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**President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON**  
 (Thailand).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

SPEECHES BY MR. BANDARANAIKE (CEYLON), MR. RIFA'I (JORDAN), MR. KIMNY (CAMBODIA), MR. SERRANO (PHILIPPINES), MR. COOPER (LIBERIA), MR. BALAFREJ (MOROCCO) AND MR. BOURGUIBA (TUNISIA)

1. Mr. BANDARANAIKE (Ceylon): As Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of my country, I am indeed very pleased to have the opportunity of attending this, my first session of the General Assembly. I am pleased to be here for another reason; that is, that I come here fresh from the Conference at New Delhi held from 12 to 14 November 1956 of the Prime Ministers of the Colombo countries, whose joint statement, issued after the New Delhi Conference, I find has been referred to on various occasions by several speakers. I welcome the opportunity of being able, where necessary, to explain to you more fully what we feel with regard to some of the important problems that you have been called upon to deal with at this time.

2. At the outset, I wish to offer to the President, Prince Wan Waithayakon, on behalf of the Ceylonese delegation, our congratulations on his election to this high office. I have no doubt that his long devotion to the ideals and the causes which this great Organization represents and the recognition by representatives of his high qualities of devotion, ability and tact, have been responsible for his election. Personally I have an especial pleasure in his election because his country is in the same region as mine, and between my country and his there have been close and friendly cultural and other bonds for many centuries.

3. My country, together with many others, languished in the anterooms of this Organization for many years until, by a signal stroke of statesmanship last year, sixteen countries were admitted to membership of the United Nations.

4. I regret that there are still countries which are awaiting admission, countries whose claims to such admission appear to many of us to be unquestioned, and whose admission will undoubtedly make more fully representa-

tive the membership of this great world Organization for peace. I hope that before long their claims will receive the consideration which is their due. Amongst them, I wish to mention in particular such countries as the People's Republic of China and Japan.

5. I read with great interest the annual report [A/3137] of the Secretary-General. There are some matters of importance in which appreciable success has been achieved in the year under review. In certain others, valuable progress has been made—and in all I suppose it might be said that a certain degree of continuous activity appears to have been maintained.

6. I should like to take this opportunity, if it is not out of place, to congratulate the Secretary-General on the able, efficient and devoted manner in which he has been, and is, performing his functions, particularly during recent events. The Secretary-General, as the chief executive officer of the United Nations, in carrying out, in the letter as well as in the spirit, the decisions of the United Nations, has greatly enhanced their reputation and prestige. I congratulate him, and I congratulate ourselves, on possessing an officer of such pre-eminent and distinguished qualities.

7. I suppose it is true that the normal activities of the United Nations have been overshadowed by certain recent happenings subsequent to the period covered by the annual report of the Secretary-General. I refer to happenings in Egypt and in Hungary. These events have provided, on the one hand, a crucial test for the United Nations and, on the other hand, a great opportunity. I should like to say that it is my opinion that the United Nations has emerged out of these crises with its reputation and prestige enhanced. I have heard, no doubt, many people here criticize the United Nations on the grounds that it is slow to act, that when it does act it cannot act effectively, that it sometimes tends to lose itself in diffused thinking—and still more diffused decisions. Those who criticize the United Nations should bear in mind that, given all the circumstances in each case, the United Nations has proved as successful, sometimes even more successful, than what one might realistically have expected. The United Nations is not a super-state possessed of forces, armed forces, capable of asserting its authority even over powerful Members or non-members who may act contrary to the purposes of the United Nations. It can and does bring to bear a certain collective moral force of the world which, although it may not be expeditiously effective in all cases, commands in certain cases, as it has done in the past, success and in certain others at least a very salutary restraining influence.

8. I naturally wish to say a few words on the two questions that are exercising our minds today: Suez and Hungary. I do not propose to delay you with a reiteration of the whole history that has led up to these tragic happenings.

9. In the case of Suez, I wish briefly to recount certain facts that are important to the background of our think-

ing in this matter. The President of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal Company. I do not find in any quarter a disposition seriously to question his right to do so. Although the manner in which it was done, the time in which it was done, may be considered expedient by some and incorrect by others, the basic fact of his right to do so has not been questioned. If that is correct, I consider that it follows as a corollary to the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company that the power of operation of the Canal should also be vested in Egypt.

10. But that is not the whole story. There are important international interests in the Suez Canal that also need to be safeguarded. We are all agreed on that. These interests I feel could adequately have been safeguarded, while recognizing the right of nationalization and the right of control following thereon, by entering into a convention on somewhat similar lines to the Constantinople Convention of 1888, but with further provisions, if need be, to provide for some consultative or advisory committee whose advice Egypt would have been compelled to seek in dealing with important matters of an operational nature. If there was a disagreement between the two, surely some machinery for arbitration in such instances could have been devised.

11. That would have been the most hopeful method of procedure in order to obtain agreement, while satisfying what both sides claim to be certain fundamental needs. But the moment that a majority of the countries assembled at the London Conference decided on international control of the operation of the Canal, fundamental difficulties immediately arose. The mission to Egypt, led by the Prime Minister of Australia, for discussions with Colonel Nasser, was bound, in the circumstances, to prove a failure. I cannot believe that anyone seriously contemplated that it could be otherwise. Thereafter, quite rightly, the Powers more immediately concerned referred this issue to the Security Council of the United Nations and an agreement on certain principles—the six principles, no less—by the United Kingdom, France and Egypt was unanimously endorsed by the Security Council in a resolution. [S/3675]

12. What we fail to understand is this: why were not negotiations proceeded with on the basis of those agreed six principles to see how far agreement could be reached? I have yet to understand why either one side concerned, or the other, or both, failed to requisition the good offices of the United Nations in order to carry on those negotiations. The matter was referred to the Security Council of the United Nations in order to pursue the method of negotiation as against that of force, which had been threatened earlier. It had reached the point when those negotiations could take place on an agreed basis for discussion.

13. Why did they not take place? Why was it necessary to have the intrusion, before further discussion, of this unfortunate resort to force? Israel made an attack on Egyptian territory. Why, pray? Because it had grievances in the past? Because it feared Egypt's aggression or attacks in the future? Why was this particular moment chosen? I never choose to condemn anyone until condemnation is based on proof. But is it not somewhat difficult to escape the belief that the Israel action, followed by that of the Anglo-French forces, were not altogether unconnected with each other, and that Israel, at the very least, may have thought, in a moment of inspiration, that it was a good moment for it to move, and that an attack by it then would produce action on the part of the United Kingdom and France which would in fact amount to support?

14. However, as I said, I prefer not to attach motives to anybody. Until something is definitely proved, I prefer not to condemn anyone. It is a mistake to do so. But it does seem to me at least rather a strange coincidence that those events, in that order, should have so taken place; it is a very unfortunate coincidence. I am glad that the United Nations immediately dealt with the matter and arrived at certain decisions and that those decisions are now in the process of implementation.

15. May I say here that I appreciate very much the fact that even in principle the United Kingdom, France and Israel have accepted the decisions of the United Nations for a cease-fire and for a withdrawal. I only hope that those steps will materialize very quickly.

16. I must tell the Assembly that it is my view, and the view of my colleagues, the other Asian Prime Ministers, that the position is still extremely delicate and dangerous. We do not feel that there is any occasion for undue complacency. I am glad that, substantially, a cease-fire has taken place. But the withdrawal has not yet taken place. A United Nations Emergency Force is already in the process of being established in Egypt in order to carry out the decisions of the United Nations in supervising a withdrawal of those forces. I say this, and I say it with all seriousness, that as long as foreign troops—be they Israel, United Kingdom or French—continue to remain on Egyptian territory, the position is one that is fraught with the greatest danger and one that may bring about results leading to a third world war. I wish to say that those forces must be withdrawn now, without any delay. I wish to say that I think it would be very unwise to follow some principle of a phased withdrawal, a withdrawing of those forces in numbers according to the numbers of the United Nations Emergency Force who enter: for example a hundred United Nations troops going into Egypt and a hundred being withdrawn; two hundred United Nations troops going in and two hundred being withdrawn. There can be no greater mistake than that.

17. The moment that even a token United Nations force is established on Egyptian territory, it will be sufficient occasion, in the interests of us all, for Israel forces to be withdrawn behind the armistice line, and United Kingdom and French forces to be withdrawn from Egyptian territory. I cannot conceive that either Egypt or Israel would make an assault upon forces of the United Nations. I just do not believe it. So that it is really not required for a large force of the United Nations to be present before those forces are withdrawn. The first and the most vital thing is a withdrawal of forces from Egyptian territory now, as early as possible. If that does not happen, even if under the guise of "volunteers"—and we know what "volunteers" mean—other countries, in order to secure the observance of the decisions of the United Nations, take steps, I fear that the results may be very far-reaching and all our efforts so far be swept away in a moment.

18. There is another important thing, of course: the early clearing of the Suez Canal. That is very important to all of us, particularly to my country. Most of the trade of Ceylon—75 per cent of it—passes through the Suez Canal. I take it that, not only for us, but for other countries, Western as well as Asian, it is important that the Suez Canal be cleared as early as possible. I feel that it should be done under the auspices of the United Nations.

19. There is one point regarding that matter, namely, whether the clearing of the Canal should start at once in full force, prior to any substantial withdrawal of foreign

forces from Egyptian territory, or whether it should begin subsequent to that. I hope that such quibbles will not stand in the way of the practice of doing the thing that is necessary. I, personally, feel that a substantial withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian territory at once would greatly facilitate the further task of clearing up the Suez Canal. I am quite sure that Egypt—at least, this is my hope—will not object to the United Nations, under its flag, using whatever material and tackle—and it is rather specialized tackle which is required for this purpose—are available, from whatever source they happen to come, in order to clear the Canal.

20. The withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt immediately and the very quick clearing of the Suez Canal must then be followed by negotiations regarding the Canal on the basis of those six principles to which we have already referred and which presumably still stand. Those are the steps that are necessary to be taken at once. Those are the steps which I hope the United Nations will try to achieve in the course of its deliberations in the days to come.

21. With regard to the general settlement of the rather complicated and complex affairs of Western Asia, that is another matter. I sincerely hope that sometime those troubles also can be settled, particularly those between Israel and its Arab neighbours. I trust that when the bitterness of these incidents has died down to some degree, it will be possible for those primarily concerned at least to have a talk about an honourable settlement of those differences. But I hope that that long-term process will not be mixed with the immediate needs that have arisen today out of this situation. I am not so optimistic as to believe that those differences can be settled at an early date; I do not believe so for a moment. First things come first, so let us deal with these first problems which I mentioned and which are essential to prevent the possibility—believe me, the probability—of a serious worsening of a situation, which some may feel, superficially, is now assuaged. It is not so.

22. I wish to say a few words about Hungary. There seemed to be a feeling in the minds of some people that some of our countries were indifferent, or even lukewarm, about certain happenings in Hungary. I wish strongly to repudiate this charge. What happened? It will interest the Assembly to know that when the very first draft resolution [A/3286] regarding this Hungarian episode was introduced here, it was done in such a desperate hurry, it was sent from the Security Council to the General Assembly so quickly for a vote to be taken within a few hours, that some of us had no opportunity to bring our minds to bear on the problem or even to send instructions to our representatives here as to how they were to vote. I was fast asleep in Colombo when an urgent cablegram from our permanent representative here was received by the Permanent Secretary, asking for instructions as a vote was going to be taken. I had not all the facts or data before me. I could not even get my office open in order to get such papers as were available there at that hour of the night. We are rather respectable in Colombo. We go to bed fairly early and we remain there till morning. What could I do? I instructed my permanent secretary to send off immediately a cablegram to our representative here, making certain general suggestions and asking him to consult with other groups with which we associate in taking action. We abstained from voting. That is how that abstention came about.

