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(Thailand).**

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. BOYD (PANAMA), MR. LANGE (NORWAY), MR. NASZKOWSKI (POLAND), MR. ARISMENDI (VENEZUELA), MR. TSIANG (CHINA) AND MR. CHAMANDI (YEMEN)

1. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): The United Nations meets today in this General Assembly, under the able guidance of our President, at a critical moment of world tension. We have before us a series of grave problems which we must face with a high sense of responsibility; and if we are to justify the trust and faith placed in us by those in the world who love peace, freedom, justice and democracy, we must find a solution consistent with the precepts and principles proclaimed in the Charter. The Panamanian delegation does not propose to repeat outworn clichés or to recite polite phrases for mere form's sake. We wish to express our fervent hopes and to reiterate, without euphemism, our faith in lofty ideals.

2. Before the sinister outbreak of barbaric oppression now ripe in Hungary, and before the disgraceful outrage practised on certain small countries, there were many gloomy prophets who maintained that the United Nations was anaemic and powerless to translate into practical action the principles which are its guiding spirit, its very essence and purpose. Yet those who think and speak in this manner evidently do not realize that institutions dedicated to lofty ideals are invulnerable to the calculating brutality of those who still believe in the sinister rule of the whip and the shot-gun.

3. The United Nations is faced with a severe test; but just as bitter trials tend to strengthen the resolve of fine men, in the same way crises act like a spiritual tonic on the keepers of the international peace.

4. The resolutions of the General Assembly, the most authoritative voice of world opinion, undoubtedly carry great moral force; it is essential, however, that at crucial moments, as happened in the Suez Canal case, the Assembly should also possess and utilize the necessary coercive force to guarantee due compliance with

measures designed to preserve peace and international order and security.

5. The Members of this great Assembly cannot afford to maintain cordial relations with States which use or are prepared to use threats, force or aggression as a means of solving international problems; otherwise the efficacy and even the very existence of the United Nations will be jeopardized. We should always bear in mind the lessons of the defunct League of Nations, whose downfall was due to a lack of determination and courage on the part of its members in meeting the challenge of aggressor States and calling for appropriate sanctions by the international community.

6. This is why the delegation of Panama, of which I have the honour to be the Chairman, has supported and will support all measures designed to alleviate the tragic situation of the Hungarians, and why we supported the proposal that that question be given priority in the General Assembly. There is no room whatever for temporizing in the face of the brutal and merciless aggression by the Soviet Union against the Hungarian people, who are now shedding their blood in defence of their freedom and the sacred right of self-determination.

7. States which love justice and democracy, as do the great majority of those in the United Nations, cannot become accomplices of the puppet government of Hungary. Trustworthy cabled reports and the personal accounts of thousands of refugees speak with moving eloquence of the Odyssey of a people striving to throw off a shameful yoke. The flood of falsehoods and sophisms designed to convince us that the situation in Hungary is normal has fallen on deaf ears. What of the Soviet troops there, spreading horror and death in places which only yesterday were scenes of peaceful activity? What of the Hungarians who prefer to die rather than live under the hammer of oppression and the freedom-destroying sickle? What of the trucks moving off to foreign parts, loaded with patriots whose only prospects are torture and death?

8. The United Nations could not remain indifferent to the tragedy now being enacted in Hungary as a result of Soviet intervention. Had we done so, it would have been tantamount to conniving at the violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and condoning genocide, a crime against mankind defined and condemned by the United Nations itself, on the proposal of the delegations of Panama, Cuba and India.

9. On this question of foreign intervention, I should stress that the Latin American peoples have always been extremely jealous of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Throughout their history, they have opposed any attempt at any kind of intervention, however ostensibly well-intentioned; for the results are always disastrous for the State concerned.

10. Consequently, just as we condemn the unjustified and barbarous aggression by the Soviet Union, we also denounce no less sincerely and strongly the aggression committed by France, the United Kingdom and Israel

against Egypt, though it must be pointed out that these Powers are prepared to discuss the problem in this world forum of the United Nations.

11. As regards the situation in the Near East and with respect to the status of the Suez Canal, the Republic of Panama, faithful to its traditions and consistent in its support for international law, wishes to repeat that it condemns the use of force as a means of solving conflicts between States, and will support any measures designed to ensure peace in that region, with due regard for the dignity and sovereignty of the Egyptian nation.

12. As we stated from this rostrum last week [591st meeting], the question of Suez is of special importance to the Panamanian delegation for four reasons: first, because our own territory is also cut by an artificial waterway which reduces distances and brings together the peoples of the world; secondly because of the similarities between the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal; thirdly, because the mercantile marine of Panama is the sixth largest in the world; and fourthly, because the regulations regarding the neutralization and use of the Suez Canal set forth in the Constantinople Convention of 1888¹ apply also to Panama. In Suez, the territorial sovereignty is vested in Egypt; in the Panama Canal zone, it is vested in the Republic of Panama.

13. The sovereignty of Panama over the Canal zone is a concrete, positive fact. The Isthmus Convention of 1903², when our contractual relationship with the United States began, corroborates this. Despite the shortcomings of that instrument, attributable largely to the exigencies of the time and to adverse factors which I do not propose to analyse now, the founders of the State of Panama took special care to ensure that the United States should possess in the Canal zone only such rights, powers and authority as are necessary for the operation, maintenance, repair and defence of the Canal; in all other fields not related to those specific ends, all rights, power and authority are in the hands of the Republic of Panama.

14. The Isthmus Convention of 1903 contained harsh conditions hurtful to our national pride, and hence the Republic of Panama, which has always respected its international obligations and the principles of international law, has been negotiating an amicable settlement of its differences direct with the other party, the United States, through periodic revisions of the Treaty of 1903.

15. The first revision, in 1926, was unsuccessful; the second, in 1936, contained important improvements for Panama; the third, in 1942, took place as a result of the Second World War; and the last revision was made in the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama and the Memorandum of Understandings concluded in 1955. To make these two agreements completely effective, supplementary laws will be enacted by the United States Congress.

16. The First of these laws concerns equality of opportunity, wages and pensions for Panamanian and North American workers in the Canal zone; the second concerns the return to Panama of certain land and property not needed in connexion with the Canal; and the last concerns the financing of a bridge over the Canal. On the strength of the principle of equal pay for equal work, which has been internationally recognized

and specifically embodied in the contractual arrangements in force between the Republic of Panama and the United States, the Government of Panama considers that any attempt to establish in the Canal zone wage rates on the basis of "contractual geographical areas" would mean a new type of discrimination based on the worker's "locality," or point of origin, that would, in practice, be as harmful and reprehensible as the old types of discrimination. The only salary differential we regard as being equitable and non-discriminatory is that based on the difference in workers' skill or experience for any particular post.

17. Although the aforesaid agreements leave many Panamanian ambitions unfulfilled, they do represent a step towards the solution of our problems with the United States. Panama is confident that future negotiations will make it possible to arrive at fair and amicable understandings and arrangements which will reflect the true spirit of justice embodied in the agreements.

18. The treaties in force between Panama and the United States repeatedly make it clear that both countries have joint and vital interests in the operation of the Canal and in maintaining a real, stable and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the Republic of Panama and the United States and between their citizens.

19. Now that we are discussing the problem of the Suez Canal, it will be of interest for Members of this Organization to have some information, however brief, on the operations of the Canal which, though built for the benefit of the world, has cut the territory of the Republic of Panama in two.

20. The construction of the Panama Canal, begun by the great French builder of the Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, was brought to a successful conclusion by the United States Government. This engineering marvel, the outcome of a titanic struggle against nature and tropical disease, was inaugurated in 1914, at a total cost of \$325,311,966.

21. On the basis of the figures given in the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal zone, Mr. William E. Potter, *The New York Times* of 11 November stated that the Panama Canal, after payment of the costs of the Government of the zone, amounting to \$51,151,557, and the interest on the investment, amounting to \$41,611,824, has shown a net profit of \$17,733,724 over the past five years. For these five years, the payment to Panama of the yearly rent amounted to \$2,150,000.

22. While from the economic point of view the Canal has proved a great success for its builders, from the strategic point of view it has increased the naval power of the United States by 40 to 60 per cent.

23. Panama is pleased to give these statistics on the Canal, even though we feel that we do not receive all the benefits rightfully due to us as partners in an undertaking in which, together with the United States, we have a mutual and vital interest.

24. The Canal has been a vital artery for the defence of the continent in two world wars. We are proud to state that not a single Panamanian has ever been found guilty of acts likely to endanger the security of the Canal. The United States and the rest of the democratic world have always found in Panama a staunch collaborator, a loyal friend, and a nation respectful of its international commitments.

25. As representatives to this Assembly know, the Republic of Panama is an isthmus which links the two

¹ Convention respecting the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, signed at Constantinople on 29 October 1888.

² Convention for the Construction of a Ship Canal, signed at Washington on 18 November 1903.

Americas. It covers an area of 28,600 square miles and has a population of over a million inhabitants. The progressive administration of Mr. Ernesto de la Guardia, inaugurated recently, is endeavouring with all the capacities and good will at its command to increase the cultivation of the soil and to create new sources of wealth in the country. The President of Panama feels that through the scientific development of our resources, with Government action directed towards the attainment of diversified production, it will be possible for us to transform the country in a way which will bring greater well-being for Panamanian citizens.

26. Because of obvious financial limitations, and equipment that does not always meet the requirements of our time, Panama today has to put forth herculean efforts to ensure that its farmers have agricultural implements, that its workers find employment to occupy them physically and mentally, that disease and the mortality rates are reduced, and that the people have hygienic and decent housing. Panama is having to exert tremendous efforts in 1956 to cope with the ravages of endemic diseases, to provide properly trained teachers for the growing school population, and to reduce the illiteracy figures.

