anxiety and pave the way for a future conflict in which goodwill might be of no avail. Problems should not be allowed to become so serious that they are beyond the control of responsible men. The method of partial or temporary solutions, if substituted systematically for that of the basic settlement of disputes, could eventually lead to a state of confusion in which it would be impossible to determine who was responsible for the first offensive act.

100. The United Nations is the chosen instrument to set reason up against the rule of force. Yet if its action is to be effective, it must strengthen and increase the rational control of international events by responsible men. That is why it is essential that instead of beating about the bush it should make a frontal attack upon the grave problems that could loose the uncontrollable forces of folly against the international community.

101. The most recent events have proved that the road to salvation lies through the authority of the United Nations, but they have also shown that this authority is impaired because it was not exercised at the right time and in efforts to find the necessary solutions. The authority of the United Nations must be strengthened if there is to be peace today and security tomorrow for all the peoples of the world. This authority must, however, be exercised if it is to grow strong. There is no serious problem affecting the international community that cannot be solved through the United Nations at present. In these recent days we have learned that the gravity of any problem will increase to the extent that the United Nations shows itself unequal to its task. Hence there is only one thing left for us to do: we must unite more than ever before in order to endow United Nations decisions with the force and wisdom that the peoples of the world expect.

102. We hope that the action taken by the United Nations to put an end to military operations in Egypt will continue to be successful and that the truly historic decision to organize a military force to implement this Assembly's resolutions will herald and facilitate the transition to a new stage in international relations. At the same time, however, we consider that steps should be taken forthwith to solve the Suez Canal problem and to restore peace between Israel and the Arab States.

103. It has been proposed that two committees should be set up immediately in the United Nations, to draw up the necessary draft resolutions. The Italian Government considers that this proposal should be adopted without delay and put into effect, so that the two committees can embark upon their task at once.

104. The basic problems which caused the Egyptian crisis must be settled as a matter of urgency if we are to avoid a repetition of this crisis, its causes having remained unchanged. The deep emotion that the recent events have aroused throughout the world should and must be used to impel the United Nations to find a co-ordinated and lasting solution for these two problems. There may be some to whose interest it is to focus attention on the intervention of the United Kingdom, France and Israel, for the sole purpose of diverting attention from the situation that existed before. Woe betide us if we allow our attention to be diverted and if we miss the opportunity we are offered by the very course of events to eliminate the most dangerous causes of instability in this part of the world. Whatever our opinions may be on the military intervention in Egypt, we should realize that it is not enough to have ended hostilities; steps must be taken to change the *status quo ante* by means of a settlement likely to restore confidence and security in an area where the situation has been deteriorating during the past few sterile and troubled years.

105. The Italian Government attaches importance not only to political action but also to economic and social action. One is impossible without the other if law is to be given its rightful place in international relations. How can we visualize the supremacy of one law for all in a world where living standards are so unequal? Since the end of the Second World War some 700 million people belonging to eighteen nations have achieved political independence. These new independent nations are not at the same stage of development. Even among the nations that achieved independence and freedom at an earlier date there are differences in living conditions.

106. The United Nations has a primary duty to fulfil: it must reduce these inequalities by helping the peoples of under-developed countries in their efforts to raise their standard of living. Poverty breeds resentment, a dangerous and virulent germ that undermines international relations. Any activity that creates wealth calls forth international co-operation. Any activity that creates wealth mobilizes the dynamic forces of the international organism. It is this activity that engenders the health and strength of co-operation. When the whole world is engaged in activity it regains confidence and peace is restored. Italy wholeheartedly supports any action that will promote the circulation of goods, capital and manpower, because it knows that this is one of the best factors of economic and social progress for the whole international community. A steady and broad flow of trade is essential if specific undertakings such as technical assistance and the proposed establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development are to have the neces-

sary effect; failing this, only limited action and narrow paternalism will be possible.

107. To be truly useful, such action should, moreover, be based on local, spontaneous initiative. Such initiative, however, will never appear unless the entire world works with an accelerated rhythm and carries along all the peoples of the earth in its movement. Economic development undoubtedly facilitates political action, but the reverse is equally true, for economic development could not be conceived without political action capable of sweeping aside suspicion, hatred and fear.

108. In the introduction to his Annual Report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General stated that "The goal of economic development implies for many countries a concerted undertaking to set up an industrial revolution more rapid than that which transformed western European civilization, and yet does not involve the extreme social costs which were then incurred" [A/3137/Add.1, p. 4]. We agree with this statement. Nevertheless we feel that it is necessary to point out that only international co-operation can, by promoting the influx of capital and of technical skills, bring about the rapid economic development of under-developed countries without demanding of the peoples concerned the unbearable price of the loss of their freedom. It is therefore essential that an atmosphere of confidence and security should prevail in the world.

109. The United Nations has to its great credit the fact that it helped to establish the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Italian Government sees in this initiative, which is both political and economic, a useful instrument of international co-operation and at the same time the fruit of a reassuring community of views. In its age-old struggle against nature, mankind has finally wrested from it the secret of its most powerful source of energy. This force fills us with terror if we think of all that it can destroy, but here, in this very hall, terror has been transformed into hope. Perhaps one day this energy will enable man to solve his most distressing economic and social problems.

110. Atomic energy can increase the productivity of human labour and impart new momentum to civilized life everywhere on our planet. If this hope one day becomes a reality, then the terrible and persistent causes of war will have been eliminated at one stroke. The Italian Government hopes that, having created the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations will spare no efforts to assist it in the accomplishment of its task.

111. Among the items on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly there are, in addition to technical, social and economic problems, some political problems which set certain Member States one against the other and thereby threaten international co-operation. The Italian delegation will express its views on each of these problems in due course.

112. For the moment, I shall merely remark that my country, which grew out of bitter and repeated struggles for independence during the last century, regards the efforts being made by other peoples to attain their national sovereignty with the keenest sympathy and greatest understanding. My country feels that not only should these efforts not be hampered but they should be encouraged, so that each member of the international community may become active and responsible.

113. Our experience has also taught us, however, that a nation's progress towards independence must not degenerate into nationalistic isolation, which is a particu-

larly fertile breeding-ground for the germs of hatred and rancour. The struggle of a people for liberty must at the same time be a struggle for the advancement of international co-operation. We are living in a period dominated by the law of interdependence. It is right and necessary that each nation should be master of its own fate, but it would be a serious mistake, fraught with consequences for the whole world, to destroy the ties created by history and replace them, not with new and more fruitful ties, but with suspicion and hostility. In international relations we must go forward and never backward on the road of co-operation. One example of this attitude is, we believe, to be found in the relations existing between Italy, as the Administering Authority on behalf of the United Nations, and Somaliland. During the past two years the Somali people have elected a free parliament which has formed a Government that co-operates with the Administering Authority. Italy hopes that, under the terms of its mandate, fruitful ties of co-operation in every field may be established between the two fully self-governing and sovereign nations.

