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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

**SPEECHES BY MR. LUKANOV (BULGARIA), MR. MAHGOUB (SUDAN), MR. LÉGER (HAITI), MR. LUNS (NETHERLANDS) AND MR. POPOVIC (YUGOSLAVIA)**

1. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from Russian*): The People's Republic of Bulgaria was admitted to the United Nations at a time when the policy of easing international tension had attained tangible results and when the peoples' hopes that they would be able to live in tranquillity, peacefully collaborating with each other, found solid support in the actual course of international events.

2. As we all know, this favourable development of international relations, this relaxation of international tension, is not to everyone's liking; there are forces in the world which are interested in keeping international tension artificially alive, which oppose peaceful co-existence and co-operation between nations and which fear a triumph of "the Geneva spirit" as much as the devil is said to fear holy water. By committing acts which constitute a gross violation of international law and order, these forces have done their best to cloud the international atmosphere and to hinder the development of international relations in a spirit of peace and peaceful collaboration, and we must admit that temporarily they have succeeded.

3. The eleventh session of the General Assembly, to which the peoples of the world look for important decisions designed to strengthen peace and co-operation, was compelled to begin its work in an atmosphere of renewed international tensions. The United Nations was faced with the *fait accompli* of brazen aggression and gross violation of international law by three Member States of the United Nations, two of which are, into the bargain, permanent members of the Security Council, the principal organ concerned with the maintenance of world peace.

4. In the circumstances, it is more than ever incumbent upon the United Nations to show its strength and inflict a decisive defeat on the aggressors which have broken the peace and attacked the sovereignty of Egypt

—a free and independent State and a Member of the United Nations—and ensure respect for international order and the triumph of the principles of peaceful co-existence and international collaboration, which are the very basis of the Charter. Today the eyes of all nations are fixed on the United Nations in alarm and anticipation. They expect us to adopt real and effective measures which will put an immediate stop to aggression, to take decisions which will definitely strengthen world peace and prevent a recurrence of international lawlessness, such as that which we have all just witnessed.

5. The Bulgarian delegation considers that all the actions and decisions of the eleventh session of the General Assembly must be aimed at reducing international tension, so that at the end of our work we shall all have cause to congratulate ourselves on real progress in strengthening international peace and co-operation. The first step to that end must be to put a stop to the aggression in Egypt, fully to restore Egypt's sovereignty and territorial integrity and immediately to evacuate all the armed forces of the aggressors from that country.

6. The United Kingdom and France, which, as great Powers, have a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must now answer to this international Assembly for one of the most heinous of crimes—unprovoked and barbarous aggression against an independent country. Everyone should long since have realized that humanity has reached a stage in its development at which the old colonialist methods can no longer be used. The policy of plunder and aggression has been unanimously and unconditionally condemned by world public opinion, including the peoples of the aggressor States themselves.

7. By its clear and unequivocal decisions condemning the aggression committed by the United Kingdom, France and Israel in Egypt, the United Nations must make the Governments of those countries realize that their actions have been censured and stigmatized by world public opinion. It must be clear to all that the position which the aggressors wish to maintain is untenable and that the conscience of mankind will not rest until the last soldier of the United Kingdom, France and Israel has left Egyptian soil. The aggressor must not be permitted to profit by his crimes. The policy of aggression against Egypt has failed, and its partisans must resign themselves to that fact.

8. Any attempts to temporize and to deceive the United Nations and world public opinion by the ridiculous symbolic withdrawal of individual battalions are doomed to failure. This is as clear to everyone as is the fact that there was a concerted plan of aggression, which included the attack by Israel's armed forces. The attempts made here to represent the victim of aggression as the aggressor cannot really deceive anyone. By keeping up this shameful pretence, the violators of the peace are simply showing that they have no respect for the United Nations and treat its decisions with complete disdain.

9. The United Nations has condemned the armed aggression against Egypt, but its resolutions have not yet had the effect of causing the withdrawal from Egyptian soil of non-Egyptian armed forces which Egypt had not invited. The restoration of Egypt's violated sovereignty necessarily presupposes also the complete withdrawal of the United Nations Force from Egyptian territory at the earliest possible date.

10. A dangerous tendency can be noted, however, in statements by a number of European and American statesmen, and the same tendency is evident in the way public opinion is being moulded by certain organs of the European and American Press. It is clear that, under the well-sounding pretext of not wanting to restore a *status quo* which constituted a threat to peace, solutions are being proposed in which respect for Egypt's sovereignty plays no part.

11. We must not forget that the Suez Canal belongs not to the United Nations, but to Egypt. Egypt alone has the right to negotiate with whomsoever it pleases on all measures concerning the Suez Canal. Naturally, in this case, Egypt should be given the greatest possible assistance in this respect, but such assistance should not take the form of imposing decisions reached by others or exerting pressure on Egypt in order to compel it to end by accepting decisions which it would not have accepted under normal peace conditions.

12. The representatives of the aggressors and their advocates in this Assembly have tried to defend the thesis that the need for the speedy clearing and reopening of the Canal make it imperative to accept the presence of non-Egyptian troops in the Canal zone itself. In other words, they are advocating the reopening of navigation through a Suez Canal occupied by foreign troops.

13. The United Nations should reject with equal indignation and decisiveness the attempts of the real aggressors to justify their actions by some imaginary future aggression on the part of Egypt—in other words, to represent the victim of aggression as the aggressor—and the claims made here that the United Nations should, if you please, be grateful to the aggressors because they were responsible for the establishment of the United Nations Force on Egyptian soil, although Egypt never requested or invited any armed force to enter its territory.

14. The question of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company has already been decided by the Egyptian Government, and that decision must be respected both by the United Nations itself and by all its Members. The question of navigation on the Suez Canal should be settled by negotiation with the Egyptian Government on the basis of the well-known six principles unanimously adopted by the Security Council on 13 October 1956 [S/3675].

15. As we have seen, instead of adopting this natural course of action, certain States which subscribed to the aforesaid six principles resorted to force in order to impose their wishes. In the face of such perfidy, we must not neglect the alarming reports which reach us from another Arab country. The Syrian representative stated from this rostrum [591st meeting] that troops were massing on the Syrian frontier in preparation for new military adventures. We have also heard the denials of those who are under suspicion of harbouring plans for further adventures. But, I ask you, how are we to ignore the fact that these alarming reports from the Syrian frontier coincide with the attempts to turn world public opinion against Syria which have been going on

for some time now? Is this being done in the interest of peace? History teaches us that attempts to discredit and denigrate the future victim are part of the preparation for every unjust military attack. In this connexion, the example of Egypt is fresh in everyone's mind. For this reason, those who plan to do harm to Syria merely because it, like Egypt, wishes to strengthen its independence, must be warned and checked at once by the vigilant conscience of the nations.