27. In the United Nations, countries are not measured by the area of their territory or the numerical strength of their inhabitants, but rather by their integrity of purpose and honesty of conduct. Panama therefore hopes that the specialized agencies of the United Nations will make the benefits of their technical assistance programmes available in a more effective way. We consider that, as a sincere ally of the democratic world, our country is entitled to expect from an Organization which has received its loyal support a little more assistance in raising the standard of living of its people. This is neither a cry of despair nor a presumptuous request, but a bold and straightforward appeal to the spirit of the United Nations.

28. Panama professes and practices the principle that respect must govern relations both between Governments as well as individual human relations. The eminent lawyer, Mr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, by his distinguished contribution to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, crystallized what for Panamanians is a credo of political philosophy which, if it were practised, would undoubtedly provide a most effective code for curtailing abuse, enhancing human dignity, and setting ethical standards for society.

29. As to the other specific items on the agenda of this Assembly, Panama wishes to state beforehand that it will support any steps designed to bring to the peoples of the world at present living under colonial régimes a system of government in keeping with their wishes and their capacity for self-government.

30. Panama will also unswervingly condemn any type of racial discrimination, and will support any measures which will make it possible permanently to eradicate such discrimination.

31. My country also wishes to state that it will vote in favour of increasing the number of members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Law Commission, so that these organs may genuinely represent the United Nations now that its membership has been considerably increased.

32. My delegation comes to this eleventh session of the General Assembly prepared to exert every effort to maintain the noble ideals of the United Nations intact. We are here to judge severely the international conduct

of peoples who put democratic ideals on one side, and we shall not go away satisfied until we have obtained for Panama the victories which rightfully belong to a small nation constantly striving forward.

33. The delegation of Panama comes here with an open heart and an alert mind, prepared to do everything in its power to see that justice, tolerance, democracy and respect are not mere words, but concepts endowed with true meaning.

34. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Australia on a point of order.

35. Mr. CASEY (Australia): I am grateful for this very brief opportunity to refer to a point of order on a matter of consequence to us all. I refer to the statement made by the Minister of External Affairs of the Union of South Africa this morning [597th meeting].

36. The partial withdrawal of the Union of South Africa from full-scale participation in the affairs of the United Nations is something of which we must all take note. We cannot but regret that they have decided to take this step, but we entirely understand their reasons for so doing. We share their concern over some of the tendencies that are apparent in the United Nations, particularly in matters that concern the domestic field. There are big things to be done in and by the United Nations; but if the United Nations attempts to cope with every problem of the world, small and large, domestic as well as international, it may well weaken its influence and effectiveness.

37. We in Australia would hope that all Members would give heed and reflection to the warning light that the Union of South Africa has shown. For myself, I can only hope that the action that South Africa has taken will turn out to be no more than a temporary one and that the circumstances that brought about its partial withdrawal will be modified, as delegations reflect on the situation that brought it about.

38. Mr. LANGE (Norway): Once again we meet here at the United Nations to discuss the troubled state of the world and the role which our Organization has to play in improving this state of affairs. A few weeks ago, we were preparing for this general debate in a mood largely determined by what, at least on the surface, appeared to be a relaxation of the tensions which the so-called "cold war" had created in international relations during the first post-war decade. Today we can but register the fact that this atmosphere of relaxation was abruptly shattered by the tragic events in Hungary and the crisis in the Middle East. During this, its eleventh session, the United Nations finds itself in the midst of the turmoil resulting from these events. This situation inevitably must give the statements which we hear during the present debate a tenor radically different from what might have been expected some weeks ago.

39. It is not my intention to indulge in a lengthy effort to explain how and why this sudden change in the international picture occurred, or why it has caught both us here in the United Nations and the general public somewhat unprepared. There is, however, in my opinion one important fact which tended to become obscured during the period when declarations of peace and friendship took the place of serious efforts at making peace. This fact, so brutally revealed in Hungary and in the Middle East, is of course that the mere absence of war does not mean that we have peace.

40. This may be a truism. But is it not true that peace is a state of affairs so ardently desired by the war-weary

peoples of the world—and statesmen are no exception—that even the simplest facts tend to be overlooked when an apparent state of peace becomes the main feature in the picture of the world which our information media draw for us?

41. This brings me directly to an attempt at evaluating the role of the United Nations in present circumstances.

42. One basic fact must be emphasized from the very beginning: this Organization of ours has no means of its own to enforce its decisions. If, therefore, Member States are not willing to act in accordance with the decisions of the Organization, then there is not much that can be done through the Organization. The moral obligation upon each and every Member in this respect is unequivocal and uncompromising. There can be in practice no exceptions to this rule unless one wishes to strike at the very foundations of the Organization.

43. The discretion to act cannot be exercised unilaterally. It is, furthermore, clearly not consistent with the obligations of membership to take the law into one's own hands to redress wrongs, even if these wrongs are strongly felt. In every such instance, the action taken is determined by unilateral and subjective judgement of what constitutes right and wrong in a particular situation. Such discretion has no place in an international order built on law, just as it has no place in the internal order of individual countries.

44. Having said this, I hasten to add that I am fully aware of the fact that order, be it of an international or national character, is incomplete and not acceptable if based exclusively on formal legal obligations. It is of equal importance that it be based on justice. And this is the crux of the matter. This is the real test to which the United Nations must be put before we can determine its role as a peace-making organ. Peace may be attainable if we are willing to pay the price for it. We do not know whether justice is attainable if this price is paid. We do not know whether the United Nations has the power to secure justice. These are fundamental questions, and upon the answers to them rests the future of this Organization.

45. Let me now turn to the Middle East situation and discuss these questions in the light of the events which have occurred there.

46. The outbreak of hostilities through the invasion of Egypt by Israel forces, followed by the intervention of British and French forces in the Suez Canal area, came as a shock to us and, I am sure, to many other friends of these three countries. I would not be quite sincere, however, if I also professed surprise at the outbreak of warfare in this region.

47. Over a number of years we have watched developments in the Middle East with growing concern and apprehension, and with a feeling of frustration at the lack of will and determination to change the fragile armistice into a stable peace. We understand that this frustration must have been felt many times as strongly by those most directly concerned, above all by the Government and people of Israel. We reject their action, but we understand their motives. We also understand that they are disappointed with the United Nations because of its failure to exert decisive influence towards the establishment of peace in the Middle East, although I must, in all frankness, express some doubts as to the support which Israel itself has given to the United Nations efforts over the last two years to create an atmosphere more conducive to a settlement. Be

this as it may, the invasion of Egypt and the resort to full-scale war came as a shock to us.

48. To the United Nations it came not only as a shock, but also as a spur to action. Our Organization did not stop at issuing directives to the belligerents to halt operations. It actually took measures to facilitate the halting of operations and the withdrawal of troops from the invaded territory. These measures, which of course centre on the establishment of a United Nations Emergency Force, may prove to be a signal event, not only in this particular situation but in world history.

49. I shall return to this a little later on, but let me here express the gratitude of the Norwegian Government in the first place to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, for the courage and sense of leadership he displayed in a situation whose implications one hesitates fully to recognize. We are also grateful to those Governments which spontaneously gave their full and unreserved support to the efforts of the United Nations to attain its first and most urgently needed goal, the cessation of hostilities. Last, but not least, we are appreciative of the respect for the United Nations shown by the parties in heeding the cease-fire call of the General Assembly.

50. Now the guns are silent in Egypt and we ardently hope that they will remain silent. If not, there is not much use in discussing now where we should go from here. Because, while it is true that peace is not the mere absence of war, it is equally true that a just peace cannot very well be initiated as long as war is raging, inflaming passions and obscuring reason.

51. Another prerequisite for initiating peace is the withdrawal of troops from Egypt. This is the expressed policy of the General Assembly, and we feel confident that the three Governments will abide by this decision of the General Assembly as readily as they responded to the call for a cease-fire.

52. We note their declarations in response to the Secretary-General's questions on this point and feel confident that, as and when United Nations forces enter the area in sufficient strength to discharge fully the mission entrusted to them by the General Assembly, there will be full compliance with the decisions of this Assembly.

53. I now return to the question: where do we go from here? During the discussions in this Assembly at its first emergency special session, when it was about to establish a United Nations Force, my delegation said:

"We may today lay the foundations for peace in that troubled area . . .

"But let us not forget the restoration of peace would mean that but half the mission had been accomplished. The second half of the mission is for this Assembly to see that justice is done." [566th meeting paras. 51 and 52.]

54. Has the United Nations the power and the influence to help establish a just peace in the Middle East? This seems to me to be a question that we, each and every Member of this Organization, must put to ourselves and answer for ourselves. We are the ones who must decide what the United Nations can do.

55. There is no such thing as a United Nations acting freely above or beside the membership. If the United Nations has failed so far in the Middle East, it has done so because Member States have failed. There is no justification for now diverting the unavoidable soul-searching away from ourselves and our own policies over the past years to the policies of an anonymous

organization, and thereafter disclaiming responsibility for this organization's mistakes. The mistakes are our mistakes, and we should try not to repeat them.

56. First of all, it seems obvious to my Government that a mere return to the fragile armistice arrangements in 1949 in the Middle East is not a realistic policy. These arrangements were meant to last for a few months, as a transition to peace. They could not last as a basis for permanent relations between neighbouring countries—and, as we have seen, they did not last.