114. Our century is harvesting the fruit of the seeds that were sown in the foregoing centuries. There are today nations which are capable of self-government and which cannot be denied that right. Yet there are many ways of preventing peoples from governing themselves: we should be making a serious mistake if we condemned the old methods without at the same time repudiating the new. Nations that are proud of their ancient civilization have become victims of a new tyranny, as we have seen recently in the sad and heroic case of the Hungarian people. The right of peoples to choose their own government should be universal; all attacks on the free will of a people, no matter by what doctrines the perpetrators justify their attacks, must be condemned.

115. This morning [586th meeting] the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union expressed surprise at my statement that it is not possible for the person who is called upon to judge a murder to inquire into the philosophical or political opinions of the victim in order to justify the murder without thereby ceasing to be a judge. I should like to remind the representative of the Soviet Union that when one kills a man because of that man's faith, the act which is committed is still the brutal act of murder, as a courageous fighter for liberty of conscience stated. No label on the forehead of the victim can change the nature of the grievous fact. In the case of Hungary, the aspirations of a people have been crushed by another people. The United Nations cannot employ two different criteria: it cannot censure those who act with moderation and at the same time applaud the guile and cynicism of others.

116. To prevent the danger of this happening, it is essential, in the first place, to do everything necessary to stop up all the cracks through which guile might worm its way into this translucent home of justice. One such crack is provided by military intervention in another country, with the claim that it is not aggression because the authorities of the country which is the victim of the intervention have requested it. I venture to point out that when Nazi troops invaded Czechoslovakia in March 1939 the Hitler Government justified its intervention by stating that President Hacha, who then represented the highest authority in Czechoslovakia, had requested it. Nevertheless history has judged it as one of the most brutal and wicked acts of aggression of our time. I dare say the representative of the Soviet Union concurs in this judgement.

117. It is therefore necessary to define aggression in such a way as to prevent any aggressor from disguising himself as a defender of law and order. Any military intervention whatsoever by one country in another country, whatever the causes, must be considered an act of aggression if international law is to have universal application, just as criminal law has universal application within each State.

118. Another dangerous crack through which guile must not be allowed to infiltrate is provided by the United Nations volunteers. If the United Nations decides that a certain military action must be stopped, that decision places upon all Member States the obligation to take every necessary step towards this end. If a Member State merely allows—I do not say requests—its nationals to enlist as volunteers in order to sustain or to revive the military action halted by the United Nations, it is obvious that such a State would not be fulfilling that obligation and would thereby be flouting international law.

119. Present means of transport and communication make it impossible for stocks of arms to be built up in a given State in anticipation of the expected arrival of so-called volunteers. When these volunteers were able to take up the arms which had been sent ahead of them, a very strange case of war would ensue; from a legal point of view, the country that supplied the arms and the men could not be declared responsible. Thus it would be possible for a powerful State to wage war and make it appear as though it was being waged by another country. Not only would the law be violated, but it would be flouted and paralyzed.

120. It is enough to consider this hypothesis—for which no unusual effort of the imagination is required—to understand how urgent and important it is for the United Nations to examine without delay, and with the utmost attention, the problem of volunteers, with a view to drawing up specific rules to prevent the accomplishment under the guise of legality, of any acts which would undermine international law and order. No one should be permitted to invoke and use the privileges of international law while at the same time availing himself of expedients which enable him to reap with impunity the advantages of his acts of violation.

121. This eleventh session of the General Assembly will also have to discuss the problem of disarmament. During these last few days one of the great military Powers, through its most qualified representative, seems to have faintly rekindled the abiding hope of peoples that it might finally be possible to limit the armaments race, which constitutes one of the greatest threats of war. We believe that every manifestation of goodwill should be encouraged, but we cannot fail to note and to point out that in international life the past few weeks have shown a marked deterioration of that confidence without which it is impossible to reach any agreement on disarmament.

122. In order to smooth the path towards such agreement, which is eagerly awaited by all peoples, it is necessary that some specific action should be taken with regard to the most serious and urgent problems, to restore confidence. For that purpose it is essential that all States—and especially those that are most powerful—should make their decisions in the light of their duties towards the international community. Henceforth no one should any longer doubt the fact that anybody who seeks to benefit by betraying his duties is destined, sooner or later, to suffer the negative consequences of his calculations, which are mistaken because they coincide with an evil act.

123. In this world parliament we should expect every member, large or small, to pass its own actions through the filter of a scrupulous conscience before criticizing or condemning others. Each of us should try to rid ourselves of defects, for we must become capable of contemplating pure and lofty things. All countries, large or small, should make this effort; only thus can we be worthy of those who, through their sufferings and sacrifices, their faith and their hope, have enabled mankind, at a certain point on its weary march, to erect this great institution where mankind's sincerest and noblest aspirations are expressed.

124. Mr. KARAMANLIS (Greece): The twentieth century has been called the century of progress. Never before had man advanced so rapidly and so far in the fields of discovery, science, medicine and prosperity. Yet, in this century the world has been subjected to two total wars, so terrible and so destructive, as to cast doubt upon the moral aptitude of the human race to wield the implements of progress produced by its genius. With these implements, cities have been laid in ruins, peoples have been enslaved, and freedom, justice and equality have been ruthlessly trampled upon by dynasts, cynically paying copious lip-service to these time-honoured principles. Yet, in the two world wars millions of humble, freedom-loving people gave or risked their lives, in the belief that their sacrifice would create a better world for future generations, and after both wars the hope of a lasting peace shone over the world—but, alas, for all too brief a spell.

125. The League of Nations was the political expression of this hope after the First World War. I do not need to dwell upon its failure. After the Second World War, the nations were determined to try again, and the United Nations was born. It has persisted in its efforts for eleven years. It expresses the world's will to peace. It gathers new strength, as is attested by the admission of nineteen new Member States within the last two years. And yet the clouds of war still hover over us; in certain areas the storms of war have burst. Are we to assume that the United Nations has not yet acquired the spiritual vitality, the singleness of purpose, which would enable it to discard the shackles of mutual suspicion and bureaucratic inertia?