23. Is it really not possible, when this world Organization discusses subjects of paramount importance, to allow a certain reasonable measure of time for considera-

tion and consultation before important decisions are arrived at? It seems to me a great pity if the urgency of the situation—if I may so call it—demands the taking of action in that horrid manner. That is what happened. I believe that in the case of some other Asian countries also they had not time to issue instructions to their representatives or even to consider the matter. There seemed such a desperate haste to get something through—a desperate haste which I fail to understand. I do not think that the lapse of a few hours, twelve hours, would have made such an overwhelming difference to the case.

24. With regard to the second draft resolution on Hungary [A/3316] that was moved here, it was like the proverbial curate's egg, good in parts and bad in parts. We agreed with the request that Soviet troops be withdrawn from Budapest and from Hungarian territory without any delay. We could not quite agree with that portion of the draft resolution that requested that free elections be held in Hungary under the vigilant eyes of United Nations observers. You will have noted what we said at Delhi. What we said there was that the USSR troops should be withdrawn and that Hungary should be left free to work out its own destiny. Why should we dictate to any country that it should have elections as we want it to have them? Surely, whether it is a Soviet dictatorship in Hungary, an Anglo-French dictatorship in Egypt or even the dictatorship of the United Nations which militates against the sovereignty of a country, they are all, I think, equally unwise and undesirable.

25. What were we to do with a draft resolution, part of which we agreed with and part of which we disagreed? I asked my representative here to secure a separate vote on the separate parts. When the draft resolution as a whole was put to the vote [571st meeting] we followed the only logical course; we abstained from voting, having expressed our views quite clearly and openly from this rostrum.

26. The latest draft resolution [A/3357/Rev. 2] that proposed by Cuba, the debate on which I had the privilege of listening to here yesterday, was passed by a majority vote. Another draft resolution introduced by India, Ceylon and Indonesia [A/3368/Rev. 3] was also passed. I leave it to the ingenuity of the Secretary-General to reconcile the two decisions. However, I feel that the draft resolution introduced by us was more reasonable and logical than certain aspects of the wording of the other draft resolution.

27. The Assembly has also passed a resolution [1007 (ES—II)] calling for relief in Hungary. We decided to recommend that to other countries and to do it ourselves, at the Delhi conference, and our Governments are doing it. My Government has voted for this a few days ago. We are a poor country but we have decided to give what we could give towards relief, in Hungary as well as in Egypt. Budapest needs relief; does not Port Said? They all need relief. If I may be forgiven for using the phrase—and I do not say it disparagingly of anyone—there is no fundamental difference, to my mind, between the thug or rowdy who deals a man one blow and the thug or rowdy who deals a man two blows. Fundamentally, both are worthy of condemnation. That was our attitude regarding Egypt and Hungary.

28. However, let us remember this. Mere dialectics are not sufficient in dealing with these situations. Let us learn the lessons which Egypt and Hungary teach us. Let us deal with the immediate, pressing problems and let us gear up the world Organization, if we can, to prevent

the recurrence of such incidents in the future. That seems to be the wise course to follow.

29. We gain nothing by undue mutual recriminations and revilings. As a Buddhist, I remember the story of Buddha and the answer he gave to an opponent who came before him and abused him for hours. He listened to him patiently and said: "My dear friend, if you invite guests to a banquet and the guests do not come, what do you do with the food that is prepared?" "Oh," was the reply, "I and my family will consume the food if the guests do not arrive." So he said to the man who had abused him: "You have offered me your abuse. I am not accepting it. You can take it yourself."

30. Mutual recriminations and the wounding of one another's feelings by sharp retorts and angry words will not help us very much. But there are certain things to which we cannot be blind. What have we to do now? I have suggested the immediate steps to be taken in Egypt and the immediate steps, on which the Assembly has decided, that should and must be taken in Hungary.

31. I would appeal to the Government of Hungary not to oppose the recommendation of this Assembly that some impartial observers go there in order to observe the situation and to discover the truth or otherwise of the charges that have been made on the one side and equally vehemently repudiated on the other. I appeal that that step be taken, and I appeal to the United Kingdom, France and Israel to withdraw their troops—as indeed they have agreed to do—now without any delay. In that way the good name of those countries, as well as, perhaps, world peace, will best be safeguarded.

32. There is a further significance, of course, in these happenings, and I would draw your attention particularly to this. We of Asia who have suffered under imperialistic colonial rule for many centuries are, naturally, extremely sensitive toward anything approaching a resurgence of the spirit of imperialism and colonialism. I hope we are wrong, but we feel strongly that the happenings in Egypt, and perhaps the echo of those happenings in Hungary, are a manifestation once again of a certain resurgence of the spirit of colonialism, the desire of a strong Power to achieve its purposes and to impose its will, even by force, on a weaker Power.

33. Are you surprised that we lay greater emphasis on Egypt than on Hungary? Far more dangers are inherent for the world in the Egyptian situation than in the Hungarian. We deplore both, of course. But this Assembly very rightly came to the conclusion that the problem of Egypt was a more urgent and serious one than that of Hungary, although both are to be condemned and deplored alike.

34. You will see, therefore, the importance of these happenings and how strongly many of us—the vast majority of this Assembly—feel on these matters. It is not too late even now to put things right. It is not yet too late to remedy this situation, although I greatly fear that the bitterness created by these incidents will not be easily forgotten and will not be easily forgiven. But let us hope that the preservation of peace now and the lapse of time will again restore that confidence that has been so seriously and tragically shattered. We had got into the habit recently of believing that the great Powers of the world were united in upholding peace and decency in dealings between man and man, between nation and nation. We believed that this great Assembly provided the opportunity for all, great and small, to unite in achieving that objective. But when great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, themselves act in a way that

has brought on their heads the condemnation of this Assembly, can it not be realized how gravely that confidence is shattered, particularly in the minds of those of us who are small and weak and who had hoped that in this new world we would be able, without national or international brigandage and piracy, to work out our own destiny and to advance toward peace and happiness?

35. Those are the results of these happenings. I have dealt with the two important problems of today, the problems of Egypt and Hungary—with the position as I see it and the steps that should be taken immediately and also perhaps in the not too distant future. I wish now to say a few words about Asia. There is some misunderstanding of the position of some of our Asian countries, and I wish to explain the position to you fairly.

36. Many of our countries in Asia have re-emerged into freedom after three or four hundred years of colonial imperialist rule. In this epoch of newly gained freedom, we find ourselves faced with a dual problem—a problem within a problem. First, there is the problem of converting a colonial society—politically, socially and economically—into a free society, and then there is the problem of effecting that conversion against a background of changing world conditions. The world is in a state of change and flux today. The world is going through one of those rare occasions—they happen at certain intervals—of a change-over from one society to another, from one civilization to another. We are living today, in fact, in a period of transition between two civilizations, the old and the new. During a period like this, all kinds of conflicts arise—ideological, national, economic, political. That has happened in the past, and in the past those conflicts were settled by some nice little war here or there. Today we cannot afford the luxury of war, for we all know what it means.

37. Therefore, the task for us today is a far more difficult one than ever faced mankind before: to effect this transition to some form of stable human society, and to do it amid a welter of conflicts, with reasonable peace and with the avoidance of conflicts that burst out into war, for war is unthinkable today. This is an age when we have to live and let live, when we cannot afford to hate each other so much that we are prepared to sacrifice all mankind in the name of peace or for some other reason. We cannot afford to do that today. Within the limits of honour, of course, and those principles which we hold dear, we have to live and let live.

38. That is the philosophy behind the doctrine of co-existence. We in Asia do not hate anybody. We want to be friends with all. We have to build up a new society for ourselves; one, as I have said, which best suits the genius of our country. We should like to get some ideas and some principles from this side, and some from the other, until a coherent form of society is made up that suits our own people in the context of the changing world of today. That is why we do not range ourselves on the side of this power-bloc or that power-bloc. That is the philosophy of neutralism. It is not something dishonest; it is not a matter of sitting on the fence to see whether we can get the best of both worlds. It is a position that is inexorably thrust upon us by the circumstances of the case. It is a position that will be of great help in the world situation today, for we do provide a bridge over the gulf between the two opposing factions.

39. We are supposed to be the "uncommitted" nations. I strongly object to that word. We are committed up to the hilt. We are committed to preserve decency in dealings between nations, we are committed to the cause of

justice and freedom, as much as anyone is. That, briefly, is our position in Asia. I trust it will not be misunderstood.

40. Sometimes the feeling comes over me, as I am sure it does over many of us, that the fight is not worth while—that there is, in fact, no hope for mankind to escape the perplexities, problems, conflicts, hatreds and enmities that seem to be arising all about us. But sometimes when I feel like that I am fortified by the thought that through the dark fabric of human history there passes one golden thread of unflinching strength and firmness—the unconquered, unconquerable spirit of man. It has manifested itself through the ages in various, diverse, different ways: first of all, the unconquerable spirit of man fighting for bare survival and existence; later, fighting for various causes—national causes maybe, or the cause of justice, the cause of freedom or the pursuit of truth on the part of the great religious leaders down through history. Today it is needed in the cause of human friendship and of peace.

41. What is peace? Peace is not merely a negative thing—the absence of one set of people trying to kill another set of people. No doubt the prevention of war is a necessary factor for peace, but peace, believe me, is something much more positive than that, for peace in its true sense means human understanding, human friendship and co-operation out of which, indeed, peace in its true form alone can rise. I look upon the United Nations as the one machine available to mankind today through which it can express this unconquerable spirit of man in its efforts to achieve that peace, friendship and collaboration which is, I hope, the object of us all.

42. My country is a small one, a weak one and a poor one, but I venture to think that today, particularly in an Organization such as this, the service that a country can render—that a Member can render—is not to be measured alone by the size of that country, its population, its power or its strength. This is an Organization which expresses itself most effectively by bringing to bear a certain moral force—the collective moral force and decency of human beings. That is a task in which the weak as well as the strong can render a useful service, and I give the Assembly the assurance, on behalf of my country, that as far as we are concerned, every endeavour that we can make in all sincerity to assist in the achievements of those noble ideals for which this Organization stands, will always be forthcoming in the fullest measure.

43. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): At the outset of my speech I would like to be allowed to express to the President the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on his unanimous election. The fine qualities which Prince Wan Waithayakon personally possesses have won the respect and the admiration of my Government as, indeed, they have won the respect and admiration of the other delegations. The cordial relations that exist between our two countries, particularly as members of the Bandung Conference and of the African-Asian group, add a sentiment of deep satisfaction to the force of our congratulations.

44. This is the first time that the delegation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has attended a regular session of the General Assembly. As a new Member of the United Nations, my country lacks to some extent the experience acquired by other countries in the functions of the United Nations. We also do not have a comprehensive knowledge of all the matters and problems which have been discussed by various organs and committees of this Organization. Nevertheless, we do have something in common with all Member States—something which

gives us the same background and experience. It is adherence to the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter.

45. It was long before we joined this world Organization that my country began to take an active part in the work of the United Nations as a member of its various branches and agencies. The Government of Jordan had also the privilege of taking part in the debates which were held in the General Assembly and its committees on matters of direct concern to us—debates in which we played a constructive part.

46. It was also long before we joined this Organization that my country adopted a policy of co-operation and friendship with all nations. It could never be said that we were a cause of any international friction or that we ever acted except in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Our relationship with our Arab sister-States stems from our national unity and from our common aims and interests. Though we, as Arabs, constitute eleven independent sovereign States, Members of this world Organization, we nevertheless represent one Arab nation which, in effect, extends beyond the boundaries of those States to other territories that are still seeking their independence and sovereignty.

47. Our relations with the countries of Asia and Africa constitute a natural cohesion which derives its strength from the similarity of conditions in those countries, from unity of aspirations and from spiritual, historical and geographical ties. The great entity of the African-Asian countries has expressed itself in an impressive form at the Bandung Conference, and that is continually revealed in the conduct of the African-Asian group at the United Nations—which lives up to its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter.

48. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on the other hand, follows a friendly policy towards all other countries and blocs and groups of nations. We believe that friendship among all nations could best be secured by reciprocal respect and recognition of rights and freedom. This universe was not created to be a place of trouble but to be a paradise in which man should wish for his fellow man what he wishes for himself. In fact the Charter of the United Nations was set up to establish the rules for a decent life for mankind. This Organization was entrusted with the great task of accomplishing the aims and purposes of the Charter.