16. In our opinion, the most pressing task of all for the present session of the General Assembly is to secure a cooling off of the heated atmosphere in the Near East.

17. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers further that in order to fulfil its historic mission and justify the hopes of the peoples of the world, the United Nations should proceed to the practical solution of the most important problem of our day—the problem of disarmament. Otherwise our efforts to prevent future aggression and strengthen peace will not bring the desired results. We all know that wars cannot be fought without armaments. We also know that the production of armaments "for stock-piling purposes" cannot continue indefinitely. Unless it stops, the day must come when the guns, so to speak, will go off by themselves. That is why we must put an end to the armaments race. Mankind must use the achievements of science not for purposes of destruction, but for great and peaceful works. To this end we must prohibit atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and stop their manufacture.

18. The Bulgarian delegation is convinced that the Soviet Union proposals on disarmament [A/3366] must be examined seriously and objectively. It is no longer possible to cast doubt on the sincerity of these proposals after the Soviet Union has given so many tangible proofs of its readiness to arrive at agreed decisions on disarmament questions. The Soviet Union has more than once expressed its willingness to meet the Western Powers' proposals half-way, which is more than can be said of the Western Powers as regards the Soviet proposals. For the last few years, the world has been witnessing an odd spectacle. The Western Powers have been stubbornly defending their well-known proposals, contrasting them with the Soviet proposals; in its desire to reach agreement, the Soviet Union accepts many of the Western Powers' proposals, and basic ones at that; but to the general surprise, as soon as the Soviet Union agrees to their proposals, the Western Powers begin to repudiate them, thereby, instead of facilitating a solution of the problem, actually hampering it.

19. The time has come to give up the practice of rejecting these proposals without valid reasons and without a real and impartial consideration of them. We were disagreeably surprised to hear from this rostrum the remark, which has by now become a cliché, that there is nothing new in the Soviet proposals. The peoples of the world can no longer take such statements seriously, and we are entitled to ask: now that so much that is new has been included in the latest Soviet proposals, will not the Western Powers, too, at last take a decisive step forward in order at long last to secure an agreed solution of this question which is of such vital importance to the fate and happiness of all mankind?

20. We fail to understand how it is possible to belittle so important a fact as the decision of the Soviet Government and the Governments of the peoples' democracies to reduce their armed forces, and to reduce them considerably. There are no arguments to justify the

conduct of those who refuse to follow this example. What value is there in such "arguments" as that the Soviet Union by reducing its armed forces increases its military strength? The question that naturally springs to everyone's mind is why the other great Powers do not want to make themselves stronger by doing the same thing with their armies. The assertion that we must first settle controversial international political issues and only then consider general disarmament can convince no one, and can only harm the cause of peace. If we really want to settle controversial international issues, we must make sure that armaments play no part in the settlement. The less we hear the sound of arms, the more easily will these questions be solved peacefully.

21. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the Soviet proposals on disarmament and is convinced that if they are examined objectively and adopted, the danger of war can be averted.

22. In considering such important problems as disarmament, we must ask ourselves whether questions on which international peace largely depends can be properly solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China—a country which has been playing a leading role in the settlement of international problems in Asia and throughout the world, a country inhabited by one-fourth of the world's population. It is high time to give back to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations; this would make possible even broader peaceful collaboration among all countries and would help to give effect to the principle of the universality of the United Nations. It is intolerable to deprive the People's Republic of China of its lawful rights in the United Nations because of the stubbornness of the Western Powers, and especially of the United States. An unrealistic policy as regards China is being imposed upon the United Nations, contrary to its own interests, and solely because there are those who dislike that vast country's people's democratic régime. The debate on this question held a few days ago showed that the objections to restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China were unfounded and incompatible with the United Nations Charter. There can be no doubt that this attitude does serious harm to the authority of the United Nations and reduces its ability to maintain international peace.

23. It is a well-known fact that some countries do not wish to recognize the People's Republic of China. Of course, this is an internal question which lies within the competence of those countries. But this makes it all the more necessary for the United Nations to give China its rightful place in the Organization as soon as possible, in order to make United Nations decisions more effective and to strengthen world peace.

24. We cannot listen with indifference to statements such as those made a few days ago from this rostrum to the effect that certain groups repudiated by the Chinese people are awaiting an opportunity to "come to the rescue" of some people or other in the People's Republic of China. The United Nations might regard such provocative statements as empty threats from the former Chinese rulers, who have been repudiated by the Chinese people, were it not for the fact that the speakers threatening the People's Republic of China from the rostrum of the United Nations enjoy the support of powerful States which do not like the people's democratic régime of China. This can no longer be regarded as an empty threat; it is an actual threat to peace in the Far East. The reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in its rights in all United Nations

organs would bring this situation to an end and would represent an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace.

25. Our delegation and, we are confident, an increasing number of other delegations also, will continue to raise and bring up this question until the People's Republic of China finally takes its rightful place in the United Nations.

26. The Bulgarian delegation considers that world peace and security do not solely depend on reaching agreement on important political problems; it believes that the strengthening of peace is also closely connected with the economic development of all parts of the world. The great disparity existing between industrialized and under-developed countries are phenomena which deserve the serious attention of the United Nations. As peace is indivisible, its strengthening necessitates not only political freedom, but also the establishment of favourable conditions for the general development of the under-developed countries.

27. Our delegation attaches special importance to the Soviet Union proposal [589th meeting] for the consideration and adoption of agreed decisions on the most urgent economic problems relating to the development of international economic co-operation. We are sure that adoption of these practical proposals would promote the development of the economies and increase the prosperity of all countries, and would also lead to an improvement in international relations. There can be no doubt that the idea of convening an international economic conference in 1957 would meet with a favourable response from all partisans of peace and from all those who wish for a further relaxation of international tension.

28. There is no need to prove the fact that satisfactory trade promotes the establishment of good relations and the elimination of mistrust. We are against trade restrictions and discrimination in trade. The slogan "trade, instead of armaments and military blocs" is readily understood by the workers of Bulgaria. The time has come for the United Nations to call upon its Members to abolish all restrictions to world trade.

29. Supposing that every nation could find and purchase the goods necessary to its national economy and purchase them wherever the most favourable terms are offered, that every nation could sell the goods of which its national economy has a surplus, that the intensified trade essential for a rise in the standards of living of the masses of all countries were to become a reality in the world, independently of strategic and other political considerations—would all this not constitute a decisive step forward along the path of re-establishing confidence among peoples and States and directing their interests towards peaceful economic competition?