126. However, it seems to me that the principal blame for the inadequacy of the United Nations must be attributed to conditions prevailing among the nations after the Second World War. The end of war brought neither more freedom nor more justice to the peoples who had fought with abnegation and faith. Violence, social injustice and poverty followed in the wake of war and engendered a climate of continuing crisis, political and human. The guns had stopped firing, but there was no real peace. Harsh conflicts of interest arose in the world, and its peoples, many of them against their will, found themselves divided into two camps. Sharp political rivalry gave rise to an armaments race, which drained the resources of the nations. In many lands urgent and basic needs of the people are sacrificed to preparations for war. The feeling of security, essential to progress and well-being, is absent from the world. The cold war is everywhere around us and sometimes erupts into hot flashes.

127. The two wars were fought against totalitarianism. It has not disappeared. On the other hand, colonialism, which is the exploitation of one nation by another, although in decline, still continues to impose its forcefully illiberal authority in many areas. In recent weeks, we have witnessed two serious cases, which nearly set the world on fire. Indeed, the danger is not altogether past,

in spite of the determined efforts of the United Nations to avert it.

128. If such is the condition of the world eleven years after the war, we are led to the conclusion that the United Nations has fallen short of the hopes that were placed in it. This is a hard fact that we must face honestly. Up to the present the Organization has failed to give the world confidence in an abiding peace. In saying this, I do not wish to belittle the fine achievements of the United Nations in many spheres of action, nor do I wish to appear unduly pessimistic in regard to its main role in the future.

129. I should like to add here that there is cause for hope when we see the greatest of the Western Powers, the United States of America, consistently supporting the principles laid down in the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations, as it recently did, undeterred by the bitterness its action might arouse among friends and opponents alike. Indeed, the future belongs to the United Nations, if we will it so, and I hold that it is our duty to see to it that lasting peace, which the establishment of the United Nations offered the world, speedily becomes a reality.

130. Admittedly, there is a weakness in the Organization. Where is it to be found? Not in the Charter, for that instrument admirably sets forth the values humanity has always cherished: freedom, equality, justice and peace. Of course, these values were neither created nor discovered by the authors of the Charter. They merely recorded them anew and declared that they constitute the corner-stone of the international community of the future. The weakness of the Organization lies in the inability or unwillingness of nations to enforce the principles of the Charter, owing to their own lack of confidence or selfish prevarication. Thus a climate of insincerity and unbelief has enveloped our Organization—a climate alien to that in which the Charter was framed.

131. Between the ideals of the Charter and the reality of power politics there is a vast discrepancy. Certain great Powers ignore the Charter whenever it suits their immediate interests to do so. I could cite many examples of violation of the Charter by individual Powers. I limit myself to one, which involves my country and is therefore of special interest to me as the representative of Greece.

132. Greece, in its efforts for the application of self-determination for its fellow-countrymen in Cyprus, has met with consistent lack of understanding on the part of a great Power, which was one of the original signatories of the Charter. Greece, up to the present time, has also met with considerable difficulties in its attempts to induce the United Nations to solve the Cyprus question constructively because the Organization is powerless to impose a just solution displeasing to a great Power. If Cyprus were occupied by a small country—a country the size of Greece—the United Nations would have no difficulty in solving the question. While I am on the subject of Cyprus, I think it appropriate to make the following observations.

133. No one—not even the occupying Power—contests the fact that the demand of the people of Cyprus to live in freedom is reasonable, moral and legitimate. However, those who oppose the Greek recourse have wittingly or unwittingly woven a web of confusion or misunderstanding around the issue. First, it has been said that Greece fabricated the Cyprus question. This is untrue. Over a long period of years, Greece resisted the insistent demands of the Cypriots who urged my coun-

try to bring their entirely just claims to the attention of the international community. Moreover, for a long time Greece endeavoured to arrive at a solution through amicable negotiations within the framework of traditional Anglo-Greek friendship.

134. Only when Greece became convinced by the unyielding attitude of the present Government of the United Kingdom that all attempts at compromise were futile, only when it was faced with the oft-repeated "Never" of British colonialism—only then did it consent to present the Cypriot demand to the United Nations. The Cypriot question was not raised by Greece, but by the people of Cyprus itself, which demands that the colonial yoke be raised and that the principles of the Charter be applied to it.

135. It has also been said that Greece is using the Cyprus question in a bid for territorial expansion. As the responsible representative of Greece, I categorically reject this allegation. Greece looks for no advantage whatsoever. For Greece, the Cyprus question is not an enterprise; it is a duty. The liberation of any people in bondage is the duty of every free nation. The people of Cyprus is a noble people, with a great past and a high civilization. It has a right, as much as any, freely to determine its future destiny. Freedom for the Cypriots is all that Greece seeks. Greece will recognize whatever decision is taken by the Cypriots. All other interpretations—some of which have been developed even tonight in this Assembly—are a sheer disguise of colonialist interests.

136. In some circles the complaint is voiced that the United Nations is developing revolutionary tendencies; that it threatens the foundations of long-established international order. There is nothing in the Charter that justifies such an accusation. However, it is true that in the domain of international life and international relations the United Nations is seeking to introduce a new energizing force. It endeavours to translate into positive rules of international behaviour and law, moral principles that have too long lain dormant in their abstract expression. The new element, which may be called revolutionary if you wish, is that nations today are no longer satisfied with theoretical abstractions. To them freedom, justice, and equality are real and desirable things, and they demand that principle shall be put into practice. They demand that the principles in the Charter shall become the reality of international life.

137. The question is: can this be done? I think it can, although the task is not easy. It must be done, and we must all, collectively and individually, see that it is if we are to avert the catastrophe of another total war. We are at a turning point. Either we shall follow the path leading to peace and salvation, or we shall take the road leading to war and the final destruction of civilization. There is no middle course.

138. If the United Nations is to fulfil its role and save humanity it must, without delay, take the necessary measures to impose acceptance and observance of these principles: first, all nations, large and small, are equal; second, no nation shall resort to violence in settling its differences; third, the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations shall be binding, even when they run counter to national objectives.

139. Since experience has taught us that, in pursuing our goals, we cannot rely on the good faith of individual Members, it is imperative for us to take positive collective measures, in order to enforce the principles set forth

above. The following are the measures which I think we should take:

(a) Progressive disarmament to be undertaken simultaneously by all nations, until total disarmament is attained;

(b) Creation of a United Nations police force, capable of ensuring international order (The present Middle East experiment is a small step in the right direction);

(c) Monopoly of atomic weapons to be held by the United Nations. Such a measure would also implement the beneficent efforts of the Atomic Energy Agency to divert atomic energy to peaceful uses.