49. In view of the great responsibility which is laid upon our Organization, two big questions arise. One is whether the United Nations has fulfilled the principle of universality in its structure; and the other is whether it has been able to apply the rules of its Charter.

50. As regards the first question, it may be said that our Organization is growing steadily in the direction of fulfilling its mission of universality. The fact that its Members now represent seventy-nine States is a good indication that the Organization will further expand until it represents all the nations of the world. Speed, however, is required in the admission of new Members to take their places with us here. Among those nations for whose admission my Government earnestly hopes is Japan, with which Jordan maintains friendly relations; Japan is a great nation which has contributed substantially to human progress and civilization.

51. As regards the second question, it may easily be said that this Organization has gone far towards providing happiness and prosperity to the peoples of the world. It would take a lengthy report to attempt to enumerate the United Nations achievements in all fields. I must, how-

ever, say that the United Nations triumphed in its peaceful achievements when it established an international agency for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In that case, virtue defeated the elements of evil. Technical assistance in the atomic field has now become available to all nations. Furthermore, the work of the United Nations in the economic and social fields and the contributions of technical assistance are acknowledged and greatly appreciated by my Government. Through its specialized agencies, the United Nations has scored, and scored notably. I wish to mention particularly the efforts of the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization. My delegation also wishes to pay a special tribute to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and to its efficient administration. The Jordan Government also acknowledges with much appreciation the work of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration.

52. My delegation is pleased to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General the great appreciation and high regard of the Jordan Government. We remember with gratification his last two visits to our country, in the performance of his important duties.

53. That is one aspect of the answer to the question relating to the achievements of the United Nations. There are, however, other aspects. Has the United Nations been successful in settling the basic issues of this world? Has the United Nations been able to obtain an agreement on disarmament by the great Powers—or even an agreement on a reduction of armaments? Has it succeeded in obtaining a pledge by those Powers to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and avoid the possible destruction of civilization if a world war were to break out? Has it eradicated tension and precluded the flaring up of a major conflict that might arise from a particular problem or controversy? I am afraid that the answers to these questions cannot be in the affirmative. One may ask this further question: How far has the United Nations succeeded in solving the problems which are causing international friction and threatening international peace and security?

54. The United Nations has no doubt solved a number of major political problems and achieved final settlements of questions which were causing conflict among some of its Members. This is clear from the role of the United Nations in the Far East, in South East Asia, in parts of North Africa and in the dependent and Trust Territories of Africa. There are, however, problems which are still unsolved and which represent a continuous threat to international peace and security. I do not say that we should expect the United Nations at once to solve all the problems of the world. I would, however, say that the prestige of the United Nations would be jeopardized if it were to avoid dealing with a problem effectively merely for reasons of political expediency on the part of some of its Members, or if it were to ignore human and national rights because of its inability to uphold and implement the principles of the Charter.

55. Among these problems which cry out for solutions and which are still pending, is the question of Palestine, a problem which was created by the United Nations itself. The present instability and explosive tension in the Middle East are the outcome of the creation of Israel by the United Nations. This Organization must admit that the establishment of an alien, artificial State on the Arab soil of Palestine, in the way in which that State was established, was the greatest error ever committed by the United Nations. The hundreds of thousands of Arab

inhabitants of Palestine who were driven out of their homeland by the terror of the Israelis and dispersed, or crowded into camps as destitute refugees, are living symbols of what this world Organization has done to an innocent nation and of what it is unable to do to restore right and justice.

56. What is today known as the State of Israel is the Arab territory of Palestine which was usurped in its entirety from its rightful Arab owners by the crowds of Israelis flocking in from every part of the globe. It was contrary to the principles of justice and right for such a State to have been recognized by the majority of Member States represented in this Assembly and to have been given a seat in this world forum. I do not believe that the nine years that have passed since Israel's inception is a period long enough to make us forget how Israel was established. The sad events that are taking place each day in the Middle East are constant reminders of the wrongful act of creating Israel. Israel was established on Arab soil, in complete disregard of the wishes and aspirations of its indigenous Arab population. Now it exists, persistently denying the natural rights of the legitimate inhabitants of Palestine—rights which are recognized in international law, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in the very resolutions of the United Nations which brought Israel itself into being, and which are confirmed and reaffirmed year after year by the United Nations General Assembly.

57. Nine years have passed, and the Arab refugees still subsist on the charity of other nations. They live in despair and produce seeds of hatred and vengeance all over the Arab world against those responsible for their sad destiny. They have lost everything they possessed in Palestine and have received no restitution.

58. A visit to these refugees in their mud huts and shabby tents under the burning sun of summer and the severe cold of winter would enable one to listen to their appraisal of the justice of the United Nations. It is not enough in any appraisal to hear only what the well-off have to say or how they judge, it is also necessary to know what the poor and miserable feel. The Palestine Arab refugees, of whom my country shelters 600,000 and whose legitimate right it is to return to their lands and properties in Palestine, have no possibility of living a self-sufficient life on the economic opportunities in the Arab countries. The Director of UNRWA has mentioned this fact often in the official reports he has submitted during the past years to the General Assembly. The economic projects that were offered did not serve any end in this respect. The only solution which remains applicable to the problem of the Arab refugees, and which is consistent with the rules of right, is to repatriate them to their native land.

59. It has been proved, from the investigations which were made by the Director of UNRWA and from the conferences held by the refugees themselves, as well as from much other evidence, that the yearning of the refugees to return to their homeland has never diminished during the past nine years of forced exile. They have never given up their determination, and their only hope is to return. Any attempts to divert this desire will be in vain.

60. The proper action to be followed by the United Nations would be to give them an opportunity to choose between repatriation and compensation. Such a method on the part of the United Nations would be in accordance with the resolutions previously adopted by the General Assembly and in conformity with the views of the Direc-



tor of UNRWA. It is against the laws of morality to keep these hundreds of thousands of refugees forcibly away from their homes and from their properties and to make them subsist on the minimum of United Nations relief.

61. This is what the birth of Israel brought to the Arabs; perils and miseries, threats and instability. We hear voices resounding in the atmosphere about an attempt to work out a settlement of the major problems between the Arab States and Israel. I wish to make a very essential clarification on this point by saying that whatever outstanding problems exist, they are, in their essence, problems between the United Nations and Israel. Israel is responsible before the United Nations for its challenge to and continued defiance of the United Nations resolutions on the Palestine question. For its occupation of parts of Palestine that were not allotted to it by the United Nations; for its disregard of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine for repatriation and compensation, as reaffirmed in successive resolutions; for its direct challenge to the United Nations by declaring Jerusalem as the capital of its State, for its continued violations of Security Council decisions that have condemned Israel time and again and called on it to observe its obligations under the Charter; for its violations of the armistice system and the general armistice agreements and its denunciation of their validity, Israel is responsible to the United Nations. Therefore, a settlement of these major problems should first be made between the United Nations and Israel before the Arabs are called upon to consider a settlement with Israel.

62. The United Nations is required to settle these matters in a manner which deserve its authority and prestige and which restores general confidence. After such confidence has been restored, and after the United Nations has acted in the Palestine question in accordance with the principles of right and justice, then it will be possible for those who wish to introduce a peaceful settlement to do so.

63. Moreover, I wish to draw the attention of the representatives to the fact that when we wish to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question, we have to take into consideration primarily the views of the party essentially concerned. This major party consists of the Arabs of Palestine, the original inhabitants of the area with which we are dealing. Where is that party now? It is scattered here and there, and it is not in a position to express its will. Therefore, it is a matter of equity and sound policy that the people of Palestine should be returned to their normal life in their former possessions and homeland and enabled to determine their own future. This is their inherent right. How can the Arabs bear to see their region subjected to trouble and instability by the presence of Israel?

64. The dearest hope of the Arabs is to live in peace and tranquility in their own land and to restore the stability of their lives. We lived in peace and we want peace, but peace is not a mechanical operation. It cannot be imposed on nations by force or by the threat of force. No power in the world can compel a nation or even an individual to justify what is wrong. Peace can only be achieved in a state of contentment and self-satisfaction, in conditions which are receptive to the theories of intelligent minds and good hearts.

65. To accept the injustice which was inflicted on the Arabs of Palestine would be to add a further error to the past errors and to aggravate still further the situation in Palestine. Israel occupied a territory of Palestine which

did not belong to it and a further territory which was not even allocated to it by the United Nations resolutions. In its last aggression against Egypt, it added the territory of Gaza, thus transgressing beyond its armistice demarcation line with Egypt. The military attacks of Israel against the Arab countries developed into a stage where aggression became the policy of the Israel Government and the conduct of the Israelis. Sometimes they call it retaliation or reprisal, and sometimes defensive reaction. They have called it Israel's intensified fear of attack, and they have called it the elimination of the nests of the *fedayeen*. Let them call it whatever they wish. Let them enrich the expressions of their aggression by all sorts of terminology. We call it aggression for expansionist purposes.

66. The Jordanian delegation on 19 October brought to the attention of the Security Council the fact that the Israel Government was aiming at the annexation and incorporation into its territory of the two remaining parts of Palestine, the Gaza Strip and Eastern Palestine, which is the western bank of the Jordan. Ten days later, Israel invaded and occupied the Gaza Strip. It committed and is still committing all kinds of atrocities, murders and acts of genocide among the civilian inhabitants and refugees.

67. If Israel does not withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the Gaza Strip and implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, and if the United Nations does not compel Israel to withdraw at once, then a very serious situation will arise in which the Arabs will have no other alternative but to defend themselves.

68. It was most regrettable that the last Israel aggression against Egypt revealed a plot prepared and executed between Israel on the one hand and the United Kingdom and France on the other. Never would one imagine that the two big Powers had stooped to the stage where they disregarded the fundamental principles of the Charter and the standards of morality by launching a sudden and unprovoked invasion on Egyptian territory and innocent Egyptian inhabitants. Never would one imagine that two major Powers, co-founders of the United Nations, used Israel as a tool for their aggressive plans against Egypt. If this reveals anything, it reveals why these big Powers were instrumental in creating this foreign State in the heart of the Arab world.

69. Thanks to human conscience, to the overwhelming majority of this house, and to the honest leaders of the great nations of the world, the aggression against Egypt was withheld at a certain stage and the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces was ordered. Thanks to the bravery and boldness of the Egyptian defenders and people, the treacherous triple attack was checked. The Anglo-French aggression against Egypt was actually directed against every Arab country and every nation. It instigated in the Arab world a new wave of resentment and hate for the imperialistic Powers.

70. What did the United Kingdom and France gain by their military expedition against Egypt? They bombed, they shelled, they killed and they destroyed. Yet they failed to defeat an innocent nation or even to break one man. The result was that a revival swept the Arabs and led them towards a brighter future. This page of the history of imperialism in the Arab lands shall never be forgotten. It shall always remind us of how the colonial Powers tried to subdue the Arab nationalistic movement at the beginning of its growth. It is in the interests of these two Powers to withdraw their forces immediately and completely from Egyptian territory, and to pull out with them their third partner in the plot. Such is the will

of right, as expressed forcibly in the several resolutions of this Assembly.

71. The United Nations Emergency Force which was formed to effect such a withdrawal, has begun its task. This Force will function, as its task was defined, through the area between the Suez Canal and the Egyptian-Israel armistice line, until it finally takes up its position along the armistice demarcation lines north of the Gaza strip. This has been clearly expressed in the resolutions that were adopted, in the statements made at the first emergency special session and in the reports and explanations of the Security Council. It is noticed, however, that the United Kingdom and France wish to link the duties of this Force with the future conditions of the Suez Canal Zone. In this respect, my Government holds to the view that the Suez Canal lies within the complete sovereignty and jurisdiction of Egypt. Egypt alone is the authority that should control and administer the Canal and that should be responsible for safeguarding free navigation through its waters.