30. So far as our country is concerned, it has expanded its foreign trade and the circle of its trading partners in the past few years. It is now trading with dozens of new countries in all parts of the world. There can be no doubt that the abolition of the existing restrictions on world trade, which hamper the mutual exchange of manufactured goods and raw materials, would be a highly important step towards the strengthening of international peace.

31. We believe that it would not be proper to omit any mention of the question of attempts to use the United Nations for interference in the domestic affairs of certain States, as in the case of the consideration of the so-called "situation in Hungary" and, unfortunately,

in the case of our own country in the past. On listening to some of the statements made, we cannot but draw the conclusion that some people still regard the United Nations as an organization of representatives and politicians who have the same political, social and economic views as their own. Moreover, some people think they are entitled to use the United Nations to oppose those who do not share their views. They are using even the rostrum of the United Nations for appeals for the "liberation" of countries which chose the path of socialism after the Second World War.

32. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is one of these countries. In our land, the positive features of the new social system in which individuals cannot appropriate the product of society are already apparent. Conditions have been created for a moral and political unity such as the nation never knew in the past.

33. With regard to the effect of these changes in the social system on the country's foreign policy, it should be noted that the social groups which frequently involved Bulgaria in military gambles in the past and twice brought us to the brink of the abyss have long since ceased to exist in our country and thus can exert no influence whatsoever. Is it possible in all honesty to describe the Bulgarian people as free during the period when they were oppressed by financial tycoons and fascist obscurantists dreaming of a "Great Bulgaria," naturally at the expense of other countries and peoples? Is it possible to doubt that the Bulgarian people are free now that they have overthrown their sworn enemies and are being led forward by the social forces which, from the day of the country's liberation from the foreign yoke to this day, have been inculcating in it a spirit of friendship and peaceful co-operation with neighbouring and distant peoples?

34. In defense of its own Charter, the United Nations cannot fail to condemn any statements and, *a fortiori*, any acts directed towards inciting to or justifying interference in the internal affairs of countries such as ours, regardless of the quarter in which such statements and acts may originate.

35. It must be frankly stated that those who are trying to use the United Nations for interference in the domestic affairs of countries whose systems are not to their liking are rendering poor service to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

36. We are taking part in a general debate of the General Assembly for the first time and we therefore feel obliged to state that our Government, believing as it does that the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is possible, is sparing no effort to establish a calm atmosphere of peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourly relations in the part of the world where Bulgaria is situated—in the Balkan peninsula, formerly known as the "powder keg of Europe."

37. Our Government is convinced that, by pursuing an active foreign policy favourable to the cause of peace in the Balkans, it is making the best possible contribution to the strengthening of world peace. When there is no longer any need to fortify frontiers, when hands of friendship are stretched across these frontiers, there will be real guarantees of a stable and lasting peace. Such are the considerations which guide our foreign policy in respect of our immediate neighbours.

38. Our relations with our northern neighbour, the People's Republic of Romania, are exemplary. The long-standing friendly relations between the sister nations of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have now been re-established on the basis of consistent mutual respect for the national

independence and sovereignty of both countries. The further expansion, consolidation and development of Bulgarian-Yugoslav co-operation accords with the fundamental interest of our peoples and of the cause of peace in the Balkans.

39. Our Government is making unremitting efforts to improve our relations with Greece and Turkey. We note with satisfaction that in recent years we have been meeting with a willingness on the part of the ruling circles of those countries to establish good-neighbourly relations. However, we are not yet satisfied with what has been achieved. The very extensive possibilities for the many-sided development of economic and cultural ties with our neighbours have by no means been fully exploited, and the principles of the United Nations—the principles of peace, peaceful co-operation and general security—could be given practical application among the Balkan peoples.

40. Our Government believes that there are no controversial problems outstanding between us and our neighbours which could not be solved by means of negotiation and agreement, given good will and mutual concessions. Nor are there any such problems in our relations with any of the other countries of the world, large or small, with which we maintain normal relations, in so far as this depends on us, and with which we are prepared to expand our political, economic and cultural contacts.

41. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is confident that the eleventh session of the General Assembly will, despite all obstacles, succeed in settling the problems whose just solution is awaited by the peoples of the whole world. We are convinced that there is no need to revise the United Nations Charter to this end. A proper solution of the problems on the agenda of the General Assembly requires the strictest observance of all the fundamental principles of the United Nations, such as the principle of the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples. The experience of eleven years has shown that, if breaches of the international order have occurred, the reason for this is not that the Charter is inadequate, but that its fundamental principles have been violated.

42. A positive attitude on the part of the United Nations towards the solution of controversial international questions by peaceful means will promote the strengthening of confidence and the development of wide economic and cultural co-operation, and will further the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace throughout the world. To this end, however, it is essential that the high-sounding words and wishes expressed here from the rostrum of the United Nations should be accepted by all and followed up by deeds. Only then will the eleventh session of the General Assembly restore to the peoples the hope of a new relaxation of international tension and of a lasting peace.

43. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): On behalf of the Sudan delegation, I wish to express our heartfelt congratulations to Prince Wan Waithayakon, on his election as President of the eleventh session of the General Assembly, a position which he well merited.

44. As a nation still young in the field of international affairs, we have a great deal to learn, but we hope we also have, little as it may be, something to contribute. We were under a foreign rule for more than fifty years. Through united national efforts, constitutional development and good will, we are now free. We are free in handling our internal affairs. We also are free to handle our external affairs and participate in furthering under-

standing and friendship among all nations of the world. Our presence amongst you here is a manifestation of the exercise of our full sovereignty and attainment of complete independence.

45. Our emergence from a colonial or a semi-colonial status into full independence, the peaceful and orderly attainment of our national aspirations, and the realization of our hopes after such a long time, are indeed for us the beginnings of new human and international relations. But we cannot in this context fail to note here with great regret that there are still other subject peoples in Africa and Asia which are fighting bitterly to regain their freedom. There can be no world at peace without freedom and equality for all members of the human race.

46. The preamble to the United Nations Charter and Chapter XI of the Charter deal extensively with peace, justice, human rights and dignity and the right of peoples to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination. The delegations from different countries, year after year, have contributed to the literature of the United Nations on these subjects, and we do not intend to add to that great literature. Indeed it would not be possible to make an original contribution. But if we are serious about a change in international relations, then such words as "peace," "equality," "liberty," "freedom," "self-determination" and "justice" must be given their full intrinsic values, and not merely used to disguise motives of cupidity and selfishness. These noble principles and aims cannot be effectively implemented while paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter is still capable of being interpreted to mean that the nationalists' conflict with the colonial Powers in African and Asian possessions are matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the colonial Powers. Paragraph 7 of Article 2 therefore calls for an immediate amendment to remove this ambiguity.