It may be said that these suggestions are radical and bold. But I submit that they are not utopian, unless it is utopian to propose measures intended to avert universal disaster.

140. Furthermore, I am of the opinion that measures should also be taken to ensure that all international problems, without exception, are submitted to the Organization for study and solution. In the present climate of international life, there are no longer any issues towards which the international community can afford to be indifferent. The problems of other nations are our problems too. We cannot assent to solutions by violence and to the imposition of the will of the strong upon the weak. The will of the civilized world, expressed through the United Nations, dedicated to the high principles of the Charter, must be paramount. It is our duty to make it so.

141. The fact that these conceptions have been ignored has led humanity to its present perilous crisis and has placed the Organization under a heavy strain. Out of this crisis, either disaster or salvation will emerge. Our Organization will either be plunged into complete bankruptcy, or else it will find the strength to react in a healthy manner by establishing the moral and material requirements for the fulfilment of its mission.

142. Moreover, if we realize that at this moment our Organization does not sufficiently protect the world community, and if all of us present in this Assembly are aware of the heavy responsibility we have in regard to the future, it is possible that we may be guided to adopt and implement honest and courageous decisions, which will mark the entry of a new period in the history of nations.

143. In spite of the disappointments which it has undergone in the past, Greece is determined to assist in taking all measures which will enable the United Nations to fulfil its mission of ensuring world peace.

144. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Prince Wan Waithayakon on the unanimity with which he was elected to preside over this eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am convinced that his extensive experience of the work of the Organization and his acknowledged ability will enable him to carry out successfully the arduous and difficult task of directing the work of the General Assembly, now meeting in circumstances which constitute a specific trial of its effectiveness, before the expectant gaze of a convulsed world which anxiously awaits solutions to its problems from the decisions of this great body over which he now presides.

145. Two grave situations threaten to disturb the balance of international relations, achieved at the cost of so much effort during the post-war period; a balance which, in spite of its instability, serves to keep antagonis-

tic forces in check in deference to the supreme requirement to maintain peace.

146. The conflict in the Middle East and the situation in Hungary both threaten this equilibrium, the destruction of which would precipitate our world into chaos. Faced with this gloomy prospect the Government of Argentina wishes to reiterate its position before this Assembly and would once again appeal that the rule of law, the only force which can be imposed without causing injury, be heeded and applied.

147. As regards the Hungarian situation, it is Argentina's hope that, in accordance with the fundamental principles which govern its own destiny, the Hungarian people may be allowed to determine theirs without outside interference. This was stated by my Government in a note [S/3693] which it sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 28 October 1956 and in which it pledged its full support to any effort which might be made to secure a speedy termination of hostilities in Hungary and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This statement has been reaffirmed by my delegation in the course of the discussions on this question.

148. In the opinion of the Argentine Government, this Assembly has the inescapable responsibility—in the event that the Hungarian people are not allowed the full enjoyment of their rights and civic liberties—to adopt, in due course, appropriate measures to achieve that end.

149. The Argentine Government and people also hope that a definitive solution may be found for the conflict in the Near East. My Government was one of the first to support the action taken by the United Nations in this conflict for the purpose of restoring the shattered peace, securing the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian territory and ensuring that the rule of justice and the principles of the Charter might prevail.

150. Despite the resolutions which have been adopted, however, the hoped-for results have not yet been achieved, and we are therefore appealing once again to the States concerned to pay heed to the recommendations of these resolutions, for they represent the voice of the free and law-abiding world.

151. In stating its position thus, my Government is expressing, on the international level, the basic principles of the moral and spiritual policy of our own people which summarize the philosophy and doctrine of our way of life. These represent, in other words, our desire that all men and all peoples may, as a human right, determine their own destiny without unjust interference.

152. The dramatic shadow which these conflicts and their repercussions are casting over the international scene render it difficult for us to pursue our usual tasks. It is our duty, however, to overcome any pessimism and, while keeping these conflicts constantly in view, to concern ourselves during this session of the Assembly with the continuing problems of our Organization, upon which we have been working unceasingly for a decade, striving steadily to render our work for peace more effective and to bring to reality the ideal of living together in peace with one another as good neighbours, in the spirit of the Charter.

153. In this connexion I should like to quote from a statement made by the President of the Republic of Argentina on 24 October 1956, when he received the representatives of international organizations on United Nations Day:

“The United Nations”—he said—“is the expression of an indomitable faith in the ability of men to live

together on a basis of liberty and justice and the supremacy of the spiritual values of civilization.”

I do not think that a more just, more sober or more fitting definition could be found. “The expression of an indomitable faith in the ability of men to live together.” Let us pause for a moment and consider the import of these words.

154. If the ability of men to live together on a basis of liberty, justice and cultural progress is to develop in harmony and attain its full objective, then human rights must be strengthened and supported until they become indestructible. It is useless for men to seek the benefits of living together, without previously having guaranteed those privileges which are the intrinsic right of every human being. To live together it is necessary to live, and life is impossible without the minimum guarantees, essential to the human personality for its survival, which are as deeply rooted in mankind as the sense of the Deity.

155. One writer has called these “the essential rights”, and another has called them “the international rights of man”. The name is not important. What matters is that the basic faculties which man has been developing, painfully, at the cost of a thousand struggles, since the dawn of the centuries, should not fade and wither away but should grow with time. Those rights, which are man's principle treasure, are in his hands an inextinguishable torch, to light the darkness of his dangerous path and guide him as he travels towards the achievement of his ideals, improving himself at every step.

156. The responsibility of the international community with regard to this problem is a grave one. If that community wishes to justify its existence, it must spare no effort to strengthen human rights.

157. We have come a long way since the International Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed in this city in 1929, by the American Institute of International Law. The Fundamental Declaration of Human Rights, drawn up at Lausanne, in 1947, by the Institute of International Law; the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, drawn up at Bogotá in the following year by the Ninth International Conference of American States; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed in Paris in December 1948 represent the principal milestones along a road of progress having undeniably vital interests as its ultimate goal.

158. These various declarations, which have, as it were, risen up as a reaction to the almost inhuman persecutions in Eastern and Central Europe following the First World War and have been stimulated by the recurrence of those atrocities during the terrible period between 1933 and 1945, represent a series of concentric bulwarks, growing ever tighter and stronger, erected by the guarantees of civilization around man, fragile and eternal, who must be defended, and who turns his gaze outwards, north, south, east and west, from the heart of this imaginary structure, holding high his burning torch.