72. We believe that the six principles enunciated by the Security Council and adopted in its resolution of 13 October 1956 [S/3675] provide good grounds for a solution to this problem. Furthermore, any negotiations for a final settlement of the Suez Canal problem should be undertaken after the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egyptian territory.

73. In discussing the varied aspects of these problems, my delegation wishes to assert the responsibility of the United Nations. We, as Members of one universal Organization, are pledged to uphold the principles of our Charter, the first purpose of which is to maintain international peace and security by taking effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

74. It might be helpful to those Members who wish to view matters with objectivity and realism to recognize one striking fact; there is a movement of liberation sweeping all the nations that have laboured for long under foreign rule and domination. There is a rising tide and an awakening and a self-assertion among the peoples who have suffered deprivation, suppression and colonialism.

75. Speaking of that part of the world to which I belong, I declare that the nations in our area wish to live with all other nations in harmony, co-operation and friendship on the basis of reciprocal respect for freedom and equal sovereignty. It is contrary to the concept of human rights that a nation of 11 million people in Algeria should be made to live forever under the French yoke. France believed, and still believes, that it could make out of Algeria a part of France, and out of the Arab inhabitants of Algeria a French people. This old imperialistic French mentality has never changed throughout the past 126 years since the early days of the French occupation of Algeria. This reminds me of the unforgettable reply of the great Algerian leader, Abd El Kader, to the French Minister of War, Field Marshal Bugeaud in 1849 when he said, in answer to a French offer to grant him French citizenship:

"If all the treasures in the world could be laid in the skirts of my burnouse and set in the balance against my liberty, I would choose my liberty. I ask neither favour nor grace."

76. Decade after decade has passed, and Algerian devotion to liberty has never weakened despite the undeclared war against the Algerians by half a million French troops. Thousands of Algerians have lost their lives in recent

months in the fight for their liberty. France, which itself tasted the bitterness of tyranny and later enjoyed the happiness of liberation, should be the first country to recognize the freedom of the Algerians. But France still claims that the question of Algeria is an internal question which falls within its domestic jurisdiction. France takes advantage of its unilateral interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter to prevent the world community from defending the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all and the right of self-determination.

77. I could not have been more in agreement with the following statement which the French representative made in 1948 in the United Nations:

"... the question of human rights was a matter no longer of domestic, but of international concern."<sup>1</sup>

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan which is attached to Algeria by ties of brotherhood and national relations, supports the gallant Algerian nation in its struggle for independence. The Jordan delegation is gratified that the General Assembly has inscribed the Algerian item in its agenda. We shall deal with this problem in due course.

78. Going back to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, it is most regrettable to see that this text is used as a shield behind which colonialism hides. The same arguments that were used by French spokesmen in respect to Algeria were used by the delegation of the Union of South Africa on the question of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. The Government of the Union of South Africa wants the family of nations not to interfere in a problem which concerns the human race much more than it concerns the Union of South Africa or India or Pakistan. Those people in South Africa who are deprived of their civil rights are our brethren in humanity before we were divided into different States and nationalities. When we support their rights, their dignity and their existence, we support the rights, dignity and existence of man as a human being. It seems to me that there should be a closer agreement among the Members of the United Nations on the application of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

79. Extending farther to the problems that have not yet been solved by the United Nations we find the problem of West Irian. Apart from the extremely friendly relations and sympathetic attitude my people feel reciprocally with the people of Indonesia, this question is the concern of all the Asian countries because it is a colonial problem. West Irian is part of the territory of Indonesia to which the Netherlands can have no claim whatsoever. Since Indonesia emerged as an independent sovereign State, its sovereignty should extend over all its territory.

80. The African-Asian group, which was gratified to have seen the item of West Irian inscribed on the agenda of this eleventh session, would urge the General Assembly to take effective measures to terminate the Netherlands colonization of West Irian so that the territory would adjoin the Indonesian native land. We hope that the Netherlands will not continue to refuse to relinquish its last colonial grip on a part of the Indonesian land.

81. There remains one last point which I should like to state and state clearly. This point is that when we call for our freedom we do not enslave others. When we reject colonialism we do not colonize others. When we defend our rights we do not deny the rights of others. And when we seek justice we do not oppress others.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, First Part, Third Committee, 92nd meeting.*



All that we want is to live on this planet in the family of nations, with a life of peace with dignity.

82. Mr. KIMNY (Cambodia) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Cambodia has great pleasure in again congratulating Prince Wan Waithayakon on his election as President of the General Assembly. We are meeting at a time when tragic events are stirring the world and putting the effectiveness of the United Nations to a severe test. The General Assembly has swiftly taken steps to remedy the grave situations which have thus arisen. The steps have proved to be wise, just and practical. The fighting has stopped. But are we thereby assured of a lasting peace? Why, despite the unanimity of the nations of the world which have advocated peace, does the world still feel hanging over it the anxiety of an uncertain and still ominous future?

83. Thus we are living in an atmosphere of uncertainty where reality often belies the most sincere professions of faith. We make fine statements, we adopt high-sounding resolutions, but our actions are not always in keeping with our noble sentiments.

84. The events of the past weeks seem to give the impression that the only realities are force and violence. My Government does not propose to judge the actions of the various countries which took it upon themselves to resort to force. But it cannot overlook the dangers arising out of the recent conflicts. I cannot do better to express my Government's view than to quote the words spoken by our national leader, H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, on 3 November 1956:

"The Khmer nation is extremely concerned about the tragic development of the situation in the Middle East and also in Hungary.

"Despite the arguments of certain statesmen who are directly concerned, to the effect that there is no war being carried on but only 'police action' to maintain 'order' and 'security' and to 'prevent war', my countrymen and I are convinced that the flames of war—real war—have been lighted."

85. My Government was therefore greatly relieved to hear of the cease-fire in the Middle East. A cessation of hostilities is the first essential step, but it is only the first step. It must be followed immediately by a just and lasting settlement. Hence the proposal of H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk:

"A special commission of inquiry should be set up and authorized by the United Nations to visit the scene of the conflict in order to determine the rights or wrongs of the actions of each party, bearing in mind historical, legal and other factors.

"If the commission is to carry out effective work and pass wise and sure judgment, which the United Nations would adopt in so far as it was able, its make-up should be based on new principles.

"The nations selected should be such as have given sufficient proof to the world of their absolute moral independence towards the opposed ideologies and also towards blocs, i.e., they should be nations which are genuinely neutral and not merely neutralist, and they should be free of any interest to speak of in the matters to be judged . . .

"India, by virtue of the personality of its leader—the incarnation of the spirit of justice, impartiality and conciliation—should be a member of the commission, which would be fortunate if it could have Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in person as its chairman. Two neutral countries of Europe, say Switzerland and Sweden, or

Austria and Yugoslavia, a neutral country of Asia, and a country from the American continent could constitute the other members.

"As regards Asia, if on the strength of its absolute and patent neutrality and its strictly and severely correct line of conduct, Cambodia should have the honour to be chosen, my country would feel it a duty to accept . . ."

H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk would be willing to represent Cambodia, and he concludes with these words:

"This simple suggestion is made humbly yet forcibly: humbly, because we realize that we are of minor consequence in relation to the world; forcibly, because we are conscious of our duty and right to cry halt to the destruction of peace, justice and human values, without which we could no longer be proud to be called men."

86. In the face of such grave events, it might seem unnecessary to recall that one of the fundamental principles of the Charter recommends the pacific settlement of disputes. When the din of arms ceases, when peace returns, and the nations count their gains and their losses, they will perhaps realize the futility of their action, and remember that the peaceful means recommended by the Charter still constitute the best law of life between nations.

87. We must abide more strictly than ever by the principle of the pacific settlement of disputes by means of negotiation. Direct negotiation could be replaced, if necessary, by resort to the United Nations, which would act as an instrument for constructive talks and not as a place for sterile debate or the mere presentation of opposing points of view.

88. We must remember that the United Nations Charter not only urges on all States the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means; it also stresses that the principles of justice and international law must be safeguarded. It establishes a close link between the obligation to settle disputes by pacific means and the goal of justice and equity, by proposing that negotiations should be conducted within a framework where the weight of the world community, as organized in the United Nations, can be brought to bear on the solution of the problem under discussion.

89. In this connexion the delegation of Cambodia fully approves the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization, in which he stated:

"The Charter itself foresees negotiations between parties as an initial step in the solution of conflicts which are unavoidable during a period of fundamental change. But I believe that such negotiations gain by being conducted against the background of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and that the results can usefully be brought within the framework of the United Nations." [*A/3137/Add.1, p. 2.*]

90. Today for the first time Cambodia is participating in the General Assembly along with eighteen other new Members. In the period of a single year the number of Members of the United Nations has increased by one third. The delegation of Cambodia hopes that other countries will be admitted this year, particularly Japan.

91. The admission of nineteen new Members, with a total population of 178 million inhabitants, has had the effect of bringing the United Nations closer to the original conception of a "world Organization". This slow but sure progress towards universality should enable the United Nations to speak with greater authority and to

exercise greater influence in the cause of peace and progress. Indeed, the day should not be far off when all the countries which fulfil the conditions laid down in the Charter have been admitted, and the United Nations will thus really become the universal Organization which its founders had in mind at San Francisco.

92. In taking its place in the United Nations, Cambodia will try to make its contribution to the work of the world community. In international relations, my country is conscious of having played a constructive role on behalf of peace. Under the enlightened leadership of its sovereign and national hero, H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia gained its independence in 1953 by essentially peaceful means. While the history of the world shows us that the independence of countries is generally achieved through bloody and sometimes fratricidal struggles, Prince Norodom Sihanouk obtained independence for Cambodia without violence and without conflict.

93. This peaceful solution of the national problem of independence, reached thanks to the political genius of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has since had fortunate consequences for Cambodia's international relations with all countries of the world, and with France in particular. Its national aspirations being satisfied, the country has felt no bitterness or desire for vengeance towards anyone. Passing directly from foreign domination to the status of an independent and sovereign State, Cambodia immediately entered into international life with modesty and dignity, without prejudice or partisan ideas.

94. In 1954, at the Geneva Conference which was to put an end to the hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, the members of the Cambodian delegation took part in the negotiations as representatives of a sovereign State, determined to preserve the independence of their country and desirous that the principles of right and justice should prevail. The Cambodian delegation succeeded in its efforts, and Cambodia has been able to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity intact. Now that its political unity is assured and its independence recognized, Cambodia is devoting its efforts to the expansion of its international relations, in the interest of peace and co-operation with other countries.

95. It was in this spirit that, again under the leadership of H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia participated in the Bandung Conference of April 1955 and established relations, on an equal footing, with all the countries which have recently recognized and respect its sovereignty and independence, such as Austria, China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Bandung Conference, which brought together twenty-nine countries of Asia and Africa, had far-reaching consequences for the history of international relations. It may be said to mark a new starting point in relations between the African-Asian peoples and the peoples of Western culture. It gave rise to a new psychology which will imbue international relationships with the will to peace and the desire of the African-Asian peoples to co-operate with the rest of the world.

96. One of the most important results of the African-Asian Conference at Bandung was perhaps the proof it gave, in the political field, that relations and contacts between countries which follow different policies or have different ideologies can help to create better mutual understanding and bring about normal co-operation. This might provide a partial answer to the problem of the conflict of ideologies which divides the world at the moment. Numerous examples seem to show that countries with different systems of government or different ideolo-

gies can have normal relations. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to think that if these relations became more frequent, the fears and apprehensions which separate the world into blocs would disappear and a lessening of international tension could ensue.

97. Differences in historical and cultural traditions, social structure or political and economic systems should be no obstacle to co-operation and interdependence, since States with different systems of government and different ideologies are obliged to live side by side. The only alternative is war; and war in the atomic age can only mean total destruction.

98. The United Nations has a key role to play in this evolution towards an acceptance of things as they are. It is in an ideal position to promote international co-operation in time of peace, and to serve as a forum for settling problems by negotiation where interests clash.