57. Secondly, the two principal parties involved, Israel and the Arab States, will have to make certain fundamental concessions on a mutual basis. Israel must recognize that its emergence in Palestine unavoidably must lead to serious psychological and other difficulties on the part of the Arabs, and must also be a disturbing element in the established cultural, social and economic order in this predominantly Arab region. These very serious difficulties must not only be understood; they must also be recognized by the leaders of the Israel nation as a determining factor in their policy-making.

58. The difficulties have furthermore been compounded by the presence around the borders of the new State, on a semi-permanent basis, of hundreds of thousands of the former inhabitants of this land, who for eight years now have been living in misery and despair and who in their desperation may have constituted the main reason why the armistice machinery of the United Nations has not been able to achieve its ends. I may also add that the armistice lines, because they split the Arab world in two, did much to keep alive the bitterness which the events of 1948 had unavoidably created among the Arabs.

59. There are in this situation, I submit, elements which should impress upon Israel the need for concessions of a substantial nature in any final peace settlement, and it is our hope that Israel's leaders will give the most earnest consideration to these elements, because Israel's security, in the final analysis, lies in the establishment of peace with its neighbours, and not in the uncertainties of a military balance of power.

60. I turn now to the Arabs and the fundamental concessions they will have to consider in order to give peace a chance to take root and grow in the Middle East. The State of Israel is there to stay. This is a fact which must be recognized, and such a recognition must be the starting point for the formulation of a policy on the part of the Arab States which will be their indispensable contribution to the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace. Real world peace is inconceivable without peace in the Middle East. Peace in the Middle East is equally inconceivable without peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

61. The Arabs represent an old and proud culture, and their religion has imbued them with a sense of moral and spiritual values of the highest order. Surely they have their substantial part to play in the attainment of the goals of this world Organization, and the Norwegian Government, for one, is confident that a co-operative spirit will guide the actions of the Arab Governments, in concert with the actions of the United Nations, in this hour of crisis. Such a spirit of co-operation will be needed no less during the coming weeks and months when, as we hope, a determined effort will be launched to seek a new basis for a lasting peace in that area.

62. Addressing myself to the role of the United Nations in these efforts, I want to stress that the obliga-

tions of every Member State are no less than those resting upon the parties directly involved. There is, I believe, a wide measure of agreement among Members that the role of the United Nations in the efforts to restore peace, while being substantial, cannot and should not replace what must be the main, in fact the indispensable, instrument for bringing peace to the Middle East—namely, direct contact between the parties. This peace must be the making of the peoples of the area and not of any outside State, States or agency. Whatever assistance can be given from outside in order to facilitate the peace-making efforts of the parties should be given for this purpose alone and not in a way which might tend either to delay or to thwart whatever efforts are made by the parties.

63. While I think, therefore, that the role of the United Nations, so far as negotiations are concerned, should be one of discreet, friendly prodding, I firmly hold that extensive assistance from the United Nations will be needed in order to enable the parties to carry out the adjustments and reforms of an economic and social nature within and between the respective countries in the area which a peace settlement certainly will require. The General Assembly could very well start considering, even at this stage, this particular aspect of its peace-making role in the Middle East.

64. I cannot leave the subject of the Middle East without expressing my disappointment at the negative attitude which the Soviet Union has so far taken towards United Nations policies in the Middle East during the crisis. This attitude is all the more disappointing since these policies have been supported by the vast majority of the United Nations, including the Middle Eastern countries themselves.

65. The roots of the present immediate trouble in the Middle East must, however, be sought not only in the unsettled state of Arab-Israel relations, but also in the lack of a satisfactory settlement of the problems created by Egypt's unilateral nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company. Those of us who are important users of the Suez Canal—and, as a user, my country comes second—cannot rest content until a solution of these problems has been worked out on the basis of the six principles [S/3675] agreed upon by the Security Council at its 743rd meeting on 13 October 1956.

66. A mere return to the situation as it existed immediately before the opening of hostilities on 29 October offers no basis for stable, peaceful conditions in the area. There is urgent need for the United Nations not only to see to it that the Canal is cleared with the utmost speed possible, but also to exercise its good offices with a view to bringing about direct negotiations between Egypt and the principal user nations on the future régime of the Canal.

67. The exchange of letters between the Foreign Minister of Egypt and the Secretary-General [S/3728], following their exploratory talks in October, would seem to indicate that, given good will on all sides, a framework for the implementation of the six agreed principles could be worked out. In view of the fact that withdrawal of forces other than those of the United Nations has now been initiated, the time would seem to have come to consider action by this Assembly towards initiating the preparation of a plan for the operation and maintenance of the Suez Canal and freedom of passage through it, as outlined in the draft

resolution submitted by the United States [A/3273] on 3 November 1956.

68. I turn now to the situation in Hungary. We cannot but deeply regret and reprove the attitude of the Hungarian authorities and the Soviet Union in flatly refusing to comply with the repeated urgent requests of this Assembly—voted by overwhelming majorities—to allow observers, appointed by the Secretary-General, to enter Hungary and investigate freely what has happened and is still happening there, to cease forthwith any deportations and repatriate all persons who may have been forcibly removed to the Soviet Union, and without delay to withdraw Soviet troops from the country.

69. Short of military action—and no one in this hall contemplates such an alternative—the only way in which this Organization can exert any influence on events in Hungary is by keeping up a constant moral pressure, on behalf of world opinion, on the Soviet Union Government and its Hungarian helpers, and by ever-renewed appeals to them to comply with their obligations under the Charter and other relevant international agreements to which they are parties.

70. Such pressure has succeeded in opening access for Red Cross relief from the outside world. But those millions of private citizens in my country and in other countries, who have responded so generously to the appeal of this great humanitarian relief agency, will not feel confident that their help is reaching those who are in greatest need of it until the authorities in Hungary accept the presence in the country of representatives of the United Nations, with powers and facilities to supervise the distribution of outside assistance.

71. In my country, with a population of not quite 3,500,000 about \$1,500,000 have been collected through fund-raising campaigns for the people of Hungary. Half of this sum will be used for relief inside Hungary, the other half will be used to relieve the sufferings of Hungarian refugees and to help them create a new existence for themselves. In addition to these sums collected from private citizens, the Norwegian Parliament has granted another \$70,000, of which sum \$42,000 will be placed at the disposal of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

72. Before attempting to draw from our recent experience of United Nations action in Hungary and in the Middle East certain conclusions with regard to the future of our Organization, permit me to touch briefly on one or two of the other matters on the agenda of the General Assembly.

73. I first turn for a moment to United Nations activities in the economic and social fields. In this field, our major objective must be to further the economic growth of the materially under-developed areas of the world. The steady progress of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the recent establishment of the International Finance Corporation, with increased lending by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the economically backward areas, give reason for considerable satisfaction.

74. These activities go some modest distance towards meeting the requirements of the under-developed areas. The fact remains, however, that the present rate of economic growth in these areas is far below that of the more industrialized countries, with the result that—contrary to our aims—the gap between the standard of living and economic well-being of the two areas is still increasing.

75. Faced with this enormous problem, great emphasis has been placed on the necessity for intensified efforts by the United Nations to provide economic aid and technical assistance. Most representatives here no doubt would like to see a great deal more being done in this field, and the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development project has received considerable support from most countries. We on our part have consistently worked for an early establishment of SUNFED, and we have tried to be helpful by indicating our financial contribution to it. There are, however, many reasons why an immediate success remains as doubtful as a few years ago. Recent political developments, and among them the sudden and untimely nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company, have not contributed to further progress. We are, however, still giving the project full support and we hope that something may be achieved in the not too distant future.

76. In our discussions of economic development problems within this Organization, too little attention has perhaps been given to measures taken by Member countries on a bilateral basis to assist economically under-developed areas.

77. Last year, in the general debate on economic development in the Second Committee, my delegation ventured to give an indication of the amounts which such bilateral economic assistance represented and of its increased importance, and we stated on that occasion that from a vantage point like the United Nations, we ought to look at the total picture.

78. I think that this year the United Nations, acting along the lines suggested on several occasions by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Mr. Pearson, might usefully decide to collect all relevant data and work out a comprehensive survey of the multilateral and bilateral efforts of Member States in the field of economic assistance. Many persons and institutions have recently become interested in this total picture of economic assistance and have provided valuable information.

79. I am afraid that the prestige of the United Nations might suffer if over a period of years it continued to concentrate its efforts in a limited field of action, such as the establishment of SUNFED, without perhaps being able to record success in that direction. Even if there is no intent to multilateralize the assistance rendered bilaterally, the working out of a general survey, as suggested, might create a situation where the need of a special multilateral fund might be better understood and clearly appreciated. It is my hope that the Second Committee might find it possible to initiate action along the lines suggested by Mr. Pearson.

80. Another item of a general nature on the agenda of this Assembly, which in the opinion of the Norwegian Government is of paramount importance, is disarmament. I am, of course, very much aware that the great Powers are and will remain primarily responsible for what will eventually be achieved in respect to disarmament. Nevertheless, the problem certainly concerns us all. I therefore believe that it is fitting for me, as the representative of a small country, to try to explain in this general debate, before the more specific problems of disarmament are tackled in the First Committee, the general approach of my Government to the present phase in the disarmament negotiations between the great Powers.

81. The not inconsiderable progress achieved in those talks during the last two years was, of course, a reflection of the general improvement in international relations during that period. It would seem premature to assess how far the dramatic and tragic happenings of the last few weeks may prevent further progress towards disarmament in the near future. However, we have had the shocking revelations of how close we have come to the brink of disaster and how easily a spark may blow up the powder-keg on which we are virtually sitting in these days of super-bombs, and I hope and believe that these events will make us all realize that time is running out on us, that, as far as disarmament is concerned, it may be now or never.