159. The Universal Declaration of 1948 has the value of a fundamental charter for all States. It proclaims a long series of personal, social, economic and political rights for the individual. In 1950, the Council of Europe adopted in Rome an even more complete declaration, which, however, has been signed by only twelve States.

160. There must, however, be no document, no resolution, no agreement which goes further than the efforts of the United Nations in this regard. In other words, the United Nations must adopt as its own the successive advantages that are embodied in other instruments as the

result of regional agreements guaranteeing human rights and individual liberties, for the United Nations must not forget that it is, first and foremost, the expression of an indomitable faith in the ability of men to live together.

161. In addition to the grave responsibility of creating, strengthening and diffusing an appreciation of the sacred and inviolable nature of human rights, the United Nations also has the task of ensuring that these rights can be exercised peacefully and of preventing any arbitrary and violent impulse from attacking this balanced and noble edifice.

162. Human rights are the very basis of individual, national and international life, and their universal application will provide the world with a practical formula for a stable peace, for freedom and for law. Such an application will ensure the victory of light over darkness and will break the bonds of millions of souls who, far from enjoying these benefits, are now tasting the bitterness of oppression.

163. The Assembly's agenda contains many items dealing with political, economic and social questions. The scope of this general debate does not permit me to deal at length with the Argentine Government's position on each item. I shall only single out a few fundamental points. In the first place, there are the so-called colonial questions. Argentina is proud of its anti-colonial traditions, which are deeply rooted in the very origins of its independence. It is firmly opposed to any form of subjugation of one people by another and shall therefore continue to support this Assembly as it seeks, in a spirit of moderation, calm and goodwill, for the best solutions to the problems which in this regard are troubling the world.

164. In the Argentine Government's view, the United Nations must continue to support and guide the irrepressible force that is generated by the political, economic and social evolution of peoples who were formerly under the dominion of vast colonial empires but are now achieving full liberty and have the right to assert their personality in international political affairs.

165. I must add, however, that the United Nations is also in duty bound to oppose that other form of "colonialization", sinister and deplorable, which has already enslaved many peoples, including some with an ancient and advanced civilization. This must be a matter of concern to the United Nations and to the peoples and Governments which have always opposed every form of colonialism and have struggled to uphold the principle of self-determination; because this new form of colonialism is a reversal of progress and destroys the very basis of liberty, the supreme goal of individuals and peoples.

166. The Argentine Government has requested the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of an item entitled "Draft Convention concerning a System of Consultation." Such a system would function within the United Nations machinery. Situations sometimes arise which, although capable of endangering international peace and security, are not discussed in the United Nations, either because their possible importance and repercussions are not readily apparent, or because it is feared that the Security Council may be hampered by a veto, or because the General Assembly is not in session and there does not seem to be any need to call an emergency special session. This state of affairs, as the Secretary-General has on several occasions pointed out, tends to weaken the United Nations.

167. The Argentine Government believes that analysis and appraisal of any problem which may arise should be

carried out within the United Nations. The present machinery offers no possibility for such action. Argentina has accordingly suggested a procedure which would enable States to exchange views around a conference table on any given international situation.

168. The problem would be submitted to the Security Council or the Assembly if that were considered necessary, but the consultative meeting might itself be able to arrive at a satisfactory solution. The fact that the problem was being considered within the United Nations might tend to calm spirits, prevent impulsive actions and even, with the passage of time, allow the conflict to subside.

169. Although in the present circumstances it may seem inopportune to consider the question of disarmament, we feel that precisely because of those circumstances the problem is vital and urgent. Although the wounds of the Second World War have not yet completely healed, we can again discern in the distance the rumblings of warlike preparations.

170. Suffering humanity is looking anxiously to this Assembly, where virtually all the peoples of the world speak and vote, and expects not only words of reassurance but also calm and resolute action in the immediate future. We must not disappoint that hope. As it has fallen to us to meet at a crucial time for the peace of the world, our duties and responsibilities are that much greater. This Assembly cannot close its session nor the statesmen here assembled return home until our mission is accomplished.

171. The Argentine Government believes that nothing could restore the world's lost tranquillity better than an agreement on disarmament. This is the responsibility of all countries, but particularly of the great Powers. I therefore appeal especially to them to strive for such an agreement and thus give tangible proof of their declared intentions to live together in peace.

172. Argentina, together with other countries, has proposed an increase in the membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Law Commission. The admission of nineteen new Members calls for an increase on a moderate scale in the number of seats in these and other important organs of the United Nations. This would make room for some of the new Members and ensure an equitable distribution on a geographical basis so that nobody would feel left out or deprived of adequate representation.

173. In the economic field, international co-operation has continued to grow, and great efforts are being made through many different institutions and programmes, some within the framework of the United Nations and others set up by regional bodies or under bilateral agreements. The Argentine Government has given concrete evidence of its interest in problems of economic development and its spirit of international co-operation in that field.

174. All this, as well as much else that would be taken up in a detailed examination of international economic and social problems, must now be viewed in a different perspective as a result of the critical situation which confronts the world.

175. In other circumstances, stress was laid on the need for accelerating economic development in order to strengthen peace. At the present time, when there are grave questions which require rapid solution, it is clear that only if a sense of international responsibility on the part of all Governments helps to solve the present crisis, can the road to economic development through international co-operation be re-opened. Harsh reality has strik-

ingly shown what economic and social advancement means in terms of human values.

176. Argentina wishes to reaffirm today, in this supreme forum, its conviction that the rights inherent in the spiritual dignity and liberty of man are as valuable as life itself and that, without them, all theories and promises of economic and social progress are only an illusion. Governments and peoples which in furtherance of their own policy or as members of an international group, agree to forego the application of these essential rights in order supposedly to obtain some immediate material advantage will learn from bitter experience that they have irretrievably sacrificed everything.

177. In conclusion, we wish to stress with the deepest conviction that the international community must make every effort to strengthen human rights. As the years pass, the United Nations Charter will have to be amended and improved in the light of experience, but the recognition of human rights and their extension to the entire international community will always be the mainspring of the United Nations. In the light of this glorious torch, which man paid so dearly to kindle and which prevails over all the evil lurking in the shadows, we intend to co-operate loyally and resolutely in the meetings of this eleventh session of the General Assembly in order thereby to hasten the triumphant reign of peace, justice and work—the triumph of the brotherhood of man.