99. The smaller nations could make a useful contribution in this direction. The small nations of Asia in particular, in contradistinction to those of Europe and America, are completely lacking in everything, even the prime necessities of daily life. To obtain these necessities is their first and most urgent task; and war makes this impossible. In a word, they want peace and security because these are essential for the development of their new-born nationhood, because peace and security leave them free in their endeavours to make up the slack to which they were condemned by the political status previously imposed upon them. Their desire for peace is wholehearted, and they will play their part in the conviction that they are protecting their most vital interests.

100. In the political field, these small countries which have recently emerged to a state of independence are literally precluded from showing partisanship, since it is obviously impossible for them to align themselves with one or other side. They have a vital stake in the continued observance of the principles of the Charter, any breach of which would threaten their national existence and make it very difficult, if not impossible, for them to participate in international life. Ideological inclinations notwithstanding, their position of strict neutrality is dictated by a sober assessment of the facts and of their national interests. Their strength is psychological and political rather than military or economic, and the part they will be able to play will therefore be a purely moral one—which is in the last analysis, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter.

101. In the field of international co-operation, much progress has been made this year in the effort to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy. On 23 October 1956, eighty-two States unanimously adopted the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In December 1953, President Eisenhower addressed a memorable appeal in the General Assembly [470th meeting] to the nations of the world for their co-operation in the work of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. This historic call, distinguished by its far-sightedness and issued by a man who had the courage to place the interests of mankind above those of his country, has been heeded, and the dream of man—to be a citizen of the world—may well become a reality.

102. The creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency offers potentially the promise of an improvement in human conditions at which the imagination boggles. As the United States representative said on 23 October 1956 at the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

"Science has given us the knowledge. Diplomacy has developed the instrument. May we have the wisdom to use both for the benefit of all mankind."

Progress will probably be slow, but the eyes of the world will be anxiously on the countries and scientists whose work can transform the atom into a mighty source of energy capable of bringing about a second industrial revolution. Herein lies the hope of all those regions of the world where living conditions remain dangerously low in comparison with the industrialized countries. Universal peace does not, of course, depend on economic well-being alone; but economic progress will be an important factor in achieving it. All men of goodwill are united in hoping that the International Atomic Energy Agency will be the medium for the fair and impartial distribution of atomic resources.

103. For the under-developed countries, the achievement of political independence is not an end in itself unless it is accompanied by parallel efforts to promote economic development and raise living standards. Political independence is bound to be a delicate plant without a measure of economic independence to ensure a decent living standard for the people. Hence the countries which have newly achieved independence will try to find means of speeding up their economic development either by developing their resources more intensively or by obtaining foreign aid through bilateral or multilateral economic agreements. Such agreements for economic co-operation are to be encouraged—and they should be free of any political ties that might adversely affect the recipient countries.

104. In this connexion, the *Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization 16 June 1955—15 June 1956* strikes a disturbing note. During the past decade, says the Secretary-General, there has been a "continued widening of the gap between the industrially advanced countries and the under-industrialized countries in the relative rate of growth of *per capita* incomes." [A/3137/Add.1, p. 4.] And he adds: "Even in percentage terms, the poor have become relatively poorer." [*ibid.*, p. 4] despite the efforts made. The Members of the United Nations, individually and collectively, have sought to further the development of the countries needing assistance. Specialized agencies such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization have played a prominent part. More recently, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance has helped substantially by encouraging Members to make voluntary contributions to a joint fund.

105. We must, of course, face the fact that the United Nations lacks the funds for promoting adequate and balanced economic development in all parts of the world; but at least we can draw the appropriate lesson and pay heed to the warning given. For instance, the United Nations could promote and encourage national, bilateral or regional programmes for the economic development of those vast regions throughout the world "where" as the Secretary-General puts it, "poverty continues to be the law of life for the great majority of mankind" [*ibid.*].

106. With regard to the implications of the increase in membership of the United Nations, the admission of nineteen new Members confronts the Organization with new organic problems. An increase of such proportions should inevitably entail an increase in the number of members of the principal organs such as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

107. Take the Security Council for example. The Asian countries have never been adequately represented there. The Charter, in Article 23, provides that the non-permanent members shall be elected by the General Assembly, "due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution". Actually, not a single Asian country has been elected to the Council since its creation except the Philippines, which last year obtained a seat following an arrangement with Yugoslavia. With the accession of four new Asian countries, bringing the total number of countries classified as "Asian and Far-Eastern countries" to eleven, my delegation considers that this omission should be rectified without delay and will vote in favour of any proposal on those lines which may come before the Assembly.

108. The Asian group has been more adequately represented in the Economic and Social Council, though my delegation feels that the increase in membership of this group warrants some slight increase in Asian participation in that body.

109. Many of the representatives of the General Assembly are aware, I imagine, of my country's efforts, immediately on attaining independence, to develop political, cultural and economic relations with all countries, without distinction as to systems of government and ideologies, on the basis of equality, respect for independence and mutual benefit. Our efforts arise out of our deep conviction that peace and security can be strengthened by direct relations and by co-operation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, with countries desirous of co-operating.

110. My delegation's action during the present Assembly session will be guided by the principles of co-operation based on mutual respect and equality. It is our firm hope that the United Nations will have a leading part to play in a world which is feeling its way towards universal concord, peace and human progress. More than at any moment in its history, the United Nations today reflects the image of the World Organization which is its predestined role. Having almost achieved universality, the Organization represents the collective conscience of mankind more than ever it did. Our united efforts have a better chance than ever before of culminating in the achievement of our common objectives of peace, progress and international brotherhood.

111. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): My delegation is particularly pleased to join the other delegations in congratulating Prince Wan Waithayakon on his election to the presidency of this body. It is a high honour seldom endowed in so rich a fashion; but he deserves it as richly by his selfless labours in the cause of amity and international co-operation. Enhanced by his winsome ways, his enviable experience and familiarity with the problems which regularly confront the General Assembly, hold out every happy augury for a fruitful and rewarding session.

112. Withal, my Government views his election with every feeling of friendly elation. Our two countries have had the closest connexions, not only because of our alliance in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization but also because we share in large measure the problems of nation-building peculiar to our region of the world.

113. We open our deliberations this year—the eleventh in the life of the United Nations—under the shadow of menacing events. In the past three weeks, developments of fearsome portent have cast the issue of peace in very

grave doubt. In the Middle East, war reared its ugly head again; and in Central Europe a subject people traced once more the ancient pattern of rebellion in the name of human freedom.

114. The full significance of these developments is not clearly visible to us at the moment. It may be that a new order of things is struggling to be born; or it may be that the brief but bright era of good feeling which followed the summit meetings at Geneva has trailed away and humanity is back again among the travails of spirit which marked the painful years after the Second World War. Which one it shall be depends on the energy, the wisdom and the strength of purpose of the leaders of nations. But for all of us, undoubtedly, the occasion presents an opportunity for the purification of conscience. Unfortunate as recent events have been, they have a positive and redeeming side. The speed and firmness with which the General Assembly acted to meet these situations is one cause for rejoicing. As on similar occasions in the past, this body has conclusively proved that it could bring to bear the full weight of its moral force whenever the peace and security of the world are endangered.

115. Assuredly, none of the problems connected with the recent Middle East hostilities and the Hungarian situation has been solved, except possibly the immediate—but, I should say, considerable—issue of halting the continued destruction of human life. But it is a condition which necessarily precedes the larger solutions. It now remains for the Assembly, in its collective wisdom, to turn the grievous loss into a positive gain, to feel its healing way to every wound and woe, to use the tragic events as points of transition to a permanent and enduring peace. We realize, even as we speak these words, the scope and difficulty of the task which faces us in our efforts to achieve this great aim. Fortunately, this Assembly is lacking neither in patience nor in determination—patience and determination born of the profound yearning of mankind to overcome its afflictions.

116. We therefore venture the hope that with respect to the Middle East question, whatever might be the ultimate fate of the issue of the management of the Suez Canal, the principle of free and continuous passage through the waterway shall be ensured. On the Egyptian-Israel dispute, we look forward to an immediate restoration of peace in the area, and, in a more favourable climate, energetic steps should be taken to reach a final and conclusive settlement of the obstinate causes of friction.

117. The urgent and pressing interest with which my Government regards the Hungarian situation has been demonstrated by its token contribution towards the relief of Hungarians made destitute by the recent clashes in Budapest and elsewhere. We express the ardent hope that the energy and the formidable pressure of the collective moral force of this body will cause the Soviet Union to desist from any further attempts to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the Hungarian people.

118. Last year sixteen new nations were admitted into the fold of the United Nations, and three more nations were welcomed just over a week ago. A once unmitigated deadlock which had lasted for years has thus been broken. In itself, the action of the Assembly in admitting the new Members bespoke the spirit of goodwill and co-operation which marked the relations among nations then. Looking towards a larger purpose, however, it was clearly the intention of this body to move towards the realization of the principle of universality of membership within the permissible ambit of the Charter.

119. There is every indication that the day is not far off when the Assembly can truly speak of itself as representing the voice of humanity. As it is now, the Assembly has been immeasurably strengthened, and a new confidence has been gained which will serve us well in deliberating over the issues in the present session.

120. The problem of disarmament has long been an unmanageable one. Following a resolution [914 (X)] of this body last year, the main efforts of the Disarmament Commission were directed at framing proposals of a confidence-building nature. Towards this end, the United States proposed the creation of technical exchange missions and allocation of demonstration test areas in which both President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" plan and Marshal Bulganin's "control posts" idea would be given a trial.

121. However, efforts at an approximation of views notwithstanding, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, could find no common ground nor mutual trust in each other's proposals. Lately, Moscow suggested a non-aggression accord between the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and those of the Warsaw Pact, and aerial reconnaissance within the area of disposition in Europe of their principal forces to a depth of 800 kilometres east and west of the demarcation line. Against the immediate background of an announced fresh nuclear test, and calculatingly timed in the present context of the Middle East crisis, this new Soviet proposal is, however, being viewed by the Western Powers as another distasteful piece of propaganda.

122. We are thus compelled to admit that no substantial progress has been achieved in settling this vexing question. It has become abundantly clear that, in the face of the continuing deadlock, a less ambitious approach to the problem, timed under propitious circumstances and narrow enough to inspire confidence and a spirit of conciliation, may pave the way to partial achievement. My delegation will accordingly support any proposal calculated to promote such limited agreements in the hope that eventually they will help build a climate conducive to the ultimate settlement of this most intractable of the problems that ever confronted this body.

123. There is a lesson to be learned in the dispatch with which agreement was reached on the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency. On 8 December 1953, President Eisenhower proposed its creation, and, following the successful International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Geneva, the negotiating Governments completed the draft statute of the Agency, submitting it in September 1956 to the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy of Member States of the United Nations and specialized agencies. In the following month, the Statute was unanimously approved and, after ratification by the Governments of Member States, the Agency is expected to come into being in 1957.

124. I have briefly traced the consecutive steps in the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency by way of emphasizing the kind of prompt and vital response possible among nations when the cause is worthy and the spirit of co-operation is enlisted in the service of humanity. In the creation of an Agency for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, the Assembly found a cause that transcended ideological and political differences among nations, for it promised a future for all mankind that will be free from poverty and disease and in which

the labours of man can coax the fabled abundance of the earth. The manner in which the Agency will marshal its capacity in the immediate years ahead will provide the test of whether our vision of the atom can be translated into terms of actual abundance on a world-wide scale. In the example of the successful constitution of the International Atomic Energy Agency, we may take the needed courage to find our way through the thorny problems which face us year after year.

125. There is, for instance, the question of Korea. In its sixth annual report [A/3172] the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) describes the great gains being made by the Republic of Korea in establishing a representative Government and in rehabilitating its economy through the aid of the United Nations.