47. Small nations are far more interested in disarmament than the big Powers, which have conflicting interests of varying magnitude. It is therefore natural that my delegation supports the reduction of armaments in both the conventional and nuclear fields. We also endorse the continuation of efforts and the consideration of all proposals submitted for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. The world will be better off if the savings and expenditure on armaments could be made available for technical assistance and economic development in the less developed areas of the world.

48. The United Nations, after ten years, seems to be finding its way towards defining the main issues facing humanity, and it is our present duty to find solutions for all outstanding issues which threaten world peace and beset the human race with dangers which may result in the destruction of the civilization and culture of our age. The United Nations will become what we want it to be—it could be an effective instrument for achieving the common purposes and common aspirations of the world community—if we are all prepared to give it the support it needs to carry out its mission.

49. In the field of technical assistance as well as in the social and economic fields, the United Nations has made tangible progress, although its efforts are being hampered by disturbances of world peace, acts of aggression and the petty jealousies of the big Powers.

50. The principal factors which contribute to the lack of security and the creation of tensions are in the main due to conflicting ideologies, which if viewed with tolerance and wisdom may on the contrary become establishing factors; conflicting interests between great

Powers, which in our opinion can be transferred from the field of competition to that of co-operation; and interference of the great Powers with the sovereign rights of small nations, which if not given up will lead to serious results; the denial of the right of self-determination for small nations, and the allegation that they are part of the motherland; and, last but not least, the denial of human rights for groups of people within countries with multi-racial communities.

51. However, these efforts and achievements as well as the achievements of nations through their own efforts can be seriously jeopardized if security is lacking. It is our considered opinion that the main functions of the United Nations remain the establishment of peace and the removal of all causes of tension in all parts of the world.

52. We have just emerged from a colonial to an independent status and we are therefore well qualified to express a point of view on the rights of subject peoples. The United Nations should increase its efforts to ensure that the transition of subject peoples to full nationhood and independence is accelerated and is made possible in a peaceful and orderly manner. The threat to world peace and security can be minimized from this direction if colonial Powers, all of which are represented here, realize how futile it is to contain nationalist movements and how short-sighted it is to deny peoples the right of self-determination on the grounds that they are not ready to govern themselves. It is true that these peoples have no military power and they cannot easily obtain their freedom by forceful means against their mighty masters; but we are here to establish peace and security and provide grounds for peaceful coexistence, and not to condone a cohabitation which is maintained at the point of the bayonet.

53. Our experience indicates that independence must precede economic and social development. However backward the people are, they must mould their own destiny. Only after independence can people be receptive of new ideas and of help and assistance, which will then be more effective and much more appreciated. My delegation submits, therefore, that it is the duty of the United Nations to assist peoples to gain their independence in the first place and then to seek ways and means of helping them to pass through the difficult phases of economic and social development.

54. We fully believe that efforts to help countries in the economic and social fields, when their hearts and minds are fully preoccupied with their independence, will be wasted. Material development can never be substituted for the spiritual and moral satisfaction which independence and equality bestow upon people. The potential moral and intellectual powers which provide the basis of material progress can only be free and brought to bear on the problems of social and economic developments after people are assured of their right to determine their own destiny.

55. My delegation therefore appeals to the Members of the United Nations on behalf of millions of Africans and Asians and other people to search their hearts and to think again about their responsibilities to the world community and to readjust their policies to suit the evolving conditions of the world.

56. As a young nation that has just achieved independence, we are deeply perturbed by the tendency of some of the big Powers to impose their point of view on smaller nations by physical force which can never be a satisfactory means of settling disputes. There can be no better example of the utter failure in reaching a

solution and settling a problem through the use of force than the manner in which the Middle Eastern problem has been handled. We purposely call it the Middle Eastern question, because the invasion of Egyptian territory by the Anglo-French forces is not a problem of Egypt alone. It has affected and will go on affecting the lives and prosperity of the 50 million people of the Middle East. Their security is threatened, their independence has become precarious, and their economic and social progress will be retarded for a good many years. Instead of attending to their basic problems of social, political and economic progress, they find it imperative to devote all their energies and resources to the building up of their security and defence forces. No nation can light-heartedly disregard a threat to its very existence and attend, as we should all do in normal circumstances, to the pursuit of the happiness of the people.

57. The Suez Canal is an integral part of Egyptian territory, and subject to the sovereign control of Egypt. The Suez Canal Company, by its statute, was an Egyptian company subject to the laws and exclusive jurisdiction of Egypt. The freedom of navigation in the Canal is governed by the Constantinople Convention of 1888,<sup>1</sup> and the remedies for any disputes, the way to settle such disputes, are all clearly provided for in the Convention.

58. Egypt, as a sovereign Power, has the absolute right to nationalize the Canal Company, and if the shareholders, individuals or States, are aggrieved, they can have recourse to the Egyptian courts for remedy. If there is an alleged breach of the 1888 Convention, the International Court of Justice, one of the agencies of the United Nations, has full jurisdiction to adjudicate the dispute; indeed, the Security Council and other agencies of the United Nations can satisfactorily deal with the matter. But the dispute was between two big Powers, on the one hand, and a small Power, on the other.

59. The big Powers cannot tolerate the inexpediency, as they allege, of courts of justice or the United Nations agencies. They therefore elected to take the law into their hands and invade Egypt.

60. The situation in the Middle East has been seriously aggravated by the ill-thought-out and impulsive aggression of the United Kingdom and France. The readiness with which Israel has collaborated in the grand and shameful conspiracy has underlined the Arabs' apprehensions about Israel as a spearhead and instrument of colonialism in the Middle East. Israel has, therefore, more than ever before, become a serious and immediate threat to the security and well-being of the 50 million Arabs in the Middle East.

61. We have tangible questions to pose here, not to the United Kingdom and France alone, but to all the representatives present at this General Assembly. Has the invasion accomplished anything? Has the Middle East situation improved as a result of the invasion? Has the Suez Canal been neutralized? Have the chances of carrying out the resolutions of the Security Council on the Suez Canal been improved? We think we had better leave the members to provide their own answers.

62. Our own conclusion is that there can be no peace or security in the Middle East until certain great Powers of the world exercise patience and self-restraint and

follow the path of peaceful negotiation and persuasion, however long it might be.