82. I hope that such a realization—and I do not believe anyone would contend that I have overstated the urgency of starting positive action for disarmament now—will more than counterbalance the drastic worsening of international relations and the reduction of mutual trust of which we are all of us painfully conscious.

83. Mutual trust is, of course, the key to the whole problem, more than ever now that such trust has been so suddenly and drastically reduced. Disarmament “by proclamation”, without effective control of compliance, is consequently of less value than ever before. We still believe that the formula “neither control without disarmament nor disarmament without control”, as aptly phrased by Mr. Moch, must constitute the basis for a solution. This formula is the backbone of the elaborate British-French disarmament plans submitted in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission [DC/71, annexes 9 and 13]. Combined with President Eisenhower’s “open-sky” proposal [DC/71, annex 17] and Mr. Bulganin’s suggestions for control of key points and areas [DC/71, annex 18], this formula should now make it possible to construct a package solution, offering the security of compliance, which in the absence of genuine trust is necessary.

84. I regret to say, however, that the latest Soviet proposals, although they seemingly indicate a modification of previous Soviet resistance to President Eisenhower’s “open-sky” proposal, are put forward in the framework of such unashamed propaganda, and are linked with what appear to us as purely propaganda proposals to such an extent that they hardly represent any serious step towards a solution.

85. I said a moment ago that mutual trust was the key to the disarmament problem. We should be aware, however, that the setting up and getting in motion of a disarmament machinery in itself will be an important factor towards creating that mutual trust which will be necessary to carry a planned disarmament process to a successful close.

86. In its careful examination of the present disarmament proposal, my Government has come to the point where we have asked ourselves whether this consideration has not to some extent been overlooked. We feel, anyway, that disagreement about details of the later stages of the disarmament process should not prevent us from at least getting the process started. We believe that a start might take us out of the blind alley where we have for sometime found ourselves, and to some extent contribute to the reduction or elimination of the technical and political difficulties now envisaged for the later stages of disarmament.

87. We have, I believe, a workable blueprint for such a start in the first stage of the British-French proposal.

There is, however, as far as we can see, one basic concession that must still be made by the Soviet side before we can embark on this first stage, that is, willingness in principle to accept international control for future production of nuclear weapons. Is it too much to hope that such willingness will now be forthcoming?

88. I could not very well leave this subject of disarmament and mutual trust without touching on another move that, as far as we can see, might contribute to giving the disarmament talks a chance of making progress. I would like to refer to what the representative of Norway, Mr. Moe, said in the disarmament debate of the First Committee here at the United Nations last year, on the subject of nuclear tests. Mr. Moe referred [804th meeting] to the fact that such tests can be easily spotted. In fact everybody seems to agree that tests of nuclear weapons over a certain size cannot be carried out in secret. Would it not then be possible to embark now on the task of achieving an early regulation and, if necessary, reduction of these tests, independently of the setting up of an elaborate, and for this purpose unnecessary, control system?

89. I would like to suggest that a first and immediate step might be to let the United Nations require advance registration with the Secretary-General or the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation of any planned weapons tests expected to cause measurable, world-wide radioactive fall-out. Such advance registration should give the United Nations a possibility of alerting Member States in case competent scientific authorities deem the planned test programme to exceed the limits of absolute safety.

90. There is a strong desire among ordinary men and women in my country, and all over the world, that steps be taken to safeguard against radioactive contamination of man and his surroundings by increased uncontrolled national atomic activity. It is far from me to want to exploit this state of opinion for any scare-propaganda. It seems that the genetic effects from radioactive fall-out, from tests carried out at the present rate, are not, for the time being, giving rise to great anxiety, even though the differing opinions among scientists on this subject are in themselves disturbing. Gravest concern has, however, been expressed among scientists as to the effects of radioactive materials taken up in food materials and thereby entering human bodies. This effect of the fall-out may, as I understand it, represent a danger in a future close enough already to warrant serious consideration today of precautionary measures.

91. This is the background, then, for our belief that an early agreement concerning these tests would not only in itself be of immense value for the future security and well-being of mankind, but would, just because of the strong public feeling on the matter, be a major factor in re-establishing some of that mutual trust without which other steps towards a full implementation of the disarmament plans will not be possible.

92. In conclusion, let me, in the light of our experience in the last few weeks, stress once more what to me appear as the salient features of this world Organization as a peace-preserving and peace-making agency.

93. In the absence of agreement on internationally controlled disarmament and of agreement between Member States and the Security Council on forces to be placed at the disposal of the Council, the United Nations does not possess any means of its own to force Member States to restore peace once they have resorted to acts of war. The possibilities of action through

our Organization are entirely determined by the willingness of Member States to live up to their commitments under the Charter and to comply with requests made to them by the duly authorized organs of the Organization. In other words, the main means of action at our disposal is the pressure of world public opinion, as expressed in resolutions of the Security Council and of this Assembly.

94. The lesson we can draw from recent experience, it seems to me, is this: where democratic institutions inside Member States enable this moral authority of the United Nations to make itself fully felt, Member States will abide by the decisions of the Organization. In Member States where national institutions are such that they do not all allow the pressure of world opinion to become freely and fully effective, there is no assurance that Governments will comply with United Nations decisions. Beyond moral condemnation, our Organization has very limited means of penalizing Members for non-compliance. But, on the other hand, the pressure of world opinion may at times be tremendous, in fact irresistible, if applied with determination and in the appropriate circumstances, and no Government should underestimate the power of such expressions of opinion on the part of the General Assembly.

95. The establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East constitutes a momentous new institutional development. It does not, however, alter the fundamental character of our Organization. Tremendously encouraging though it may be to see a large number of Member States hasten to put under direct United Nations command armed forces for the purpose of facilitating compliance with our Organization's appeal for a cease-fire and for withdrawal of troops from Egypt, the United Nations Emergency Force does not and cannot have the mission to enforce such compliance, should the parties concerned reverse their present course of action.

96. Nevertheless, it would, in the opinion of my Government, seem worth considering the establishment on a permanent basis of United Nations forces in readiness for emergencies such as the one with which we are now faced. Such forces would not, in the proper sense, constitute an international police. They might, however, be considered an international fire brigade, available for use in situations where there is reason to fear that existing international tension might result in brush fires.

97. I have ventured to touch upon a few of the issues which confront the United Nations today. I have done so in what I hope may be appreciated as a constructive and realistic spirit. The United Nations, because of its responsibility for dealing with these issues, has become a focal point of the hopes and the fears, the expectations and the despair of men and women during the anxious days which we have lived through over the last three weeks. They may have seen a major war averted by action through the United Nations, but they may also have seen injustice triumph in defiance of the United Nations. These two events reveal both the potentialities and the limitations of the means now at the disposal of the Organization. Thus they constitute a double challenge to all Members to work patiently to develop and improve these means, a challenge to which I hope we all will respond with vigour and determination.

98. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The Polish delegation came to this session with rather mixed feelings. We remembered the initial

progress that had been achieved at the previous session, at a time of growing international confidence. We recalled also the increased prestige of the United Nations and the increased responsibilities placed on it as a result of the admission of new Members. May I be allowed to extend a welcome to the delegations of the nineteen States that have recently been admitted to our Organization. We now have here representatives of nearly eighty States. This gives us greater possibilities, and greater responsibility, for steadfastly implementing the principles of the Charter and establishing the conditions for lasting peace, international co-operation and security.

99. On the other hand, the events which accompanied the opening of the eleventh session of the General Assembly caused great concern to all those who cherish international co-operation and peace. No sooner had the tension of the cold war lessened, no sooner had political, economic and cultural contacts been revived, than the international situation was subjected to new tensions; and of these the most serious sprang from the events in the Near East. In pursuit of their selfish ends, three States, the United Kingdom, France and Israel, launched a brutal attack on Egypt.

100. The blow that this act struck at the cause of peace and at the United Nations itself was all the greater because two of its authors were among the great Powers, that bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We must therefore take prompt and effective measures to give full satisfaction to Egypt and to provide guarantees for its territorial integrity and full independence.

101. We regard the Anglo-French aggression in the Near East as an attempt to turn back the clock to the period of colonial conquests, as an attempt to wipe out the great progress in international affairs represented by the principle of the pacific settlement of all international disputes.

102. It is true that the United Nations and its Secretary-General can record a certain measure of success in their efforts to solve this problem. But we must see to it that the recommendations of the United Nations are carried out meticulously and, first and foremost, that the troops of the States which committed aggression against Egypt are withdrawn immediately. We cannot allow the colonialist aims which certain Powers are pursuing in the Near East to be achieved, even in part, behind the cloak of United Nations resolutions.

103. If we accept the premise that peace is indivisible, we cannot but regard the events in the Near East as a very grave warning. We must do everything in our power to ensure that such events never occur again, elsewhere and against another State. The legitimate and just demands of Egypt must be satisfied. The shattered equilibrium in international relations must be restored, and we must renew our efforts to strengthen peace. This is our most important task, the successful accomplishment of which would at the same time mean the rebirth and the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations. On behalf of the Polish people and the Polish Government, I pledge our full participation in these efforts which are so vital to all of us.