126. It is a source of gratification to hear that the once embattled Republic is rapidly progressing towards stability and widening international recognition. It is, however, disquieting to note at the same time that while we had, for the last two years, hoped for, and urged, some progress towards the basic aims of free elections in, and unification of, Korea, not one forward step has been taken to realize them. Indeed, when UNCURK adjourned *sine die* on 1 January 1956 and virtually relinquished its functions and responsibilities to a mere committee of four nations, it took a step that may induce the South Koreans to a sombre belief that they eventually may be left alone to work out their own salvation. It, too, places in serious doubt our oft-repeated avowal of continuing our quest for an early solution to the Korean problem. We cannot view this situation without grave concern. Granted the complexity of the problem of Korea, it is not one, we believe, which the Assembly can ignore, except at peril to the principles of the United Nations. We cannot abdicate our responsibility in promoting the search for fresh solutions. If we do, then we shall have justified the insistent fears that the division of Korea is, in fact, permanent. We surely cannot permit this tragic result by our sufferance or default.

127. A problem of equal complexity on this year's agenda is the question of Cyprus. Under different circumstances, it would be pleasant to note that the question is not quite what it was when the Assembly discussed it during the ninth session. Since then the United Kingdom has accepted the principle of self-determination in regard to Cyprus and has agreed to institute limited self-government for the Cypriots. However, the negotiations over the constitution of the proposed Cypriot Assembly broke down, and shortly thereafter Archbishop Makarios was exiled for his alleged complicity with the supposed terrorists on the island. Further negotiations are contemplated by the United Kingdom on the basis of a Cyprus Constitution which is now being drafted. In the meantime, the question is before us on two antagonistic pleas: one by Greece, invoking self-determination for Cyprus, and the other by the United Kingdom, seeking an examination of alleged Greek support for terroristic activities in the island.

128. Now, as in the past, the quest for solution revolves around efforts at striking a happy reconciliation between the Cypriot claim for freedom and the just recognition of the strategic value of the island in the security set-up in the area. The Philippine delegation desires to reaffirm its full support of the principle of self-determination for Cyprus, but within such time and under such conditions as will fit into the context of the security requirements of the free world. And it is our fervent

hope that such an objective will be attained through the orderly and peaceful processes of negotiation.

129. In this connexion, we cannot fail to note the great progress towards the exercise of self-determination among dependent peoples. Tunisia, the Sudan and Morocco have just joined the ranks of the United Nations. I am happy to announce that my Government has formally extended diplomatic recognition to these three new Members of the world community. On 6 March 1957, the territory of Ghana, comprising the present Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, will become a fully independent State within the British Commonwealth. The establishment of this prospective new State became a reality last May when Togoland under British administration voted for incorporation in the Gold Coast in a plebiscite held to determine whether it desired union with the Gold Coast or continuation as a Trust Territory. And in 1960 Somaliland is scheduled to gain independence under the terms of an earlier Assembly resolution.

130. There have been instances of dependent peoples being guided or prepared for the eventual assumption of independence, but the evolutionary procedures of the United Nations in this respect are certainly without parallel in history. What the world Organization has achieved with spectacular success is to ride the wave of history—which contemporary nationalism is—and transform a usually violent agitation into a constructive and peaceful process.

131. In the field of human rights, we have advanced with giant strides in the task of spelling out the precious rights of men. We have entered the second phase of our labour—the system of annual reports and studies in specific human rights and the institution of advisory services. My delegation, however, feels we can now commence to explore the possibilities of working out genuine programmes of action by which the rights we have defined and declared, may find progressive application in countries where they are not observed.

132. Finally, we note with gratification the advances over the past year in the work of this Organization in the economic and social fields. The momentum of progress along traditional channels offers every hope of continued acceleration. But fears have been strongly expressed about the persistent failure to halt the widening gap in the rate of development between industrially advanced countries and the under-developed countries. The consequences of such a trend, unless arrested, may prove disastrous to the desirable balance of economy among nations. Here, therefore, is another area of immediate and urgent interest; for the future stability of the world will depend on whether we succeed today in eliminating those causes of tension and unrest which have their roots in economic and social inequalities.

133. The task that confronts us in this eleventh session is a heavy one, rendered more complex and more difficult by the forbidding international climate. But, in the spirit of mutual understanding and tolerance, there is no obstacle, however formidable, which we cannot overcome. The Philippine delegation is prepared to bear its sustainable share of the common task with the fullest measure of goodwill and co-operation.

134. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): Every age has brought about some remarkable change in the fortunes of man—either a spiral advancement in his culture, his arts and his economic progress, or a retrogression in, or arrest of, his further development. In our age it is generally believed that civilization has reached the peak of achieve-

ment, due chiefly to the wonderful discoveries in recent centuries. These discoveries have greatly added to man's advancement and brought about an evolution in his way of life: better health, greater comforts and more conveniences—in short, a life completely unknown to his forefathers. Equally so, it is also admitted that through such scientific achievements man now stands on the brink of his own destruction. Secrets of nature in his possession make him master of life and death over every living thing upon this planet. The question, grave and serious, that confronts him is whether such knowledge shall be used for his further advancement or for his complete annihilation.

135. A famous scientist was once asked if there were any counter measures to the atomic and hydrogen bomb. "Yes", replied the scientist, "peace." We know from human experience that peace is possible when man is able to live in a society based upon the principles and practice of brotherhood. The world today is witnessing the struggle to put such principles into practice either by peaceful means or by violent upheavals. The motto of the French revolution, "liberty, equality, fraternity", is no longer confined solely to Frenchmen. It is now the slogan of all mankind, whether in the East or the West. This slogan has now assumed a new name, "nationalism". By some nations, the sudden outburst of national aspirations by dependent peoples seems to be viewed with some degree of scepticism and astonishment. It should be recognized that every spirited individual longs and seeks to assume the dignity, respect, freedom and independence of a man, and is inherently entitled to this both spiritually and naturally. This is a human instinct.

136. Such aspirations are not unique in the history of the human race, and if we care to scan the pages of man's biography with an open and unbiased mind, completely divorced from petty prejudice, we will find in every age, whether ancient, mediaeval or modern, man's struggle to obtain the benefits of self-determination and independence from his masters.

137. As it is instinctive in the human individual at some time in his development to assume the responsibility of manhood with its characteristic qualities of independence and self-reliance, so the nations and peoples of the world have the right to aspire to be independent and masters of their own affairs. It is therefore gratifying to note that many of the Powers have come to realize that the right to independence and freedom is a divine inspiration which, when once aroused, can be thwarted or squashed by physical or brute force but cannot be exterminated. We therefore commend such Powers, as, in their realization of this right, have given independence and self-determination to several of the once dependent peoples that are now Members of this Organization and are actively participating in its deliberations. It is to be hoped that the process of granting independence and self-determination to other dependent peoples will be greatly accelerated.

138. With the discoveries of the wireless, the telephone, television and other scientific inventions the struggle for self-mastery has become more pronounced and open. There are no longer unknown lands and isolated people: there is now but "one world", as it was expressed in so timely a manner by that great American, Wendell Wilkie.

139. The horizon opens up on a new day. We enter a new conflict, an ideological conflict, a new phase in the affairs of men and nations. In this new struggle man has added yet another weapon to his arsenal—radio and television propaganda. This weapon was extensively and

effectively used in the Second World War. It served both the victor and the vanquished. It became known as the fifth weapon, and greatly contributed to the success or defeat of either side. It was a double-edged sword. In the remotest corners of the earth the inhabitants were bombarded day and night in their own languages with the war cries of the Allies or their adversaries. We heard such catch phrases as: "The fight for democracy", "The four freedoms", and "The self-determination of peoples". At the same pitch the propaganda of the Axis tuned to similar strains. Have these pledges been fulfilled?

140. Whether through inclination or from an instinct for self-preservation, mankind has, since the dawn of history, always shown a tendency to bracket himself into groups or pacts. History has recorded that through such groupings the tribes and clans came into existence; these in turn gave birth to the various nations with their peculiar cultures and customs. The nations, history has also recorded, banded themselves into pacts or alliances for their own preservation or for the conquest and exploitation of their neighbours. The result of such partnerships has been continuous conflict between States, which grows more fierce and deadly with every passing generation. Despite the terrible consequences of the last two great wars, the nations seem not to profit by the mistakes of yesterday. Today we see the old game being replayed—the aligning of nations against each other, under different names and forms, each side giving as its motive "self-preservation". In the forming of the United Nations it was hoped that out of such an organization would have grown a world alliance for the protection and defence of the rights of all peoples and nations. That goal seems still to be beyond our grasp.

141. Despite all that has happened or that is likely to happen, we seem still to be imbued with the concept of alliances and counter-alliances; and so strong is our feeling in this regard that we could not divorce our minds from such a conception in the framing of the United Nations Charter. Hence, provisions for regional pacts were embodied in that document. Such pacts or blocs have not added to the strength of the Organization: they have, rather, made it powerless to act. The effectiveness and strength of the United Nations appear to be enervated by the conflicting interests of the nations. As long as these conflicting interests exist, right and justice are lost in the labyrinth of national interest and power politics.

142. We come to the conference table with fixed ideas and immovable positions. Having formed ourselves into blocs in order to protect or foster some mode of life peculiar to our environment, or to enhance or maintain our position in world affairs, our stand becomes inflexible. The Organization, instead of being united, is now shattered into blocs which seem to be losing all power of cohesion. Such compacts appear not only to have paralysed the Organization's decisions, but also to have penetrated the operation of the Organization itself, making it difficult for the Organization to work smoothly. Offices, memberships of committees, seats on various subsidiary organizations are all apportioned according to the strength of the nations and the size of each bloc. In such conditions, no nation can afford to stand aloof, basing its interests upon right and justice. To exist in such conditions, it becomes not only necessary but imperative for a State to align itself with the group in which it thinks its interests may be best served and safeguarded. In such a situation, it is difficult to achieve solutions of world problems. But such situations will continue to exist so long as nations do not base their actions upon the right and justice of a cause.



143. My delegation fully supports the suggestion made here that, owing to the fact that nineteen new Members have been admitted to the Organization, the membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and other United Nations bodies should be increased. It is to be hoped that in this expansion the position of Africa will not be overlooked. Africa is the second largest continent. Its vast resources have added much to the advance of our civilization. It is the only continent which contains so many dependent and underdeveloped people. It is a continent whose vast potential resources still remain to be tapped. Nevertheless, Africa has never been represented directly on any of the important councils of the United Nations, even on those where its interests are most directly affected. I therefore hope that this fact will be borne in mind when seats are allocated on the various councils of the United Nations, under the new policy of expansion based on geographical distribution.

144. The human race never seems to profit from its past mistakes. The untold sufferings and miseries of past wars appear not to have affected our false sense of values. Right might be forever on the scaffold and wrong on the throne, but unless that scaffold governs our future, man will not be saved from the horrors and destruction of war. My Government therefore strongly disapproves of the resort to force or violence in the settlement of any dispute, national or international—for it is immoral to effect just ends by unjust means.

145. Moreover, we strongly believe in the spirit of the law; we believe that the law should be applied fairly and impartially to all, despite race, creed or origin: as it is in human affairs, so should it be in international affairs. We therefore hold and believe that treaties and international agreements should be considered as sacred, binding and inviolable. They should not be unilaterally abrogated by any nation, great or small, whenever the agreements no longer seem to harmonize with that nation's political ambitions or national aspirations. Trust and confidence are the keystones of all moral obligations; when these are shattered, man sinks to the status of the brute.

146. We extend a hand of welcome to the many new Members already admitted, or to be admitted in the future, to this Organization—and especially to those States which have recently gained their independence. It is to be hoped that we shall give them our sympathy and encouragement in their endeavours at nation-building. We also hope that the old and experienced nations will not view their mistakes or shortcomings through the magnifying lens of the telescope, and their achievements through the opposite end.

147. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reiterate and reaffirm the following points: First, it adheres to the provisions of the Charter which declare that all peoples have an inherent right to self-determination. Second, the present advance which has been made in science should be utilized for peaceful purposes. Third, although the Charter provides for the formation of regional pacts, the principles of right and justice should prevail whenever there is a conflict between the two objectives. Fourth, the delegation of Liberia unequivocally disapproves of the resort to force or violence for the settlement of any dispute. Fifth, it firmly believes in the sanctity and inviolability of treaties and international agreements; it believes that such treaties and agreements should not be unilaterally abrogated. Finally, we extend to the President our hearty congratulations on the *imprimatur* which his colleagues have placed upon his past services by elect-

ing him to the high office of President of the eleventh session of the General Assembly.

148. The delegation of Liberia hereby renews its pledge to co-operate fully and to support all measures which have as their objective the realization of the ideals embodied in the Charter of our Organization. It is our sincere hope that the spirit of moderation, tolerance, patience and harmony which has characterized some of our previous sessions will also prevail during the present session of the Assembly.

149. Mr. BALAFREJ (Morocco) (*translated from French*): It is an honour and a privilege for me to represent His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco and the Government of Morocco in the United Nations. I should like once again to express my appreciation and gratitude to the President of this Assembly and to all the delegations which supported and defended our cause.

150. Morocco looks on its admission to the United Nations first and foremost as an act of faith in the lofty principles of the Charter—the principles which brought the Organization into being, which govern its activities and provide inspiration for the achievement of its objectives. The fact of joining the United Nations also signifies our agreement, freely undertaken, to participate in the task of maintaining peace throughout the world.

151. Even the most superficial study of world affairs leads to the conviction that where freedom is denied, conflicts will arise. The task of the United Nations and the scope of its efforts must therefore be commensurate with the degree of injustice and oppression still prevailing in certain parts of the world. My country is determined to do its utmost in the United Nations to ensure respect and equality between States, and justice and fraternity between peoples.

152. It has been most satisfying to note the progress achieved by the United Nations, since its foundation, in bringing its Members to settle their problems peacefully and to co-operate faithfully to that end. In this connexion, the United Nations is to be congratulated on the new spirit which it has brought about and maintained and developed despite numerous crises. The experience of the last eleven years has demonstrated that the success of the United Nations in carrying out its task has frequently been due to the Organization's principles of universality and equality and to the fact that all nations, whatever their level of development, their system of government or their power, enjoy full freedom within the Organization and are entitled to respect. My delegation therefore expresses the hope that every nation which loves justice and peace will join the United Nations and make our Organization even more universal and more effective.

153. Morocco underwent many trials and passed through many harrowing crises before achieving independence and taking its place among the free nations; but this has only served to strengthen our belief in the need for constant recourse to the just arbitration of the international Organization and for the utilization of every pacific means to settle disputes between nations. This was the very principle by which we were guided during our struggle for freedom, and on several occasions we brought our dispute with France before the United Nations. The Moroccan people are convinced that, through its action, the United Nations played a major role in the settlement of this conflict and in the restoration of freedom and peace to our country. Encouraged by this example, the Moroccan people today stand as one behind their sovereign and call upon the United Nations to intervene in the same

way wherever any people is subjected to violence or colonialist oppression.

154. At the very time of our admission to the United Nations, the world is once again being threatened by the destructive scourge of war. For historical reasons and, more particularly, for reasons connected with its geographical and strategical position, Morocco is directly concerned with the great problems of today and particularly with the questions of Algeria and Suez.

155. Apart from our many natural links with the Algerian people, we are tied to them by very close bonds, and our love of peace and freedom has led us to seek the means of securing a peaceful settlement of this painful dispute. The stability, the security and the peace of North Africa depend upon the outcome, and in application of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, we urge most strongly that the bloodshed be stopped. No problem has ever been solved by recourse to force and violence, and unilateral decisions cannot bring about sound or lasting settlements. Such methods have failed everywhere in the world, and armed forces, however strong, can no more change the course of history than they can turn a people striving for liberty from the pursuit of their goal.

156. The honest efforts of H.M. the Sultan, in our relations with France, to find some common ground between the two parties and to bring about a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem, have been misconstrued and coolly received by the French Government. Our faith in the future is unshakable, however, and we are more firmly determined than ever to play our part in securing peace in North Africa and ensuring that justice and law shall prevail. We believe it highly desirable to put an end to the reign of fear, anxiety and insecurity in Algeria. The Algerian people have been deprived of the basic freedoms in their own country—freedom of speech, assembly and movement. The presence and the brutality of hundreds of thousands of armed troops in Algeria constitute a threat to peace in that part of the world.

157. The era of colonialism is now a thing of the past and Algeria is entitled to its freedom. The enslavement of one people by another, however civilized and powerful this latter may be, is by now an anachronism. Understanding and co-operation between peoples in all their multiplicity and diversity, the development of national cultures and civilizations, the reconciliation of spiritual values and the sharing of technical progress—these are the factors which lead to peace and make for lasting bonds between nations. The fact that there is an Algerian nation and an Algerian character cannot be validly denied, and there is no need to delve into history or sociology to prove it. The claim that Algeria forms part of French territory is a fiction which will not bear scrutiny. Algeria lies across the Mediterranean from France and has its own frontiers and institutions. Politically, as well as economically and socially, the laws applied in Algeria were never identical to those applied in French territory. The system of government established in Algeria is basically different from the French system, not to speak of ethnic factors of civilization and culture. The occupation of Algerian territory for almost 130 years would alone have been sufficient to strengthen the Algerian character and to prove, if proof were needed, that Algeria is not France.

158. Admittedly, there is in Algeria a strong minority of Europeans, more particularly of Frenchmen or of foreigners who have acquired French nationality; but the

existence of this minority must not prevent the search for a peaceful, just and equitable solution of the Algerian problem. As the representatives of the Algerian people have themselves stressed, any solution which would give satisfaction to Algeria's national aspirations would safeguard the legitimate interests of this minority. It could continue, in peace and security, with equal rights and obligations and in a spirit of fruitful co-operation, the work in which it has participated. But the legitimate rights of the Algerian people cannot be sacrificed to the goodwill of the minority and to the preservation of its interest alone. World progress can no longer tolerate privilege or the exploitation by force of an entire people which demands freedom and the recognition of its dignity.

159. Morocco, now renaissance after its struggle against colonialism, would, like all countries which have undergone the same ordeal, place great value on a resolution of this Assembly urging the parties concerned to apply the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, so that wisdom and reason may prevail and an end be made of the bloodshed and violence which an uncomprehending policy has brought about in this part of the world.

160. In view of the violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of the right of peoples to self-determination, and of the threat to international peace and security, the United Nations is fully justified in seeking a peaceful solution to the Algerian problem. It is only because the war in Algeria was not denounced earlier by the United Nations that certain great Powers have seen fit to resort to the old colonialist methods and to military occupation of countries which refuse to submit to their will. Such methods should be unanimously condemned, since they are not conducive to the consolidation of peace or to the establishment of just and lawful relations between nations.

161. By reason of its geographical position between the East and the West, my country forms a natural link between two civilizations which can and must complement each other for the general good and in the interests of all. However, we cannot admit any action prejudicial to the sovereignty of any country, irrespective of the motives involved, and particularly where force or violence are employed. The day after the conflict in the Middle East broke out, my country expressed its disapproval and registered a protest against the aggression suffered by Egypt and against the collusion between France, Israel and the United Kingdom. In our opinion Egypt was within its legitimate rights in nationalizing the Suez Canal, which constitutes an integral part of its territory, particularly since Egypt guaranteed freedom of movement through the Canal. Nothing could justify this aggression, the use of military force against the Egyptian people and the occupation against its will of part of its territory by foreign troops. Such action is a clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and flagrantly contravenes the principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

162. We associate ourselves with the unanimous condemnation of this action and we express the hope that energetic intervention by the United Nations in order to save the peace of the world will ensure the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the invaded territory of a country which is a Member of the United Nations. It is my duty, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation, to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the members of this Assembly for their past and present efforts, to put an end to this aggression and restore justice and peace. As the Sultan of Morocco de-

clared on 18 November 1956, in his Speech from the Throne:

"We trust that the United Nations will fulfil its mission by upholding the law everywhere and by protecting the oppressed; for we believe that peace can reign throughout the world only if we put an end to all forms of colonialism and establish fruitful co-operation between peoples on the basis of freedom, independence and equality."

163. Another and even more essential role of the United Nations is to build a world where social justice and economic progress will be enjoyed by all peoples. The ideas on which colonialism is based have not yet been finally abandoned by certain great Powers. While some smaller nations have succeeded in achieving political freedom, they still have to struggle against economic difficulties originating in the system of occupation under which they had to live and making for instability. Thus in spite of its natural resources, the vitality of its inhabitants and its potentialities, my country still has to cope with the aftermath of an economic system to which it has been subjected for the last fifty years.

164. By supporting the under-developed countries, and through the aid which its specialized agencies can lend to them, the United Nations will play a decisive role in ending this die-hard neo-colonialism, this economic domination which certain great Powers still tend to maintain over smaller nations. The support which my country hopes to find in the United Nations, particularly in the field of technical assistance, will afford us protection against the covetousness of others and enable us to exploit the riches and resources of our country in the interests of its inhabitants.

165. It is unnecessary for me to stress the great importance of disinterested technical assistance by the United Nations to the under-developed countries, for the utilization of their resources and the well-being of their people. The role of the United Nations in this field is as important, if not more important, than that of maintaining international peace and security, if we are to put an end to the many forms of poverty and want which still prevail in various parts of the world. Poverty leads to despair and may sometimes give rise to social unrest; but it also inevitably leads to the enslavement of peoples. A people suffering hunger is not a free people; and while the task of the United Nations is to put an end to oppression, it has the no less vital responsibility of creating prosperity, since peace will remain an uneasy peace unless freedom is fortified by the well-being of the people. We have great hopes that the agencies and institutions of the United Nations will succeed in their task of assisting the under-developed countries to secure a stable economy and a better life.

166. The part played by the United Nations in supporting these countries is one of the most praiseworthy aspects of its mission, and the assistance it will give them in this field is the finest conceivable example of co-operation, solidarity and fraternity among nations. Because of its unceasing efforts to save mankind from the atrocities and evils of war, we look with hope to the United Nations to ensure that brotherly love and fruitful co-operation shall prevail among the peoples of the world.

167. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Prince Wan Waithayakon on his unanimous election to the office of President of the eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. His years of devoted service to the cause of the United Nations, his impar-

tiality and the qualities he has displayed in his international career, are an assurance that the proceedings of this Assembly will be dignified, efficient and constructive.

168. I am happy as President of the first Government of independent Tunisia to be able to bring to the members of this Assembly the greetings of the entire Tunisian nation. In these days of uncertainty, the message that the people of my country have instructed me to bring them, and through them, to the hundreds of millions of people they represent, is one not only of gratitude for their unanimous vote, but also of faith and confidence in the future of the United Nations.

169. I should like to say at the outset that although small, my country is firmly resolved to contribute to the best of its ability to the strengthening of the United Nations and the consolidation of peace so that the principles embodied in the Charter may be not empty truisms but a living reality. We Tunisians experienced the workings of the United Nations during the most crucial period of our national revolution and know what difficulties and what obstacles it faced and still faces. I hope that the few observations I shall make will be received in the spirit in which they were conceived, a spirit that reflects a sincere, wholehearted and honest desire to safeguard the future of the United Nations, to ensure that it endures, for it remains our own hope of one day seeing the establishment of a just order in international relations, based on the equality of all before the law.

170. During the past few weeks we have lived through terrible dangers which still overshadow not only this Assembly but all who are responsible for the future of millions of their fellow-men and have to weigh the effects of each gesture and the consequences of each action. Never have we been so near to catastrophe. Fortunately the resolute action of the United Nations General Assembly has enabled us to avoid the worst. Yet this almost miraculous success is still somewhat precarious. It will remain so until the real causes of the ills that afflict the world are attacked. The time for palliatives is past; the difficulties that beset the international community require action that goes to the very root of the evil.

171. The root of the evil is that some great Powers cannot, or will not, accept the idea of a world free from suspicion and fear, in which all nations, large and small, can freely exercise their sovereign rights, the freedom of each being limited and safeguarded by the freedom of the others.