63. The withdrawal of British and French troops from Egypt and the withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice lines are not sufficient. We call upon the United Nations to see to it that Egypt is fully compensated by the United Kingdom and France for the destruction of towns and airfields and the loss of life of peaceful citizens and the retardation of its social and economic progress.

64. The conditions of the Palestinian refugees are one of the most pertinent reasons for tensions in the Middle East. Apart from being a political issue, it is a social and human problem of the first order. The main obstacles to the solution of the refugee problem, to our mind, are the absence of a solution to the Palestine question along the lines of the resolutions taken by the General Assembly in 1949 regarding compensation and repatriation of refugees, meagreness of physical resources, the attitude of the refugees and that of the Governments, which continue to be conditioned by the strong desire of refugees to return to Palestine.

65. Israel refuses the principle of repatriation, and the Arab States insist that the refugees be given the choice of repatriation or compensation. It is the duty of the United Nations to seek a solution which will restore to the Palestinians their homes, their wealth and their human dignity.

66. Peace in the Middle East is also threatened by the Algerian problem. The extent to which France has gone to repress nationalist claims, and lately the kidnapping of the Algerian leaders, must have shocked the conscience of the peoples of the world. The use of force against people seeking their basic and fundamental rights cannot be condoned by the General Assembly. My delegation therefore hopes that the condemnation by the General Assembly of the French action in North Africa will be in the strongest possible terms.

67. From this survey of events one thing is clear. The re-emergence of colonization in a new form is becoming a real and serious danger. The march towards freedom and the historical move towards independence do not only seem to be in danger of being halted and retarded, but the indications are that certain Powers are seeking to reverse the march of time.

68. The United Nations cannot, without casting away the very reason for its existence, fail to notice this and take active measures to protect all small nations whose military capacity cannot face up to the might and ruthlessness of powerful adversaries. The small nations must also note the serious significance of this attitude, and must consider as a matter of urgency what can be done about it. They must learn how to co-operate, or they will perish.

69. At the beginning of this address, we stressed the point that the Sudan had attained independence in a peaceful and orderly manner. In our experience, a set and agreed time-table for the transfer of power is an invaluable means to such an end. In our case, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of February 1952 had clearly defined the process of liquidation of the condominium rule and elaborately detailed the procedure for the transfer of power.

70. We believe it is the avowed intention and accepted policy of the United Nations that the administering authorities in Trust Territories should adopt a definite time-table for the realization of self-government for those Territories, but we note with regret that some of

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

the Administering Authorities have advanced reasons for not complying with a General Assembly resolution [558 (VI)] to that effect.

71. May we assert that our experience has abundantly proved the wisdom of a definite time-table. We should never allow ourselves to be deluded by fictitious arguments that the standard of administration will drop or that the technical and social services will suffer considerably. As the report of the Secretary-General clearly points out—and if we may be allowed to comment, this is borne out by our own experience of the surging of national feeling—the fact that responsibility is given to the local people will by itself raise the standard of devotion and alertness and *ipso facto* engender a high standard of public service. Let us remember that the emphasis will shift and that what the Administering Authorities are convinced is the right course for development may not suit the local people.

72. In this respect, my delegation feels that political progress should march hand in hand with, if not ahead of, economic progress. It is felt that the contribution of the United Nations specialized agencies is not adequate to meet the demands of the less developed Trust Territories. Nor can it be shown that the economic help of the Administering Authorities could meet such a challenge; and even if this was forthcoming, it might in the long run result in the retention of foreign political interference in the independence and sovereignty of those States after they had become fully sovereign. We would like to see those Territories enjoying full freedom in the widest meaning of the word, and we believe that their freedom could be fortified through financial and technical grants from the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. After all, these Territories are our trust, and vicarious responsibility does not end in mere supervision and advice.

73. As regards the non-political activities of the United Nations, it is gratifying to note the general recognition of the fact that economic security and social advancement are as important as political issues. It is equally gratifying to note the emphasis that is being given to the less developed countries, and the realization that the present economic and social conditions of the less developed countries is inconsistent with the Charter and can be a serious threat to world stability.

74. As the representative of one of those countries, we must express our appreciation of the readiness of the more developed and more prosperous countries to share their wealth and experience with the less fortunate countries. Various countries might have their different motives, but whether those motives are purely philanthropic or enlightened self-interest or a genuine desire to uphold the principles of the Charter, we can only hope that the volume of the aid given is stepped up and that the increase in the wealth of certain countries will be reflected in bigger contributions towards helping less developed countries.

75. In emphasizing the importance of external aid we are not unaware—indeed it has always been a cardinal principle of our economic and social policies—that the initiative must always come from within, and that the desire to develop must be matched by a will to do so and a ready willingness to save and sacrifice some immediate interests and benefits in order to increase the productive capacity of the country, which is an essential basis for raising the standards of living.

76. External help, if given on a multilateral basis, will help to dispel some of the apprehensions of small

Powers that it has its price. It is for this reason that we welcome the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development to supplement the efforts of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Finance Corporation.

77. We do not wish to comment on the other various activities of the United Nations in the economic, social and other fields, but we would like to draw the Assembly's attention to the need for intensifying our efforts to promote world trade and reduce the uncertainty and fluctuations of the demand for the primary commodities upon which the prosperity and well-being of the less developed countries depend. This is one of the most effective ways of helping small nations, and it is one of the best forms of help.

78. The efforts to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy and thereby turn it from an instrument for the destruction of the human race into one of increasing its prosperity and material welfare will be one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations, and must therefore be welcomed by us.

79. I will end by asking your indulgence to reiterate that this Organization can be a new hope and promise for all people of the world if Members refrain from using it as an instrument for power politics and if it is not used to serve the ends of certain Powers or groups of them.

80. We, as a small Power, are fully aware that our responsibility in the field of international affairs is a small and limited one. We realize that the burdens of carrying out the resolutions of the General Assembly and of giving economic aid and assistance lie on the shoulders of the big Powers. Let us hope that the big Powers will face their historic responsibilities with a sense of heroic self-sacrifice and approach them from a broader, world-wide and human angle.

81. We pledge ourselves to do all we possibly can to make this institution serve the causes of humanity, justice and peace. We pledge ourselves to co-operate with all peoples of the world, irrespective of race, colour, creed or ideology.

82. Mr. LEGER (Haiti) (*translated from French*): The unanimous election of Prince Wan Waithayakon to the office of President of this Assembly is a deserved tribute to the tact and ability he has displayed amongst us. For many years he has participated in the work of the United Nations either as a Minister for Foreign Affairs or as Chairman of the Thai delegation to the annual sessions of the General Assembly, and his contributions have always been energetic, useful and fruitful. My delegation is happy to congratulate him, and I take this opportunity to recall the personal links of friendship between us.