178. As we still believe in spiritual values, may I be allowed to appeal to the heart and conscience of this Assembly which represents the heart and conscience of the world. Every passing day, each man reiterates his faith and his hope and prays to his God in prayers that never lose their significance or freshness because they are the essence of eternity. Let us, the peoples of the United Nations, revive our faith and our hope by repeating to ourselves each day and vowing to observe the Preamble of the United Nations Charter, which is also a prayer of love to our God and to your God, for mothers and children everywhere, on either side of any frontier created by man, are, after all, mothers and children created by our God and by your God. Only the spirit can redeem us from the sin of violence. The hour is grave and solemn. Let us join in the prayer which is common to all of us and of which we shall never grow weary since it is eternal:

“We the peoples of the United Nations

“Determined

“to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

“to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

“to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

“to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

“and for these ends

“to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

“to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

“to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

“to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

“Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.”

So be it.

179. Mr. MACDONALD (New Zealand): Other speakers have already expressed the satisfaction which Prince Wan Waithayakon's election to the Presidency has given to all Members of the Assembly. It is an honour which is richly merited.

180. His election is specially welcome to New Zealand—and to me personally—in view of our close association at several international gatherings. Thailand and New Zealand are partners in the Pacific. We have joined together with other nations in efforts to guarantee the freedom and peace of an area which, not long ago, was the focus of international dispute. Far Eastern tensions which then exercised the world community have fortunately been held in check. It will be the constant endeavour of my Government—by its aid programmes, by a sympathetic understanding of the aspirations of the peoples of Asia, and by vigilance in the defence of freedom—to ensure that these tensions do not again impede the pursuit of objectives to which all Members of the United Nations are pledged.

181. The concern of New Zealand with the maintenance of peace in the Pacific area is a direct one. However, history has also given tragic proof of the importance of the Middle East to our security and communications. Twice in recent times New Zealanders have been called upon to stake their lives and resources in its defence against aggression. Eighty thousand of our soldiers out of a population of less than 2 million fought in the Middle East in the Second World War for the victory which made possible the founding of this Organization.

182. What has happened in the Middle East in recent weeks is of the greatest importance to us. New Zealand's attitude towards Anglo-French intervention in the recent fighting between Egypt and Israel has already been made clear. From the outset it has had full confidence in the intentions underlying the action taken with France by the United Kingdom. There has been other times when the United Kingdom, virtually alone, has acted in the world interest against odds even heavier than the weight of adverse opinion. Time will show, we believe, that in this case, too, action was taken in the general interest rather than in pursuit of narrow ends. And we are not without hope that, high as the immediate costs may have been, the long-range results both for this Organization and for world peace may yet prove salutary.

183. We consider it a gain that the extent of Soviet penetration in the Middle East, the magnitude of its supply of arms to the area, and the malevolence of its intentions should have been unmistakably exposed. If any Middle East nation, proud as they all are to have thrown off Western control, chooses now to assist the entry into the Middle East of Soviet imperialism, then it will do so with full knowledge of the risks to which it exposes itself and the world.

184. It is a gain that the situation should have provided the stimulus for the creation of a United Nations Force, perhaps the first step towards investing the United Nations with the practical means to make its decisions effective. And it is a gain that it should have at last been brought home that it is time—perhaps the last opportunity—for this Organization to stop backing away from

the hard realities and difficulties of the Middle East. For make no mistake, this Organization has backed away.

185. It is true that the responsibility for a lasting settlement of Middle East problems depends, in the long run, on the countries of the area. But there is much that the United Nations can do and might already have done. In 1948, the Palestine Conciliation Commission was established to assist negotiations between Israel and the Arab States. No debate on the work of the Conciliation Commission has been held in the Assembly since the abortive discussions of 1952. With the exception of the refugee question, which is discussed each year as a humanitarian rather than a political problem, no aspect of the Palestine situation, despite its steady deterioration, has been discussed here until the last fortnight—and this, over a period of years in which the inability of the Security Council to act constructively and impartially has become increasingly evident.

186. In 1951 the Security Council passed a resolution [S/2322] stating that restrictions placed by Egypt on shipping to and from Israel were an abuse of the exercise of the right of visit, search and seizure, and called upon Egypt to terminate such restrictions. This resolution, although at once rejected by Egypt, was not followed up until New Zealand presented a draft resolution on the matter in 1954. This was at once subjected to a Soviet veto. That veto was the second "protective veto" cast by the Soviet Union—protective in the sense that, whatever the merits of the case, it was intended to thwart any Security Council action which was unfavourably regarded by the Arab States. Since then, the only resolutions which the Security Council has been capable of adopting have been those containing censure of Israel.

187. Certainly in the past fortnight there has been no disinclination on the part of the majority in the Security Council or the General Assembly to deal with the situation created by the Israel attack on Egypt and the Anglo-French intervention. Certainly, too, there has been no failure on the part of the General Assembly to respond to the admirable and imaginative proposal of the Minister of External Affairs of Canada for the creation of a United Nations Emergency Force. I well understand, too, that the Assembly's consideration of the Middle East problem has been restricted by the need concurrently to examine the problem of Hungary. And I am aware that, while the two United States draft resolutions [A/3272, A/3273] relating to long-term aspects of the Palestine problem were shelved by the first emergency special session of the Assembly, there is provision and opportunity at this Assembly for consideration of the basic elements of the whole Palestine problem. Nevertheless, I am not alone, I think, in detecting already a reluctance in some quarters to extend our work from the study of effects to the study of causes, and to accept the responsibility from which we have retreated in recent years. It was with this in mind that the New Zealand representative, Sir Leslie Munro, proposed on 1 November 1956 [562nd meeting] that the whole problem of Arab-Israel relations should be fully and effectively considered at the present Assembly.

188. Let us be quite clear: whatever the familiarity of certain of its elements, the issue before us is not stale and outworn. As it confronts us today, the Palestine problem is not the problem as it existed in 1949, following the conclusion of the Armistice Agreements. In respect of the Suez Canal, the question of Egyptian interference and the restrictions on Israel shipping has been absorbed in the more serious possibility that similar

restrictions and interference may, to suit the interests of Egypt and at its will, be levelled against any user of the Canal.