104. We represent here States with different systems; we represent almost the whole of modern civilization. We cannot, however, speak of the strength of the United Nations, or of the effectiveness of its decisions, as long as one of the great Powers, rep-

representing a large part of the Asian continent, is not sitting amongst us. It is high time to put an end to an absurd and pernicious fiction. The Chinese people's right to speak in this hall must be recognized. The sooner this happens, the better it will be for our Organization and for the entire world. That is why the Polish delegation deplores the General Assembly's decision in this matter [A/RES/406], running counter as it does to the interests of international co-operation and of the United Nations itself.

105. We are living in an age of major political and economic changes, changes of historic importance. We are witnessing great popular struggles for national liberation from imperialism and colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The United Nations cannot hinder, nor can it ignore, this historical process. If it continues to do so, it will be left in the wake of events. It is the duty of the United Nations to support, to hasten and to facilitate the national liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples who desire independence. The United Nations should make a bold and effective contribution to eliminating the remnants of colonialism, wherever they still exist or wherever attempts are still being made to revive them.

106. This problem is closely connected with the economic situation of the under-developed countries. It is a well-known fact that in these countries the economic level, and especially the standard of living of the broad masses of the population, has not improved to any appreciable extent. On the contrary, the gap between the economic level and the standard of living of these countries, on the one hand, and those of the metropolitan and, generally speaking, the industrial countries on the other is widening continuously. This shows that the means which the United Nations and the specialized agencies have used so far in order to assist the under-developed countries have proved highly inadequate.

107. My Government has long shown interest in these problems. This is borne out by the proposals which we have submitted at previous sessions and by our expanding economic relations with the countries of Asia and Africa, on the basis of equality and mutual advantages. Nevertheless, we see the need for more effective measures to increase and co-ordinate past efforts. It must be borne in mind that the unsolved problems of the under-developed countries bear in themselves the seeds of dangerous conflicts and unrest. It is our considered view that economic questions constitute an essential factor in solving the basic problem of peace and security.

108. The main factor in ensuring world peace and security is the problem of disarmament and the liquidation of military blocs. Vast armaments and the existence of closed military alliances help to maintain international tension and create an atmosphere of fear and suspicion. We think that the events in the Middle East should be a lesson to all of us, and that we should at long last undertake really effective efforts to bring about disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

109. The proposal for prohibiting experiments with these dreadful weapons, as the first step towards their complete elimination, is gaining ever-increasing support in world public opinion. Its implementation will be the logical sequence of the recent decisions on the peaceful use of atomic energy, which represent a certain success on the part of the United Nations. In this way we could emerge from the tragic impasse in which the

disarmament discussions have been locked for years, although in this field, too, some signs of progress have recently become apparent. We have seen the great Powers' points of view gradually drawing closer together, and we have even seen them borrowing certain ideas from each other.

110. We think that the new proposals presented by the Soviet Union constitute a further step along this road, and that they deserve detailed study on the part of this Assembly. A noteworthy new factor in this *rapprochement* of views is the Soviet proposal that the aerial inspection plan proposed by President Eisenhower should be put into the effect in a particular region. It is necessary, however, that those who, despite so many failures, would still like to shape international relations by the use of force or by the threat of force, renounce that policy.

111. In our view, steps should be taken at the same time towards a gradual building up of the collective security system, for this is one of the fundamental ideas underlying the United Nations. Step by step, but systematically, we can and must reunite our dangerously divided world.

112. Let us start with regional agreements. My Government is of the opinion that in Europe an important step in this direction would be an agreement concerning a zone of limited armaments. Such an agreement could lead to the gradual withdrawal of foreign troops from German territory, the present frontiers of the States neighbouring Germany and, until the unification of that country, the frontier between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic being guaranteed by mutual agreement.

113. This should subsequently make it possible to liquidate foreign military bases and to withdraw foreign troops from the territories of the other States, which would undoubtedly do much to lessen international tension. At the same time, the creation in Europe of zones of limited armaments would have a beneficial effect upon the future peaceful unification of Germany, which should be the outcome of an agreement between the two German States. The gradual bringing into being of the collective security system is the best guarantee of peace in Europe.

114. In the meantime, Europe is unfortunately divided. We cannot look with indifference on the continuing remilitarization of Western Germany or on the activities of revisionist forces in that country, with the support of certain imperialist circles in the West. We look with anxiety upon the growing stocks of atomic weapons on the other side of the Elbe. As long as these forces are active and Europe lacks even a partial system of collective security, our frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, as also our territorial integrity, can be safeguarded only by means of special agreements between socialist States which face similar dangers.

115. As long as the North Atlantic Treaty exists, the Warsaw Treaty must continue to exist. The geographical position of Poland and the lesson of our tragic experience in the past explain why we are so vitally interested in it and in its proper functioning. The signatories of the Warsaw Treaty have, in particular, agreed to defend and assist each other in the event of aggression, while respecting each other's independence and sovereignty. The Treaty itself stipulates that it will lapse as soon as a European system of collective security is established.

116. The present international situation, and especially the lack of any agreed solutions which would provide sufficient safeguards against the revival of German militarism, is the reason why we think it is still advisable that a fixed number of Soviet forces should be temporarily stationed in Poland, under an agreement between our two countries. This is linked with the stationing of Soviet troops in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, whose security and peaceful development is a matter of special interest to us.

117. In speaking about the problems of Europe, it is impossible for me not to refer to the tragic events in Hungary.

118. The Polish delegation has already made known its attitude on this problem on two occasions here, both in its statements and in its votes on various resolutions. My Government has also made known its views on the Hungarian problem in official declarations and, recently, in the joint Polish-Soviet declaration signed in Moscow on 18 November 1956.

119. In those statements, we emphasized our conviction that the workers of Hungary and the whole Hungarian nation would find sufficient strength in themselves to safeguard the achievements of the popular democratic system, to implement the programme of socialist democratization and to settle Poland's international relations on the basis of sovereignty. It is our view that we should not render this task of the Hungarian people more difficult. In our opinion, too, it is imperative that Hungary should be given assistance to heal its wounds and to bring the life of the country back to normal.

120. I should like to point out that the Polish people were among the first to go to the Hungarian people's assistance. We have been helping them from the very beginning, and we are still doing so, by sending medical supplies, clothing and other necessary articles. My Government will support every initiative along these lines. It is upon this problem that the efforts of the United Nations should now be concentrated.

121. Poland is deeply attached to the principle of peaceful international co-operation and to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which in our opinion should be binding in relations among all States. Our heartfelt desire for peace and international understanding results not only from the bitter lessons of our history, but also from the fact that we want to be able to devote all our efforts to the task of internal transformation and to the improvement of living conditions.

122. It must be said, and we say it with pride, that our country is now going through a period of far-reaching and irrevocable changes. It is an impetuous and at the same time a creative process, in which the whole strength of the Polish people is harnessed for the purpose of ensuring the further development of Poland as a democratic, socialist and sovereign State. Our aim is to achieve this by the best methods and by means that are in conformity with the needs and traditions of the Polish people.

123. We are sparing no effort to do away with or change everything that previously hampered the free development of our country. We wish to avail ourselves of all existing opportunities in order to improve the conditions in which our people live. Our main concern is to give the existing democratic institutions their full value and to find ways of ensuring that the working

masses play as large and effective a part as possible in the management of the State and of its economy.

124. We are convinced that this great process of democratization is a turning point in the development of our country, and that it will bring the Polish nation enormous advantages and at the same time help to develop and broaden our relations with other countries.

125. We can already count to our credit the widespread resumption of international contacts. Warsaw, the capital of Poland, has been visited in recent months by many distinguished representatives of the political, scientific and cultural life of various countries. Our links with the socialist States, with which we are bound by the common aim of building a new order and defending peace, are particularly close and strong.

126. This community of aims, so far from excluding, obviously implies equality of rights, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. These principles have been fully reflected in the Polish-Soviet declaration signed in Moscow on 18 November. To this declaration we attach great importance. It will help strengthen the unshakable alliance and brotherly friendship between the Polish people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, a friendship of vital importance to both our countries. In our opinion, an alliance based upon these principles represents also a vital contribution to the strengthening of European security.

127. In international relations we have always respected, and we continue to respect, the principles of the United Nations Charter. We desire a *rapprochement* with all other nations. We want to compare our achievements with those of other countries, irrespective of their political system. We want to enable other countries to become acquainted with our achievements so that they can profit from them as they see fit. We want to benefit from the development of human thought throughout the world and in turn to enrich it ourselves.

128. We have repeatedly expressed our desire to promote economic co-operation with all countries, irrespective of their economic or political system. While maintaining close economic ties with the socialist countries, we recognize that our economic relations with the countries of Western Europe and other continents are undoubtedly insufficient, and we are ready to expand them on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage and, of course, without any political conditions whatever. How ridiculous it is to seek to interpret one or other of our delegation's votes as an attempt to obtain economic aid from certain countries! Our economic relations with all countries are based on the principles of absolute equality and non-interference in internal affairs, and will continue to be so.

129. In our efforts to defend and strengthen peace, we feel close to all men of good will, and particularly to those millions of simple, honest human beings whose aim, like ours, is a peaceful life, free from fear and want. We want to join this great multitude, each nobly seeking to outdo the other in the struggle for a better morrow for mankind. The United Nations must remain true to these lofty endeavours, at the same time combining and supplementing our efforts to achieve peace and universal prosperity.

130. Mr. ARISMENDI (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): In taking part in this general debate, I am happy to pay my respects to Prince Wan Wait-

hayakon, a renowned figure in the United Nations by reason of his experience and eminent qualities and the distinguished representative of a country which has always expended its best efforts in the cause of peace. In expressing its satisfaction at his election, the Venezuelan delegation is certain that under his skillful leadership the eleventh session of the General Assembly will find a successful solution for the important and complex problems before it.