83. It would be difficult for us to approach the work of the eleventh session of the General Assembly without giving high priority and urgency to the two very grave problems which affect the security system of the United Nations, and for a solution of which the whole world is anxiously waiting. The first is the conflict which has broken out in Egypt, the repercussions of which extend to all the States of the Middle East. The second imperils the very foundations of the Hungarian nation.

84. The armed intervention of Israel, France and the United Kingdom in Egyptian territory, and the decisions which the General Assembly found it necessary to take at its emergency special session, confirm an absolute principle of contemporary law, namely, that

in international relations, preventive war, such as Israel claims to have launched, and punitive war, such as that undertaken by France and the United Kingdom, are illegal, however important the national interests invoked to justify them.

85. These principles have been part of positive law since the conclusion of the General Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy signed in Paris on 27 August 1928. War is lawful only in a case of legitimate self-defence or participation in international police and security action, such as that defined in Articles 42, 43, 44 and 45 of the Charter. To prevent the spread of the conflict in Egypt, the General Assembly, in the exercise of the powers vested in it by the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)], recommended that the parties involved should adopt certain provisional measures, such as a cease-fire, the withdrawal of the forces of Israel beyond the armistice lines and the immediate evacuation of the Anglo-French expeditionary force. According to Article 40 of the Charter, such provisional measures shall be "without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned".

86. My delegation voted whole-heartedly for the adoption of those provisional measures, but it considers that, as Mr. Pineau has said from this rostrum [589th meeting], the United Nations must examine not only the consequences of the present conflict, but also its causes.

87. In this connexion, a proposal recently submitted to this Assembly [590th meeting] by the Cambodian representative on behalf of his Government appears to me to merit our attention. He proposed that, with a view to achieving a lasting solution of the crisis in Egypt and in the Middle East, a special commission of inquiry should be set up consisting of representatives of neutral States that have no important interests in the matters to be judged. It should perhaps be pointed out to the Cambodian representative that certain passages in the official *communiqué* which he read us give the impression that this special commission of inquiry is to be vested with judicial powers, or powers of arbitration, in addition to its ordinary functions. Such powers would obviously be beyond its scope.

88. In the Egyptian conflict, the General Assembly did not confine itself to urging the parties to comply with the provisional measures on which it had decided. It did more: it assumed the executive functions vested in the Security Council under Article 42 of the Charter, and proceeded to create an international police force.

89. Furthermore, the Secretary-General was authorized to enter into negotiations with specialized firms which, in collaboration with experts employed in the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, will start the work of clearing the Suez Canal and reopening it. Following his conversations with the Egyptian Government, the Secretary-General presented two reports to the General Assembly on these new objectives of the United Nations.

90. My delegation was happy to vote in favour of the resolution of 24 November [A/RES/411], which confers full powers on the Secretary-General in the pursuit of these aims. Similarly, it approved the resolution on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force [A/RES/412].

91. So far, so good. We give these measures our fervent support. Yet a comparison of the impasse which the United Nations has reached in the case of Hungary

with the relatively smooth operation of its decisions in the Egyptian conflict leaves one with a feeling of profound anxiety. In vain has the Assembly in repeated resolutions, in emergency special session, exhorted the Soviet Government to withdraw its forces from Hungary, requested the Hungarian authorities to accept the dispatch of a group of observers to its territory and urged the Soviet Government and the Hungarian leaders to take immediate action to put a stop to deportations.

92. At this stage, public opinion throughout the world is deeply apprehensive. It has sound and valid reasons for believing that the efforts of the United Nations to relieve the terrible Hungarian tragedy are going to end in sad and humiliating frustration. What, in fact, can the General Assembly do in the face of the bad faith, lies and cynicism of those who act as they see fit in contempt of all principle? The Assembly has no means of ensuring compliance with its decisions, no penalties for non-observance.

93. If in circumstances with which we are all familiar, the "Uniting for peace" resolution enables us to relieve the Security Council of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and to vest this function in the General Assembly, this can be done only within the scope of the limited powers conferred on this Assembly. It is true that Article 42 of the Charter empowers the Security Council to order coercive measures if there is any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. But how can the forces of the United Nations be brought into play? We find the answer in Article 43 of the Charter.

94. The three resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fifth session, and grouped under the heading "Uniting for peace", undoubtedly constituted an important improvement in the United Nations machinery for safeguarding peace and security. They led, for instance, to the setting up of a Peace Observation Commission and a Collective Measures Committee, whose activities have often proved useful and effective.

95. In paragraph 8 of resolution 377 A (V), the Assembly recommends that Member States should maintain within their national armed forces elements which could promptly be made available for service as United Nations units. It must be admitted that this provision is far removed from the express terms of Article 43 of the Charter. Under that article, Members of the United Nations are required to negotiate agreements with the Security Council for ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes. As far as we know, however, no such agreement, based on the Charter itself and not on the "Uniting for peace" resolution, has been concluded.

96. The Charter has, it is true, provided means for remedying this omission. They are clearly set forth in Article 106, in Chapter XVII, under the heading "Transitional security arrangements". The terms of this article are quite clear. It refers to the Conference of the four Foreign Ministers held at Moscow from 19 to 30 October 1943, when the representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and China adopted the historic Declaration subsequently subscribed to by France. In that diplomatic instrument, those Powers undertook that the united action pursued by them during the war would be continued with a view to the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

97. Article 106 of the Charter thus confronts us with a juridical fact which is difficult to evade, namely that,

pending the conclusion and ratification of specific agreements for the organization of national units to form a United Nations international police force, thus enabling the Security Council to assume its responsibilities under Article 42, the five great Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China and France—are expressly called upon by the Charter to take “such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security”.

98. My delegation does not venture to express an opinion on the merits of Article 106. It merely wishes to draw attention to the fact that, in the case both of Egypt and of Hungary, it would appear that the five great Powers have very definite responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

99. This does not mean that I wish to minimize the importance of the timely decisions taken by the General Assembly in these last weeks, or of the exceptional service which our Secretary-General has rendered, and continues to render to the United Nations with so much devotion, competence and skill. I must confess that, as the representative of a small country, I feel more at home in this democratic assembly than in the presence of a conclave of the five great Powers. But how can we escape the situation created by Article 106 with respect to the responsibilities placed upon the five great Powers, not as permanent members of the Security Council—and this is a very important point—but simply as being the nations that they are.