172. It is clear to anyone who is prepared to face the facts that the armaments race, which, strange as it may seem, appears to increase in intensity in proportion to the efforts made to control it, the outright acts of aggression which have recently been committed against peaceful nations and have aroused the indignation of all civilized peoples, and the inexpiable war being waged at this very moment in Algeria against a proud people whose only crime is their desire to free themselves of foreign domination, are, whatever may be said to disguise the fact, nothing but the direct and inevitable result of the desire of certain Powers for domination. This desire for domination and expansion is a survival of colonialism and is at the heart of the threat to the peace that has existed since the last world war.

173. I realize that the ideological conflict which divides two large groups of States, or, to be more precise, the two strongest Powers in the military sense of the word, would in itself suffice, and has for years sufficed, to keep the world in suspense. But for the time being an equilibrium, albeit terribly unstable, has been found and pro-

vides a basis for a precarious peace. If this equilibrium could be maintained, the danger, although real, would be infinitely less. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that this danger may not one day be eliminated by means of a formula already advocated by eminent statesmen, which would enable the two parties to live together and safeguard the rights of each including the right to live under the régime of its choice.

174. But it is the survival of colonialism to which I have just referred that may bring about the destruction of mankind, for, because it permits, encourages or causes aggression against weak or defenceless peoples, it may as a result of intervention that is virtually inevitable, at any moment provoke the general conflagration we all dread.

175. Thus for over two years the nations of the free world have stood aside and watched while day after day the young people not only of Algeria but also of France have been slaughtered. How can the conscience of civilized men, the conscience of mankind, which was outraged by the terrible repression of the Budapest patriots, be indifferent to a war where other men, animated by the same ideal and the same political faith, are fighting and dying every day in an unequal struggle against one of the most powerful armies in the world? Does this long acquiescence not involve a form of racial or religious discrimination which all civilized peoples pride themselves on condemning?

176. We are all against aggression. To be consistent, we must denounce it wherever it occurs, even, and particularly when it is committed by a friendly country. As President Eisenhower said, there can be no true justice if there is one law for our friends and another for our enemies.

177. The fact is that during recent weeks we have seen countries taking stands which were, to say the least, inconsistent. A country that is outraged by aggression in one case approves or applauds it in another. A Government vehemently denounces one act of aggression while simultaneously committing another, giving the impression that it is crying "murder" in order the better to dispatch its victim.

178. The statesman who is conducting an inexpiable war to keep the Algerian people in slavery, says, in speaking of the uprising in Budapest, "There is no peace in slavery", a noble sentiment we wholeheartedly endorse. He is able in the same breath, to justify the attack he subsequently launched against a country with which he was negotiating, at the very time when the country concerned was engaged in defending its territory against another aggressor.

179. We believe that these inconsistencies are both dangerous and unnecessary. They are unnecessary because as Mr. Mollet, the Prime Minister of France, himself said: "Liberty cannot be crushed when it is on the march." They are dangerous because conflicts spread, even when they break out in colonial territories. For proof, one need only think of the direct links between events in Egypt and in Algeria, which are in turn directly related to those in Morocco and Tunisia. Moreover, we do not believe that the authors of the Charter intended to establish a dual standard, one Charter for the Magyar peasant and another for the Egyptian or Algerian fellah. The principles they laid down must be of universal application; otherwise the Organization set up to assure the triumph of those principles and to maintain peace would soon lose its *raison d'être* as well as its good name. And we all know what the failure of the United Nations would mean.

180. We are gratified that during its two recent emergency special sessions the Assembly took a stand in favour of equal justice for all, in favour of the universality of the principles which we affirm. However, if it is to be really fruitful, the idea should be really universal and extend to all countries where a foreign yoke imposed by conquest is maintained by the terrible weapons of repression or the hypocrisy of legal fictions. The delegation of Ireland will forgive me if I refer to the valiant struggle Ireland waged for centuries against English domination which tried by force to make a reality of the legal fiction that Ireland was an integral part of the United Kingdom.

181. All peoples, and not merely those who have the good fortune to be represented here, have the right of self-determination. The United Nations cannot be content merely to welcome those who have won their freedom, it should hold out its hand to all the peoples fighting to achieve their national aspirations so that they can acquire the dignity of free nations.

182. With nations as with individuals, it is neither healthy nor just—nor in keeping with the spirit of our times—that there should be slaves and free men, first-class citizens and second-class citizens. Under the United Nations Charter there cannot be sovereign countries and dependent countries, free peoples and oppressed peoples. Oppression is all the more deplorable when it is practised by countries in the free world which at home profess respect for the human person. The great weakness of what is called the free world is the fact that it includes colonial Powers which even today are trying to maintain by force their rule over other peoples. The islands of slavery which the colonial Powers maintain in the midst of the free world, like blemishes on a healthy body, are the weak point of the West, its real internal contradiction, the source of the hesitations and misgivings which mark the relations of the young countries of Africa, Asia and America with the West.

183. In the name of Western solidarity, the colonial Powers demand that their partners and allies should say nothing about their mistakes, that they should prop their colonial policy by their silence, favourable votes or even material assistance. They ask that their policy should be endorsed by their friends and even by the United Nations. This is the price they seem to believe should be paid for the unity of the free world.

184. I am glad to say that both in the ranks of the Western Powers and in the United Nations there is a growing realization of the great harm which is done to the free world and to the United Nations itself by this solidarity in error. It is because the United States has for the first time acted with sufficient firmness toward its allies engaged in the Egyptian expedition and because the United Nations has at the same time demonstrated great energy and firmness that it has been possible to correct the situation in the Middle East. This excellent precedent has restored hope to the hearts of thousands of men and women everywhere and will, I hope, encourage all sincere friends of freedom to take a stand against all attempts at domination, from whatever quarters they may come.

185. Moreover, when a friendly country embarks on a course that leads nowhere, is the best thing we can do to let it go its way, to go farther and farther astray in order to avoid hurting its feelings? Is it not better to do everything to induce our friends to follow a proper course which will be in their own best interest and enable them to regain the trust and friendship of other nations?

186. We might, for example, help France which for over two years has been engaged in a trial of strength in Algeria without winning any military decision and is attempting to justify its Algerian policy by the same legal fiction on which the English domination of Ireland was for so long based, to make the difficult transition. I am sure that in France itself the fountain of liberty which welled up in 1789 and enriched the world has not run dry. Men and women of France who are sincerely devoted to justice and peace are working courageously that their country may appear as the great democracy it is and continue the tradition of liberty, which is France's greatest claim to honour in the community of nations. For my part, I wholeheartedly subscribe to the words written a few days ago by Mrs. Andrée Vienot, a great militant socialist and former deputy in the French Parliament.

"The real France is the country of law, justice, peace and generosity: that is the true source of her international prestige. Shortsighted realists do not realize how effective that strength and prestige can be nor understand the warmth of feeling with which peoples throughout the world turn to France when she appears in her true colours. But the real France is now betrayed and she appears before an astonished world as a country prepared to set the Middle East ablaze to defend her colonial interests. Now we are at odds with the entire Arab world because of our failure to solve the Algerian problem."

187. We therefore believe that it is the duty of France's friends—and we are among them—and the duty of the United Nations to help France to break the present deadlock. As we see it, such intervention by the United Nations would be friendly and constructive. France itself now acknowledges that a solution cannot be achieved by force of arms. Moreover, it is evident that constitutional arrangements granted as a concession can no longer, even if sincerely applied this time, offer a solution capable of satisfying the national aspirations of the Algerian people. The United Nations must therefore help France to redefine its relationship with Algeria with a view to a political solution that takes into account the complexities of the situation in Algeria and the unyielding determination of the Algerian people to win recognition of its natural right to independence. United Nations assistance on these lines cannot be regarded as interference by any State in France's internal affairs.

188. Moreover, the liberal solution we advocate would allow for a transitional period; it would consist of several stages. One might be a cease-fire, as in the case of Egypt, and the dispatch of the international police Force the formation of which is, in our view, one of the greatest steps forward since the establishment of the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly might set up a conciliation or good offices commission, consisting of three or four distinguished persons whose views would carry weight and would be likely to be acceptable to both parties. This commission for peace in Algeria would work out with the parties the conditions for a cease-fire and for the negotiation of a lasting peace and force co-operation between the two peoples. When the ground had been cleared and the broad lines of a compromise agreed to, a cease-fire might be arranged and guaranteed by the United Nations which would then send its international police Force to supervise the application of the cease-fire and to ensure that it was respected.

189. If France would now accept this procedure it would crown in a spectacular manner the policy it initiated in Tunisia on 31 July 1954, through which it has

secured peace at both ends of North Africa and the friendship of the Moroccan and Tunisian peoples. Once peace was restored, it would find on the southern shores of the Mediterranean a friendly North Africa which was prepared to offer its sincere co-operation and would safeguard the interests of France and its nationals better than the force of arms. France would thus remove the grievances and prejudices that have grown up against it on all sides as a result of its colonial policy. France would again be seen in its true colours and within a few weeks peace would be restored in one of the world's most troubled areas. North Africa, which aspires to unity, order and prosperity, would be able to fulfil its mission as a link between two complementary civilizations.

190. We, for our part, preach only what we have practised. Throughout our long struggle for liberation and in the conduct of our relations with France, we have always advanced and secured the acceptance of negotiations and peaceful solutions. At all times, we have shown great moderation and, while we have never yielded on questions of principle, we have always been very patient in discussing means of practical application. Today our relations with France are still developing smoothly from colonialism to equality, from subordination to co-operation.

191. Some problems remain: economic problems inherited from the colonial agreement, and military problems resulting from the stationing of a large force of French troops whose presence in an independent and sovereign State is no longer warranted. We are not seeking to place our problems before the General Assembly. It is our firm hope that a peaceful negotiated settlement will be reached directly between France and Tunisia.

192. In our international affairs and in the United Nations we shall at all times preach moderation, a constructive approach, pacific settlement and negotiation, we shall always oppose aggression, whoever the aggressor or victim may be. We shall work to strengthen the United Nations so that it may be not only a moral force but a genuine supranational tribunal which lays down the law and has the ability to enforce it.

193. In a world where technical progress daily tightens the bonds between peoples, peace to a very great extent depends upon a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth. The excessive differences in the standards of living of the various countries are undoubtedly a danger, not so great perhaps, as the expansionist ambitions and desire for domination of some Powers, which we have just denounced, but nevertheless real. The great economically privileged countries understand the position; in many cases the effort they have made to provide technical and other assistance to the under-developed countries deserves our admiration, and we gladly pay a tribute to it. But here, as in other fields, the assistance given must not be coupled with political conditions and the country receiving assistance must be capable of using it effectively to further its economic development and must provide foreign capital with the necessary safeguards by means of appropriate legislation.

194. Of all the forms in which assistance can be given, we prefer international assistance because it satisfies the requirements that must be fulfilled to maintain the independence of States. The technical assistance organization established by the United Nations has proved itself an excellent instrument for the promotion of economic development, particularly since effective steps have been taken to ensure effective co-ordination of the assistance

provided under bilateral or multilateral agreements and that furnished by the United Nations itself.

195. In the case of financial assistance, we believe that the same path should be followed. We therefore hope that the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development will at last see the light. In this connexion, we doubt the wisdom of linking the establishment of the Fund to the question of disarmament.

196. A young and essentially peaceful country, Tunisia yields to none in its interest in disarmament, but it believes that economic development is in itself a factor for peace such that its achievement would eliminate many of the causes of war, gradually ease world tension, and re-

move the most evident reason for the maintenance of national armaments.

197. We know that the great Powers alone can, within a few hours, destroy man's entire heritage and even, it is said, wipe out every trace of life on earth for all time. However, we also know that they alone cannot build the world of the future to which mankind aspires; it must be achieved by the combined efforts of all nations, great and small, or it will never be achieved at all. Let us wager that, by grace of goodwill, patience and wisdom, the vision of that world will soon enter into the realm of reality.

*The meeting rose at 6:30 p.m.*