131. The admission of new States to the United Nations is of special significance. My delegation is very pleased to note that this Assembly has been joined by the representatives of those States, some of which are linked to us by ancient and cordial ties of friendship. We are confident that we can expect a useful contribution from these new Members.

132. We are beginning our labours in the midst of great concern about the events which the world has witnessed during the last few weeks. We can state that in the eleven years of its existence the United Nations has never passed through such a severe trial as during the last few days, when there has been imminent danger of a complete break-down of international peace and security. But I firmly believe that the prompt action taken by the Organization has succeeded in establishing an international police force which will stop any conflict in the Middle East, the scene of so much unrest in recent times.

133. World public opinion has watched our proceedings closely and has seen in the United Nations the proper means for securing the peace for which it longs. It has been thought, perhaps rightly, that the implementation of the measures taken by this Assembly will depend on the strength of the nations which support them. We should not let this discourage us; on the contrary, if the countries of limited military power, which represent the majority, act together within this Organization, they will always constitute a moral force in international policy which the Governments of the other countries cannot disregard.

134. The United Nations is day by day assuming greater responsibilities, since it is a gathering point for world problems, many of which are difficult to solve because they conceal interests which are guarded by the might of great States. At other times, legitimate national aspirations clash with legitimate international obligations. Owing to the inherent defects of the Organization itself and the constitutional errors by which a few of its Members have been allowed privileges, to the detriment of the principle of the legal equality of States, the United Nations has been obliged to postpone substantive decisions in questions which are of fundamental importance for the attainment of the objectives proposed at San Francisco.

135. Despite those errors, these problems could be solved if there were, as there should be, mutual confidence among all the Member States. Such confidence, a result of the mutual respect which we owe each other, would make it much easier to take positive and helpful decisions for our peoples. We represent seventy-nine Governments, which are the political expression of seventy-nine States. If we unite our efforts, we shall attain the goal at which we aim.

136. It is true that the United Nations does not possess all the means for maintaining international peace and security which are provided in the Charter, but when necessary its decisions have received sufficient support to stop coercive action taken outside the Or-

ganization. Consequently no other methods should be resorted to for the settlement of international disputes. There exists a complete system of peaceful means of settlement which are recognized by international law and confirmed by the Charter. If there were confidence in these peaceful means, and if the Members of the United Nations were prepared to take disinterested, collective action, there would be no difficulty in settling disputes between States.

137. For this reason, the American nations have acted in complete accord in the two cases upon which the attention of the world has been concentrated in the last few days. Thanks to long experience, our continent today possesses a regional juridical system of rules and principles which is so objective that it has even served as a model for international law as a whole. From the time of Bolivar, the Liberator, to the present day, illustrious sons of our countries have worked to perfect the inter-American system. Barely fifty years ago, when excessive financial indemnities were forcibly demanded of my country, the American continent rebelled against that imposition and echoed the calm and resolute words of Luis Maria Drago, author of one of the noblest doctrines ever to enrich the corpus of American international law. For us it is a fundamental principle that no nation, whatever its geographic situation or political creed, may arrogate to itself the right to judge other peoples in their domestic affairs.

138. These are sufficient reasons to make my delegation act objectively in these cases. Venezuela, in the person of its Liberator, contributed to the independence of other countries, so that by history and tradition it is opposed to any form of intervention, from whatever source, and to any act against the political independence and territorial integrity of a State.

139. The Government and people of Venezuela were deeply shocked by the action of the Soviet forces against Hungary, concerning which my delegation gave its views in the meetings of the General Assembly at which the tragic fate that has overtaken the brave Hungarian people was discussed. The unjustifiable intervention to which that country, with its noble cultural traditions, has been subjected has shaken the civilized world, which in one way or another has shown its sympathy for Hungary's aspirations towards independence. Moreover, side by side with the efforts made to win for this people the right of self-determination, many States, moved by humanitarian impulses, have taken steps to relieve the need and suffering which prevail in Hungary today.

140. In connexion with these plans for relief, I should like to inform the Assembly once again that the Government of Venezuela, as an expression of its sympathy and solidarity with the Hungarian people, has decided to help towards the alleviation of their sufferings by admitting a total of 1,500 refugees to Venezuela and by granting the equivalent of \$50,000 to be spent in a manner already announced officially to the Secretary-General [A/3405].

141. It is essential that the United Nations should undertake a searching analysis of the conditions which result in such disturbances as those I have described. The economic and social development of nations should be a fundamental concern of the international community. After restoring peace in the Middle East, it would be well for us to try and solve the political problems of that important area by making a thorough study of the causes of the disturbances there.

142. In view of the various conflicting interests, the work of the United Nations would be very limited if it were to do no more than deal with the more obvious manifestations of international conflicts. Even as far back as the San Francisco Conference it was thought that, besides taking corrective action in critical situations, the United Nations should engage in more far-reaching action to resolve difficulties in the very sphere where they arise. To achieve this end, over and above the security functions with which the United Nations was endowed for the maintenance and, if necessary, the restoration of peace, principles of lasting validity were established for the well-being and stability of the world. This action was described, in the words of the Charter itself, as "necessary" for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. The promotion of well-being, in its various forms, appeared to the founders of the United Nations to be the most effective way of dealing with international disturbances. This is the most promising and dynamic function which the United Nations can perform.

143. That is how the Government which I have the honour to represent understands the matter. Its efforts to promote human welfare, in both the domestic and the international sphere, are well known. At the national level, desirous of promoting the well-being of the population Mr. Marcos Pérez Jiménez, the President of Venezuela, has taken resolute steps to bring about, within a short time, a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and cultural life of Venezuela.

144. In the international field, the Government of Venezuela, is convinced that the achievement of human welfare in its various forms will contribute effectively to creating a spirit of solidarity and peaceful relations among peoples; that it why it has co-operated indefatigably in all plans for the attainment of those objectives. Quite recently, during the meeting in Panama of the Heads of State of the American republics, the President of Venezuela proposed the creation of an inter-American economic fund to be devoted entirely to the most urgent needs connected with the welfare of the inhabitants of our continent. In so doing, the Government of Venezuela was inspired not only by the lofty principles of co-operation which characterize the inter-American system, but also by those upon which the United Nations is based.

145. My delegation is of the opinion that the United Nations has not exploited all the possibilities of co-operation in the economic and social fields. The fact of interdependence is certainly well understood by now, but it has not yet become a living, active force. Vast regions with undoubted possibilities for development are still awaiting the life-giving spark of technical knowledge and the necessary capital investment. In other regions there is some uncertainty about trade. All would benefit by collective action aimed at the complete development of their existing resources.

146. The total wealth of mankind in the economic, social and cultural fields would reach unsuspected heights if dense populations of the under-developed regions could be finally incorporated into the rhythm of contemporary civilization and its standards of living. The very fate of mankind is at stake here, and although it is true that this work of incorporation calls for action and good will at the national level, it is also true that this action and good will will fail if they are not backed up by the sincere encouragement and the effective and united support of the international community.

147. One of the questions to which the Government of Venezuela has paid most attention has been that of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Today, when the agency proposed by President Eisenhower has become a reality, when nuclear energy placed at the service of men may free men from the fear in which they have been living, when the transformation of this terrible power of destruction into a constructive force can bring untold benefits to humanity, we should all work together to achieve those objectives.

148. The Venezuelan delegation expressed itself in those terms at the recent Conference on the Statutes of the International Atomic Energy Agency in this very hall, and I am pleased to confirm its views before the General Assembly today. All the delegations represented at that conference were able to appreciate the objective of international co-operation that inspires the Government of my country. My Government is taking special interest in the research work now being done in the national institutes which were set up for that purpose, with the object not only of improving the health and meeting the needs of the Venezuelan people, but also of meeting the requests of other countries which may ask for scientific and technical co-operation.

149. Venezuela is taking part in this eleventh session of the General Assembly with the sincere purpose of co-operating in all fields in which efforts are being made to enable mankind to enjoy a lasting atmosphere of peace.

150. Mr. TSIANG (China): First of all, I wish to congratulate Prince Wan Waithayakon upon being elected unanimously to the presidency of the Assembly. We of the delegation of China are particularly happy at this event, because China and Thailand are truly brotherly nations.

151. The eleventh session of the General Assembly meets under the shadow of two great crises, one in Europe and the other in the Middle East. Since my delegation has had occasion to state its views both in the first and in the second emergency special sessions, I will not go into details in my present statement. However, I wish to make some general observations.

152. In regard to the crisis in the Middle East, the first emergency special session has achieved a cease-fire and firm commitments of withdrawal of their troops on the part of France, the United Kingdom and Israel. In addition, we have established the United Nations Emergency Force, which in my mind is the product of creative statesmanship. Although important steps remain to be taken, my delegation believes that the United Nations has reason to be gratified at the modest measure of success that it has had. There is no doubt that the prestige of the United Nations has been enhanced by the prompt and effective action taken.

153. My delegation fervently hopes that the process of the restoration of peace in the Middle East will be completed in good time. The threat of the so-called volunteers from the Soviet Union and the Communist régime on the mainland of China must be met and removed. We cannot allow peace in the Middle East to be torpedoed by Communist intrigue at this hour.