100. An analysis of the text of that article and its reference to the Moscow Declaration of 1943 will show that the role provisionally assigned to those great Powers of acting as guardians of the peace and, if need be, as policemen, does not necessarily depend on their status as permanent members of the Security Council. It will further be noted that the authority conferred upon the five great Powers by Article 106 of the Charter is only provisional, and its duration depends on the diligence with which the United Nations, on the initiative of the Security Council, proceeds to the formation of a real and imposing international police force. It should also be noted—and this too is of tremendous importance—that, by their very nature, the transitional security arrangements referred to in Article 106 are not subject to the use of the veto, so that, if fundamental differences were to arise among the five Powers as to the application of the necessary security measures, that obstacle would be circumvented by the joint action of the other States, constituting the majority.

101. These reflections lead us to express the fervent hope that it may yet be possible to arrive at a regrouping of the Western Powers—primarily France, the United Kingdom and the United States—and all the other Powers for the performance of the increasingly urgent common tasks which await them in connexion with the maintenance of international peace and security based on law and justice for all peoples.

102. It will be no easy task to form the regular national units which must constitute the United Nations police force. It will be necessary to co-ordinate the efforts of the United Nations, and particularly those of its Military Staff Committee, with the efforts of the competent regional organizations. In the implementation of such a plan, due consideration will have to be given, in view of the technical assistance problems involved, to the position of small countries like Haiti which, however much they may wish to co-operate,

cannot saddle their national budgets with military expenditures inconsistent with their most immediate and vital economic and social needs.

103. Owing to the character of gravity and urgency rightly attributed to the conflicts in Egypt and Hungary, we shall refrain from prolonging the general debate by commenting on other aspects of the items on the agenda of the eleventh session. In my delegation's opinion, some of those questions are very important, for example, those relating to the Trusteeship system, the Cyprus and Algerian problems, the policy of *apartheid* in the Union of South Africa, social and cultural matters, the progressive codification of international law, technical assistance, the system of international credits, the admission of new Members, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and disarmament. My delegation's policy as regards those items will be explained in due course, when they are considered in committee.

104. To sum up my delegation's position, we fervently express our renewed devotion to the increasingly effective work of the United Nations, and, as that work is following a normal process of development, we do not think it wise to ask it to do too much. We must guard against cheap optimism, but we repudiate any suggestion that the setbacks of the United Nations mean that the Organization itself has failed in its great world mission. It is by trial and error that we learn the lessons of life and the rules of social coexistence.

105. I would have concluded my statement at this point, but my delegation, representing as it does a nation of almost 4 million coloured people, cannot remain indifferent to the diatribe delivered yesterday by the representative of the Union of South Africa against the United Nations in protest against the policy, consistently adhered to by the General Assembly for the past ten years, of condemning, as it should, the detestable policy of racial segregation practised in the Union of South Africa. The policy of racial segregation, which the Government of the Union of South Africa has made a part of the law of the land, has always stirred and still stirs the indignation of the people and Government of Haiti. The representative of the Union of South Africa has flung down a challenge to the United Nations, which is an insult to that great institution, to this Assembly and to its Members. We listened with amazement to the Chairman of the South African delegation, who said:

“It has therefore been decided that until such time as the United Nations shows that it is prepared to act in accordance with the spirit of the San Francisco Conference of 1945 and to conform to the principles laid down by the founders of the Organization in Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 7, of the Charter, the Union of South Africa, while . . . continuing to be a Member of the United Nations, will in future maintain only a token representation or a nominal representation at the meetings of the Assembly and at the Headquarters of the Organization.” [597th meeting, para. 152.]

106. Paragraphs 1 and 7 of Article 2 are invoked here far too often in order to disguise, by pompous references to national sovereignty and the many-faceted principle of non-interference in domestic affairs, a lack of the respect due by all the signatories of the Charter to human rights and fundamental freedoms. We do not intend to reopen the much discussed South African question here. The repeated decisions of the General

Assembly, taken in conformity with the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have given the question of the policy of *apartheid* practised in the Union of South Africa the status of *res judicata*. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of South Africa also referred to the "strong and growing opinion" in his country in favour of South Africa's withdrawal from the United Nations. We fully understand the purport of that statement. I shall take the liberty of repeating for his benefit the incisive warning uttered by Mr. Paul Reynaud in Paris only four days ago: "To leave the United Nations would be to swim against the tide of history."

107. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): On behalf of the Netherlands delegation, I should like first of all to offer the President our sincere congratulations upon his election to his high office. It has been a matter of great satisfaction to my delegation that the General Assembly has unanimously elected him to preside over our discussions, the more so as this session is likely to be one of the most important in our history.

108. In the second place, I wish to associate myself with the preceding speakers who have welcomed the new Members. My delegation sincerely hopes that their contribution to our work will strengthen the Organization.

109. In this connexion, however, it is fitting to note—and I do this with sincere regret—that, due to the indefensible attitude of one of the members, and a permanent member, of the Security Council, one application is still pending. My delegation hopes—indeed it urges—that the question of the membership of Japan will at the earliest possible moment be favourably reconsidered.

110. The agenda of this eleventh session contains a large number of subjects. My delegation will take part with the same zeal as in previous years in the discussions of the Fifth Committee on budgetary and administrative matters. We feel the time has come carefully to examine the functioning of the machinery of the Secretariat as well as that of the regional and functional commissions. The lively discussions held last summer in the Co-ordination Committee of the Economic and Social Council on the streamlining of the United Nations system point out the road to be followed. The rapid growth of the United Nations machinery requires a critical attitude with regard to its various branches, in order that less essential activities may be replaced by more necessary undertakings. The administrative organs of the United Nations should decide on the degree of urgency and on priorities.

111. I may emphasize that the preceding remarks, which, naturally, apply also to the work of the specialized agencies, should not be taken as indicating a desire to slow down or to restrict our activities. Neither do I want to suggest a lack of understanding on the part of the Secretariat of the problem I have raised. But, in view of the enormous task of our Organization, our human and material possibilities are limited. These limited resources should, therefore, be used for the most urgent functions, especially in the social and economic field, and a sustained critical examination of the question how the most constructive contributions can be made to the well-being of the family of nations is necessary.

112. The report of the Economic and Social Council [A/3154] contains an interesting survey of this question. It will require a consistent national policy, national co-ordination of the activities of the various govern-

mental bodies and, consequently, co-ordination of the instructions to the national delegations to international conferences to achieve the necessary efficiency of our programme. The matter was again dealt with by the Economic and Social Council, and the results of the Council's deliberations will have my delegation's fullest attention.

113. The items of our agenda which have been referred to the Sixth Committee embody the important contribution of the United Nations to the development and codification of international law. Although these studies, by their very nature, can progress but slowly, they deepen and widen the impact of the law of nations on the international community.