189. Similarly, the question of a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab States has been coloured and transformed by developments of the past seven years. In consideration of a final settlement, account must now be taken of the following: the diminishing relevance to existing conditions of certain provisions of the Assembly resolutions of 1947 and 1948; Israel's successful consolidation of the statehood conferred on her by this Assembly and the clear evidence of her determination to maintain it; the declared intention of Colonel Nasser to destroy Israel and the apparent willingness of the Soviet Union to assist that objective; the manifest inadequacy as permanent frontiers of the armistice lines agreed on in 1949; the continued existence of the refugees in conditions of wretchedness and the disinclination of either side, Arab or Israel, to make the political decisions which would assist the alleviation of their suffering; the emergence of an imperative need for unified development of the water resources of the Jordan Valley; the record of Security Council decisions with relation to Suez Canal traffic, frontier incidents and projects on the River Jordan; and, finally, Israel's recent attack on Egypt.

190. My Government has always taken the view that by its decision in favour of the creation of Israel, this Assembly assumed obligations in regard to the future development of relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours. It is now time, we think, to draw the proper lessons from the history of this Organization's association with the Palestine situation. Surely one of those lessons is that the absence of open warfare is no assurance of peace. The primary obligation of the United Nations is to see that peace—a just peace—is preserved. It is not enough for this purpose to hold the ring, to examine and discuss recurring abuses of armistice agreements. The Organization must be resolute and determined in its search for a permanent solution.

191. In the view of my delegation, this Assembly should now frame recommendations on the Palestine problem and should at the same time decide what obligations it is prepared to assume in order to give them meaning. It is obvious that the situation which will prevail when the United Nations has a force in the Middle East capable of taking over from the forces of the United Kingdom and France will not be static but dynamic. It is obvious too that unless steps are taken to make that situation better, it will get worse.

192. Clearly the ultimate responsibility in this situation rests, and must rest, with the States concerned. The Arab States, we believe, must accept Israel; whatever her transgressions, Israel is a State, a Member of this Assembly, virtually the creation of this Assembly, whose extinction this Assembly cannot and, I believe, will not, tolerate. But if there is an obligation upon the Arab States to accept Israel, there is an equal or perhaps a greater obligation on Israel to make herself acceptable to the Arab States. There are immediate steps which it would be both generous and wise for Israel to take. At the present time there is special need for restraint and generosity in the administration of the Gaza strip. And beyond that, I have particularly in mind arrangements for the payment of compensation and an undertaking, within the framework of an over-all settlement, to readmit a significant number of refugees.

193. It is in assisting reconciliation of the two sides, inducing them to meet together and negotiate, that my

delegation believes the Assembly can play its most important part. We are accordingly in agreement with the purpose of the two United States draft resolutions submitted here on 3 November. We favour a serious and immediate effort by the Assembly to formulate proposals on the basis of which a lasting reconciliation might be achieved. Greater Powers and lesser Powers, those directly concerned and those who are not—we must all be prepared to accommodate our interests to the purpose and our views to the realities of the situation.

194. I join in the tributes which have been paid to the devotion to duty of the Secretary-General. In a series of protracted crises, he has had to remove himself austere from all national considerations and has had to endeavour to guide sovereign States towards peace and harmony. Few men at this time bear a heavier load of both the cares and the hopes of the world.

195. This is an interdependent world and it is a world of change. In the thoughtful introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General said:

"We live in a period of fundamental and rapid changes in the relationship of nations and peoples having differing cultures and social systems. The new age that is emerging is an age of promise. It could also become one of disaster. We are seeking to cope with world issues of great difficulty but equally of high challenge. The hope of finding peaceful, just and constructive solutions of these issues rests upon our ability to foster the growth of understanding co-operation and mutual accommodation of interests among all nations." [A/3137/Add.1, p. 1]

196. May I emphasize the words "understanding, co-operation and mutual accommodation". It is easy in a world of change to dwell primarily on the necessity to accept change. Indeed, the changes in the last ten years have few, if any, precedents in history. New, independent States have risen to take their place in the United Nations and, under the inspiration of liberal ideals, economic and social co-operation for the welfare of the individual has taken dramatic steps forward. These changes we welcome and support. But we must not mistake anarchy for progress, any more than we must confuse progress with the hollow misrepresentation of fundamental democratic principles.

197. Colonel Nasser's nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company is a significant example of such confusion. I have no intention here of entering into a discussion of the legal merits of that action, although I believe them to be slender. The special significance of Colonel Nasser's action was, however, that it rejected the concept of the interdependent world. Indeed, it flew in the face of wise advice given by Colonel Nasser's predecessor, General Neguib. In his book¹ published a year or two ago, General Neguib said:

"Today we are at last in a position to reclaim the national sovereignty of which we have so long been deprived. But if we are to assert it successfully, we must conform to cosmopolitan standards of behaviour. Otherwise we may find ourselves in an unequal conflict with the world powers whose strategic interests are involved in the Suez Canal."

I might add, by way of comment, that the international interests involved in the Suez Canal are in no way solely strategic. Economic interests and the welfare of many countries, both European and Asian, are concerned.

198. Invoking the national interest of Egypt, Colonel Nasser seized a utility in which for ninety years the principle of impartial international service had received the highest form of expression. His action was a breach of those relations of confidence and trust which can alone provide the basis of economic and social advancement everywhere. Its import for the under-developed countries is clear. Anarchy, not progress, will result from the summary destruction or confiscation of all that the Western world has contributed in skills, facilities and knowledge to the economic, social and cultural progress of nations which have recently achieved political independence.

199. If we are to avoid anarchy, if we are to achieve a peaceful, ordered progress towards the objectives of human welfare which are now within mankind's capacity, conditions of confidence and trust must be cultivated. This imposes heavy responsibilities on all the Members of the United Nations in the pursuit of what they deem to be their national rights and interests.

200. If a legal right is claimed but disputed, then it is desirable that confirmation be sought from the highest international tribunal, the International Court of Justice. If the right is confirmed or unchallenged, there may still be other interests to be recognized and certain standards of international conduct to be observed in the exercise of the right. If the matter comes before this Organization, it behooves all of us to weigh carefully the expression of our views.

201. There is one other essential condition of progress—respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Charter proclaims this purpose; but the world has just witnessed in Hungary the ruthless and cynical suppression of a people's struggle for these rights and freedoms. The peoples of the world have not been unconscious of the denial of freedom to those forced to live under the Communist régime; but they have nevertheless been shocked and appalled by the barbarity of this action. Our sympathy goes out to the people of Hungary. They should know that their heroic struggle has not been in vain. Free people everywhere now know, as they have long suspected, that the façade of Soviet unity is fragile and can be maintained only by secret police and Russian arms. The struggle to cast off this new colonialism may not yet have fully succeeded but it has set in motion forces which tyranny cannot quell. The day will yet come, I believe, when this Assembly will welcome here the representatives of a truly independent Hungary. For its part, the Assembly has condemned this latest act of Soviet imperialism and in due course will, I trust, deny in the clearest language the claim of the Soviet Union to parade as the champion of freedom.