154. The success of the United Nations in meeting the crisis in the Middle East has an important lesson for us all. It is my conviction that we owe our success largely to the fortunate fact that the peoples of France, the United Kingdom and Israel have freedom of information, and that their Governments are responsive to world public opinion. Factually, what the first emer-

gency special session did was to mobilize world public opinion. If the peoples in those three countries had not had full information in regard to the events in the Middle East, or if the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and Israel had been insensitive to world public opinion, we would have been lost. This crisis in the Middle East demonstrates conclusively the intimate connexion between peace and freedom. Freedom is the medium in which the United Nations can function successfully. Without freedom the United Nations would be a voice crying in the wilderness. This is my first general observation in regard to the Middle East.

155. I wish to make a second observation. It is the conviction of my delegation that we should capitalize on the mobilized public opinion of the world to remove the causes of war in the Middle East. This world Organization of ours is human, all too human. When we face political disputes or see injustices committed by one country against another, we do not regard such events as emergencies. We go about our work in a leisurely fashion. We resort to compromises and delays. If our resolutions should be unheeded, we let the matter drag. In the long run, the United Nations cannot keep the peace of the world without redressing the wrongs done as they are being done. Any further shirking of our responsibilities in the Middle East might jeopardize the very existence of our Organization. Since at this moment world public opinion is mobilized, let us take advantage of our moral resources and make a supreme effort to settle the Palestine question and the Suez Canal question. I am glad to observe that the very first speech in this general debate, delivered by the representative of Brazil [581st meeting], made the same plea to the Assembly.

156. Let me now pass to the tragic events in Hungary. I wish, above all, to pay homage to the heroic people of that country. Their struggle should teach the world several lessons. In the first place, it teaches that Marxism and Leninism, plus or minus Stalinism, are not a substitute for bread and butter or individual freedom or national independence. Secondly, the events in Hungary show that the innate human love for a better life, for freedom and for country cannot be suppressed even through ten years of brainwashing and indoctrination.

157. The events in Hungary should teach all lovers of freedom not to be defeatists. The cause is not lost. The people in Hungary and the peoples of all other Communist lands, though oppressed, have not become non-human. They have not forgotten and will not forget these deep human yearnings. They are on our side, the side of freedom. We need not despair, no matter how dark the present prospect in Hungary is.

158. The tragedy of Hungary has taken off the mask from international communism. The armed intervention of the Soviet Union in Hungary and the brutal manner in which the armed forces of the Soviet Union have acted reveal to the whole world the real nature of contemporary Soviet imperialism. To hide Soviet imperialism and colonialism under the mask of socialism or communism is no longer possible. The expansion of the Soviet empire means the extension of communism; the extension of communism in turn means the expansion of the Soviet empire. With the Soviet Union, communism and imperialism are but two sides of the same coin, and both sides depend ultimately on brute force.

159. In recent years international communism has conducted what has usually been called a peace offen-

sive. In that propaganda campaign, the idea of peaceful coexistence has played a large part. Hungary asks only for independence and neutrality. The Soviet Union cannot tolerate an independent and neutral Hungary. We now know the real meaning of the Soviet idea of coexistence. Deeds speak louder and more truly than words.

160. My delegation has supported every resolution in connexion with the Hungarian crisis. Unfortunately our resolutions on the situation in Hungary have been ignored by the Soviet Union. The difficulty is that the people in the Soviet Union have no freedom of information. They do not know what their Government has been doing in Hungary, or what the outside world thinks of these atrocities of their Government. On the surface, it looks as if the United Nations has been totally ineffective in regard to the situation in Hungary. It looks as if we have done nothing but make speeches and pass resolutions. In the meantime, the people of Hungary are killed and enslaved and deported to Siberia as if we had not made speeches and passed resolutions.

161. I do not believe that that is quite the total or real picture. I think sooner or later the Soviet Union must yield to public opinion. For this reason, I am not ready to quit. I believe we should press forward.

162. After these massacres in Hungary, and after these rebuffs which the United Nations has received, I believe we should make it clear, unmistakably clear once and for all, to the whole world that we representatives in this Assembly, representing peoples and countries from all parts of the world, condemn the Soviet Union for its violation of the Charter and of human rights in Hungary. We should make a solemn declaration that the Soviet Union is for this reason unfit for membership in the United Nations. Since for technical reasons it is difficult to expel the Soviet Union, we should and we can decide on moral ostracism. We should further recommend to all Member States to break off diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

163. I now wish to turn the Assembly's attention to Asia. Three neighbours of China—namely, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam—are not yet Members of the United Nations. They are entitled to membership. They are qualified for membership. My delegation presses for their admission.

164. Representatives at successive sessions of the Assembly must have noticed that the question of colonialism has played a very important part in the deliberations in the United Nations since its very foundation. Delegations from Asia and Africa have been particularly energetic in trying to remove the remains of colonialism from their respective regions. I wish to make a few observations on this anti-colonial movement.

165. My Government and my delegation have in the last ten years taken a consistent stand on this question. We have been consistently anti-colonial. So far as this is concerned, my delegation is united with the delegations of other countries of Asia and Africa. I do not wish to leave any possibility of doubt in the mind of anybody in regard to this matter. China, Nationalist China, is anti-colonial.

166. When I assumed my duties as the representative of my country in the Security Council in the autumn of 1947, the first dispute that I had to consider was a complaint by Egypt against the continued presence

of British garrison troops in the Suez Canal zone. That was nine years ago. On that occasion, my delegation and the delegation of Colombia urged early negotiations between Egypt and the United Kingdom for the removal of British troops from the Canal zone [S/547 and S/530].

167. In 1948, the Security Council met many times to consider the Indonesian struggle for independence. In relation to that question, my delegation was second to none in its support of the cause of Indonesian freedom.

168. Before the Second World War, we began to sympathize with the Korean people in their struggle for independence. Since the war, we have given Korea all the support within our means. We should like to see the United Nations complete its sacred mission of the unification of Korea. We must not forget that today, three years after the cease-fire in Korea, half a million men of the forces of aggression—the so-called volunteers—remain in North Korea.

169. Outside the United Nations, and even before the establishment of the United Nations, my Government showed the fullest sympathy for the people of India in their struggle for freedom. I know and acknowledge that the people of India won their freedom mainly and largely through their own efforts. For their part, the Indian people must acknowledge that Chinese sympathy with and support of their cause was genuine and sincere, and given at considerable sacrifice.

170. I state these facts for one purpose alone: to show that my Government has been consistently anti-colonial. Sun Yat Sen, the great leader of modern China, taught us to give help to all oppressed peoples. We ourselves, having suffered from colonialism, naturally sympathize with and support movements for national independence.

171. In regard to colonialism, however, China differs from some of the other Asian countries in several respects. The differences are as important as the similarities.

172. European colonialism in the last four centuries was divided into two movements. One movement of colonial expansion was initiated and promoted by the countries of Western Europe. Those countries crossed vast expanses of sea and ocean to dominate and control countries in Asia and Africa. In meeting this movement, the countries in the south of Asia stood in the forefront. They were the first victims. Indeed, many of the countries of southern Asia have known no other type of colonialism, and therefore their animosities are almost exclusively directed to countries of Western Europe.

173. As a matter of fact, however, parallel with the maritime expansion of Western Europe to southern Asia, there was the overland expansion of Russia to Asia, from the Ural mountains to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic to what is today Northern Vietnam. There has been no break in policy between the autocratic czarist Russia and the totalitarian Soviet Union. China, by its very geographical situation, has been the victim of both colonial movements—that from Western Europe and that from Russia—and is therefore in a better position to judge than many other countries of Asia and Africa.

174. Empire-building is highly competitive. The overseas expansion of Western Europe and the overland expansion of Russia in past centuries have reacted one on the other. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the two movements met in Central Asia, China

and Korea. The First World War put a temporary stop to that world-wide rivalry. Since the Second World War, the two colonial movements have taken directly opposite directions—that of Western Europe in rapid retreat, and that of the Soviet Union in aggressive advance. This is the most important single fact facing the world today, a fact which some of the Asian and African delegations have for some strange reason chosen to ignore.

175. Since the Second World War, out of the colonial domain of the Western Powers a large number of independent nations have risen. Right in this Assembly hall there are eighteen delegations representing countries which were before the war colonies of the Western Powers. On the other hand, the Soviet empire is today infinitely larger than it ever was under the Czars. At this very moment, this Soviet empire is using brutal force to put down Hungary's independence and is feverishly trying to extend its tentacles into the Middle East. Indeed, in the world today, there is only one colonialist and imperialist movement: that of the Soviet Union. The colonialism of Western Europe is dead—although, unfortunately, it has not yet been buried.

176. During the post-war period, while China has shown sympathy to countries of Asia and Africa that suffered from maritime colonialism, many of the countries of Asia and Africa have not appreciated the evils of Soviet imperialism, which continues czarist overland expansion, and therefore have failed to give my country that sympathy and support which we have readily given to them. I understand the situation. I appreciate the psychology of the peoples who have suffered from the colonialism of Western Europe alone. It is time that these sister-countries of China should understand and appreciate the dangers and the difficulties of my country facing Soviet colonialism and imperialism.

177. Since the countries of southern Asia had failed to stop the expansion of Western Europe on their shores in former centuries, we in China had eventually to meet the same threat in the nineteenth century. In time, if China should fail to regain its entire freedom and to rid the mainland of Soviet imperialism, those countries of Asia and Africa which are geographically more distant from the Soviet Union will yet suffer. Our struggle is immediately for Chinese freedom. In the long run, our struggle is also for Asian and African freedom.