202. The situation in Hungary has given poignant significance to the work of one of the United Nations agencies and has once again directed attention to the plight of those many thousands of people who have been driven from their homelands and have not yet found permanent homes and security elsewhere.

203. It will be the duty of this Assembly to appoint a successor to the late Dr. van Heuven Goedhart. I have already conveyed to the Secretary-General the sense of grief with which my colleagues and I heard of his death. His devotion to the cause of the refugees was an inspiration to all associated with him, and the question has naturally been asked how we might best mark his services to the United Nations. His contribution was unique in that he offered a permanent solution to a vexed problem of human suffering. He asked from the Members of this

¹ Mohammed Neguib, *Egypt's Destiny*, Victor Gollancz Ltd, London, 1955, p. 188.

Organization only that they should contribute the relatively modest funds necessary to enable him to carry out the Assembly's mandate. New Zealand is one of the Members to have responded to this appeal. But because the funds available have fallen short of those requested, refugees for whom there were firm programmes of resettlement still await the opportunity to start a new life. I should like to leave this suggestion with the Assembly. Would not the most permanent memorial to the late High Commissioner—and the one of which he would most approve—be a contribution by all Members of the funds necessary for the successful conclusion of the programme undertaken under his guidance and inspiration?

204. In making this suggestion I am heartened by the wide support accorded to the work of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the activities of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. Although, as always, the generosity of the United States in support of these programmes has been unbounded, both are now truly international in character. It is easy for the Assembly to accept the fact that the contributions of the great Western Powers will be the mainstay of its aid and relief programmes. However, it is the view of my Government that it is not unreasonable to ask for the general participation of Members in these programmes. New Zealand has translated this opinion into practice by its own contribution to UNICEF, to the technical assistance funds, to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, to the United Nations Refugee Fund, and to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. I recognize that many of the contributions from Members would have to be small in amount; but I believe that, if all gave something, that fact would have a special significance in emphasizing the international character of the programmes initiated by the Assembly.

205. I referred earlier to the Colombo Plan. Many representatives will know that this had its origin in and took its name from, a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo, Ceylon, in January 1950. The original Commonwealth members have since been joined by Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, United States and Vietnam. In one sense, the Colombo Plan is an aid programme under which those able to do so provide capital assistance and technical training and advice to the countries of South and South-East Asia. But the Plan is much more than this; its basic concept is free international co-operation.

206. New Zealand's capital assistance, granted at the rate of £1 million each year, has so far contributed to the development of health services, agriculture, irrigation, education and industry in Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Pakistan. It has also, however, enabled us in New Zealand to gain understanding of the immense problems facing these countries and has, we believe, strengthened our mutual ties of friendship and common interest. This understanding has been consolidated by the mutual discussion of projects, by the annual review undertaken by the Ministers of participating countries, and by the interchange of experts and fellowship-holders. New Zealanders have already welcomed more than 300 of these fellowship-holders from twelve countries of South and South-East Asia and hope in the future to welcome many more.

207. Next month it will be the privilege of my country to act as host to the meeting of Ministers from the States members of the Colombo Plan. Among them will be several whose countries were last year admitted to

membership of the United Nations. I wish to join with others who have preceded me in this debate in extending a welcome to them and to those other new Members whose established right to representation was for so long denied. At the tenth session and in the final weeks of New Zealand's term as a member of the Security Council, my delegation was able to play its part in putting an end to this long-standing injustice. The satisfaction which followed this result was, however, tempered by the exclusion of Japan from membership through the opposition of the Soviet Union. At this stage I shall do no more than reaffirm the view of my Government that Japan, with whom we enjoy the most friendly relations, is fully qualified to be a Member of the United Nations and that its qualifications should be forthwith recognized in a favourable recommendation from the Security Council.

208. In his report, the Secretary-General has indicated the various problems with which this Assembly must deal, in one way or another, as a result of the increase in membership. One of these concerns the size of the principal organs of the United Nations. It is natural and proper that those Members admitted within the last year should wish to participate directly and without delay in the different activities of the Organization. I trust I will not be misunderstood if I express the hope that, before taking action, the Assembly will examine with every care and on its merits each of the proposals submitted to it. In the work of the Councils, regard must be paid to efficiency and economy of operations as well as to other factors such as geographical representation. My delegation does not deny the justification for a moderate increase in representation in some cases; it does, however, express the hope that priority will be given to substantive considerations rather than to any mathematical equation in determining the constitution of the principal organs. A cautious approach to this question does not involve the denial of participation in the functions of the United Nations.

209. If any complaint can be made, it is that the range and complexity of these functions exceed the capacity of all but a few delegations. Moreover, in today's world the activities of the Organization are always changing and expanding. Only a month has passed since this hall witnessed the establishment, by unanimous agreement, of a new Agency dedicated to the peaceful exploitation of atomic energy. The New Zealand Government has every confidence that this Agency will match in its achievements the accomplishments of the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization and the other specialized agencies which have proved so conclusively the value of peaceful international co-operation.

210. I shall not comment on the other problems—administrative, budgetary and organizational—with which the Assembly will have to deal. It is pertinent to remark, however, that the consideration of these questions now will not be definitive for the future. Already potential new members must be recognized. My delegation for its part looks forward with the keenest anticipation to co-operating in this Assembly with these new States and particularly with those emerging to statehood within the Commonwealth. With the Federation of Malaya we have already established the most friendly contacts. As a member of the Trusteeship Council, New Zealand has taken a special interest in the recent evolution of the Trust Territory of British Togoland towards a new independent status as part of Ghana. My delegation will support the adoption by this Assembly of the resolution which will mark the fulfilment by the Administering Authority of its responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement.

211. Clearly the problem of adjustment to which the Members of the United Nations must now accommodate their actions is and will be a progressive affair. If this adjustment is to be fruitful, each decision must reflect the need for understanding, co-operation and mutual accommodation. None recognizes more keenly than I do that in the conditions under which this Assembly has met, this exercise of restraint will impose heavy burdens on all of us. But let us not forget that the attention of the

world is today focussed on our deliberations. The peoples of the United Nations will not be satisfied, nor will their future be safeguarded, by the mere adoption of resolutions or by the adoption of temporary expedients. The solutions to the issues which threaten the peace must be lasting. That is the challenge to this Organization.

The meeting rose at 12.5 a.m.