178. I wish success to all anti-colonial movements and hope that the day is not far off when the whole world will be rid of this evil. However, at this point I must issue a warning. We in Asia and Africa who have recently overcome colonialism or are about to remove the last traces of colonialism must ourselves be on our guard and not practise colonialism on our own part. The freedom which we claim from European nations, East and West, that same freedom we should grant and guarantee to our own Asian and African neighbours. Whenever we have territorial disputes among ourselves, let us come to the United Nations. Let us settle such disputes peacefully. Let us allow the people in the disputed areas the freedom of choice. I refer particularly to the Kashmir dispute.

179. There is another difference between Chinese anti-colonialism and the anti-colonialism of some of the other Asian and African countries. In China, Sun Yat Sen, father of the Republic of China and the creator of modern Chinese nationalism, had a constructive programme to take the place of the colonial and imperial

relations which had prevailed between China and the West. He was as fervent in fighting against imperialism as he was in advocating a constructive approach to the economic relations of the present day.

180. Sun Yat Sen advocated the international development of China. On the surface, it might seem a paradox that this supreme nationalist and socialist leader of China should call for the international development of China's resources. He meant that China could profit and the whole world could profit by economic co-operation. Sun Yat Sen was not afraid of foreign capital or foreign technicians. He wished the new China to welcome foreign capital and foreign technicians.

181. To be sure, China might industrialize itself by its own efforts. If that should be tried, it would take more than a century. Sun Yat Sen was in a hurry, the Chinese people are in a hurry to get industrialization. The natural accumulation of capital in China is terribly slow. The belts of the Chinese people are as tight as they could be. It would be inhuman for any government to force the people to tighten their belts still more so that China might, by a few five-year plans, catch up with the industrialized nations of the West.

182. The example of industrialization in the Soviet Union has almost no meaning for most Asian and African countries. It is frequently forgotten that Bolshevik Russia got a rich heritage from czarist Russia in the form of a vast expanse of land and a good industrial and technological base, a heritage richer than that which most of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa have to start with. The ratio of population to land is particularly important. That ratio in the Soviet Union is three to five times more favourable than in most Asian countries. In the Soviet Union, it has been physically possible to force the population to accept bare subsistence as a standard of living. If Asian countries should try to follow the Soviet example, their peoples would be forced to live below their present bare subsistence level. Such a policy is physically impossible as well as morally reprehensible.

183. We must look colonialism straight in the face. We must know really what the essence of colonialism is. On the one hand, we must not underestimate its evil. On the other hand, we must not lump together any kind of cultural or economic relationships between industrialized and under-developed countries as colonialism. In the long run, the only guarantee of real independence for the countries in Asia and Africa is industrialization. Fortunately for us, the capitalists of the West, including Wall Street, understand and appreciate economic interdependence and are ready to meet us half-way.

184. It is to the interest of Asian and African countries as it is to the interest of Western countries to negotiate and arrange just and fair terms of economic co-operation. Let us forget the past and work for the present and the future. Along the path of economic co-operation between the industrialized and the under-developed countries of the world can be found progress for Asia and Africa and common prosperity for all.

185. Mr. CHAMANDI (Yemen): It is a great pleasure for the delegation of Yemen to congratulate Prince Wan Waithayakon on his unanimous election to the presidency of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. We do not need to enumerate his high qualifications, which make him more than worthy of this august position, because they are well known by all.

186. For eleven years, since the establishment of the United Nations, the eyes of the peoples of the world, especially the weak and the subjugated peoples, have been focused on this Organization with great hopes and high expectations for a better life, where every nation could live in peace and enjoy the benefits of freedom and independence and respect for its inalienable human rights. Unfortunately, these hopes have been shattered lately by numerous grave and dangerous events, especially those which have occurred during the past few weeks.

187. The delegation of Yemen approaches the opening of the eleventh session of the General Assembly with mixed feelings of hope and concern. For we now convene under the spectre of those grave events which, as far as the international situation is concerned, affect very deeply the small nations as much as the big nations. We are hopefully optimistic about the wise steps and prompt action which have been taken by the General Assembly to stop the aggression perpetrated against Egypt. These steps enhance our trust and belief in the influence of the Organization and its determination to stand by and implement the resolutions which have been and will be adopted to serve the ends of justice and maintain the peace.

188. On the other hand, the very fact of aggression perpetrated by permanent members of the Security Council and by a State created by the United Nations is in itself a source of grave concern. But our hope is still high that the aggressors will not be able to procrastinate in complying with the orders of the General Assembly to withdraw from the invaded territory of Egypt and from the other territories of Palestine which have also been subject to invasion. If they do not, they must bear the responsibility of the fatal consequences of their aggressive policies, which will surely endanger the peace of the world.

189. In the opinion of my delegation, the liquidation of this unjustified and unprovoked aggression must be given priority on the agenda of the eleventh session, especially since complete compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly has not been effected. Potential and future aggressors should be made to understand that the decisions of this Organization must be respected, and that this institution of mankind will never tolerate or acquiesce in aggression by whomsoever it is committed. The United Nations will not hesitate to take appropriate measures so that its orders for the prompt and unconditional withdrawal of invading forces are obeyed. For what is the use of deliberations and resolutions of this Organization if they are ignored by Members that were endowed at San Francisco with special privileges, and therefore special responsibilities? What is the value of all our talks here if some Member nations take the liberty of behaving in a manner contrary to the decisions of the United Nations?

190. I shall explain in brief the position of the Government of Yemen in regard to some of the items on the agenda of the eleventh session which are of special interest and concern to us.

191. First permit me to state that the stand of my Government in regard to colonialism is inflexible. The infringement of our sovereignty by the United Kingdom in the British-occupied territories of Yemen, and the constant frictions to which this infringement has given rise, is a matter which cannot remain unresolved without grave consequences. The Government of Yemen hopes that the British Government will give serious

consideration to the removal of the causes of tension in that area, such as the illegal occupation of Yemenite territory and the frequent perpetration of aggressive acts by the British authorities in Aden, and to the establishment of peaceful relations between the two Governments on the basis of respect for our rights, sovereignty and national security.

192. French intransigence in Algeria and the continued disregard by France of the sacred rights of the Algerian people violates the principles of human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination, and contradicts the principles of justice and law. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly during this session will give serious consideration to the solving of this problem, which no doubt jeopardizes the reputation of the French Government throughout the world. Efforts are being made to settle other important problems, but the importance of those problems must not overshadow the Algerian problem with its atrocities, bloodshed and disregard for the rights of a whole nation of several millions of human beings.

193. My delegation appeals to all Members of the United Nations to protect the usurped rights of these millions of Algerians and to listen to their appeals for justice and peace. The Algerians' demands are not illegitimate claims which would deprive other peoples of their rights, nor do they ask for gain or for special privileges in the international field. All the Algerian people want is to live in freedom and in peace and security in their homes, families and lands.

194. The delegation of Yemen appeals again to the friends of France to use their good offices with the Government of France for a just solution of the Algerian problem and for the release of the Algerian leaders who were illegally kidnapped while flying over the Mediterranean on a peaceful mission. The solution of this problem during this session will save Algeria from further bloodshed and destruction, which resulted from postponing the consideration of the Algerian problem at the last session.

195. The settlement of the problem of West Irian is very much desired by all. We see no reason why this land should not be restored to its mother country and to the people with whom it has geographic and ethnic ties.

196. In regard to the problem of Cyprus, we appeal to the authorities concerned to facilitate the settlement of this problem by taking into consideration the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination.

197. These two problems have given rise to international tension, and it is our duty to eliminate any tension which endangers the peace.

198. The problem of the Middle East stems from the aggressive policy and the repeated aggressive acts of Israel. This is the root of the disturbance of the peace in that area. Israel should not have been allowed to interfere with Egypt's sovereignty and legal rights as regards the Canal or any other part of Egyptian territory. Consequently, all its forces should completely

withdraw from Egyptian territory in advance of any solution. Then, all problems should be solved by peaceful means.

199. We heard the delegation of Israel direct fabricated accusations and recriminations at the Arab States, but we never heard them mention or even give a thought to the pitiful plight of the one million Arab refugees who have been driven out of their homes, who live in the desert, and who are exposed to the elements and to various diseases. Neither did we hear them mention the illegal occupation—which was in flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations—by their countrymen of the land that belonged by right to the Arabs.

200. In any event, we did not expect that Israel would ever comply with those resolutions, but we did expect that the United Nations would never acquiesce in the disregard of violations of its resolutions. We are gratified that this Organization is taking a keen interest in helping the Hungarian refugees, but at the same time we find that the lack of interest in the rights of the Palestine Arab refugees is a serious matter. The problem of the Middle East has become a source of international tension, and it is not possible to find a solution to this problem unless Israel complies with the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly for this purpose. We wish that those who talk about peace would act in favour of peace.

201. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cuba on a point of order.

202. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): In view of the late hour I shall not detain the Assembly for more than two or three minutes.

203. Three or four days ago, the General Assembly approved by a large majority two draft resolutions on the Hungarian problem, one submitted by Cuba and the other by Ceylon, India and Indonesia. Those resolutions [A/RES/407 and A/RES/408] called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary—a request that had been made many times before by the United Nations—the cessation of deportations, and permission for United Nations observers to enter Hungarian territory. Lastly, the Secretary-General was requested to submit a report.

204. I appeal to the President, on behalf of the delegation of Cuba and of the Argentine delegation, which has associated itself with us on this matter, to ask the Secretary-General to report to us as soon as possible on whether or not he has made any progress in this matter. If no progress has been made, I think that it is high time to adopt other resolutions, and that we should begin by expelling from this Assembly the delegation which claims to represent the Hungarian Government, since it is not complying with any of the Assembly's resolutions. I therefore beg the President to ask the Secretary-General to submit a report as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.