114. The Fourth Committee will deal with subjects of importance. As such I consider, in particular, the discussion concerning the plebiscite under United Nations auspices in Togoland, and the independence of that country.

115. The agendas of the Second and Third Committees demonstrate the tremendous task as well as the inspiring possibilities for our Organization in the economic and social fields. One may wonder to what extent the repercussions of recent international events will adversely affect the clarity of vision of the delegations during the debates in those two Committees.

116. In my opinion, it would be unwise not to see that it is necessary to recognize the reality of these repercussions, and my delegation, for one, finds it difficult to look forward with any confidence to holding serious discussions on the subject of human rights with the participation of the representatives of a country which, at this moment in Hungary, shows such appalling disregard for human rights and human values. The Netherlands representatives in the Third Committee feel that they could use their time to a better and more profitable purpose, for instance by organizing relief for the tens of thousands of Hungarians who have been forced to flee their country.

117. It is my sincere hope that the Second Committee will be able to direct its attention not to the difficult present but to the important problems of the future. It will be clear that I am referring to the question of raising the standard of living in the less-developed areas. To recognize the importance of this problem and to study ways and means to solve it is the crucial task of our generation. The technical assistance programmes and the significant achievements of this work during the last five years form only the beginning. The major part of our work still has to be done. We would fail in our historic mission if we did not make, at the earliest possible moment, a decisive and large-scale effort to finance the economic and social infrastructure of the less-developed areas.

118. My Government holds the view that this challenge should be met on a multilateral basis and in equal partnership between, on the one hand, the countries which extend assistance and, on the other, those which receive it. My Government considers, furthermore, that the progress towards the establishment of a development mechanism should not be deflected by such events as, for instance, Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal or Indonesia's violation of its international obligations. Nevertheless, the efforts of the contributing countries will be of no avail unless they meet with co-operation from the recipient countries.

119. In his clear and eloquent address last week [589th meeting], the French Minister for Foreign

Affairs, Mr. Pineau, mentioned three conditions for the effectiveness of any plan of assistance to the less-developed countries, and, because of their clarity and logic, I should like to quote them. The three conditions laid down by Mr. Pineau were: first, acceptance of the principle of interdependence between nations; secondly, scrupulous respect for one's commitments; and thirdly, maintenance of order in the countries benefiting from the plan.

120. These conditions, without which no effective aid is practicable, are no doctrinaire counsels of perfection invented by a theorist; they are the result of practical experience; and their disregard, as several instances in the past have proved, renders effective aid impossible.

121. I am thinking in particular of Indonesia, a country which has repeatedly stressed its great and urgent needs. Yet that same country has, especially in its relations with the Netherlands, acted in a manner contrary to the conditions just mentioned.

122. Indonesia, earlier this year, unilaterally tore up all the agreements signed with my country at the Round Table Conference at The Hague in 1949, agreements entered into under the auspices of the United Nations and sanctioned by the United Nations Commission for Indonesia; it has, further, repudiated its debts to the Netherlands, the amount of which was fixed in consultation with the United Nations and freely agreed to; finally, it has subjected a number of Netherlands nationals to persecution by trumped-up lawsuits and maltreatment and torture by the police.

123. The subjects I have mentioned thus far are all related to essential purposes of the United Nations: respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, development of dependent territories to free nations, and creation of economic and social conditions in accordance with the requirements of human dignity. Still, there is another matter which surpasses them in importance, namely, the fundamental function for which the United Nations was created: the upholding of justice and the preservation of peace.

124. Before commenting on the political problems requiring our attention during the present session, I wish first of all to testify in behalf of the Netherlands people to their deep-rooted desire for peace. This implies that the Netherlands people still pin their hope on the United Nations as the best instrument for working out just solutions and effective guarantees for peace.

125. The question seems justified whether the United Nations fulfils these hopes. During the last two weeks I have listened to a number of eloquent speeches expressing the opinion that the present crisis has considerably increased the prestige of the Organization. Whether this is true in my opinion cannot yet be assessed. An answer can only be given in the light of future developments, proving that the United Nations has indeed strengthened international security in conformity with the purposes of the Charter.

126. I must confess that at this moment I do not feel that, objectively speaking, we have much reason to be too optimistic. The Charter is surely an instrument of international law, but it is at the same time the expression of an attitude of mind. Those who during many years have denied the essential value of the Charter have lost the right to invoke it and to use it as a sort of juke-box to be put in motion by inserting a nickel in the slot. One cannot invoke the Charter after announcing publicly for many years one's in-

attention to annihilate a neighbouring State. One cannot invoke the Charter after upsetting the international legal order, which the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, called "the international fabric". One cannot invoke the Charter against Anglo-French action in the Middle East at the same moment that one is oneself suppressing pitilessly and with ruthless force a people's struggle for freedom.

127. During the first emergency special session, the Netherlands delegation voted with many other delegations in favour of the establishment of a United Nations Force. Our vote was cast on the assumption that the establishment of this international police force in the area of conflict would at the same time lead to the solution of the three basic problems responsible for the present crisis; that is, the Arab-Israel tension, the question of the Arab refugees, and the status of the Suez Canal.

128. I feel bound to voice the grave misgivings of my delegation should this assumption prove to be groundless. If developments result in a return to the *status quo ante* in the Middle East and the three basic problems remain unresolved, I greatly fear that in future years men will judge that we missed a golden opportunity and that we were responsible for a major failure of the United Nations in the cause of world peace.

129. These fears and misgivings lest the United Nations fail in its task and miss the opportunities of the moment are shared by many who are the staunchest defenders of the rules of law among nations. The representative of Norway voiced the same concern when he affirmed that "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, para. 52]. I entirely agree with these views.

130. It is unfortunate that the political discussions in the United Nations show increasing signs of a lack of intellectual consistency. People in my country are profoundly shocked by the fact that a number of delegations were less anxious to make the tragedy of Hungary a subject for concerted action than to meet the developments in the Middle East. The Netherlands people are experiencing doubts concerning the moral level of our debates after learning that, when the first resolution on Hungary was voted upon, no fewer than fifteen delegations felt justified in abstaining.

131. More than ever before, I have been struck during the present session by the lack of willingness to take into account arguments brought forward during our debates. Sometimes I even wonder whether there still is a desire for discussion, or whether it is preferred to proceed to a vote without any discussion at all. I need hardly say that this tendency, if left unchecked, would mean the end of the United Nations.

132. I have noted the artificial creation of conflicting opinions. I have noted the lightheartedness with which a country like mine is accused of so-called colonialism. Let me state quite clearly that in the Netherlands there is no single political party or any popular group which seeks to restore the past, or which bases its political aims on a nostalgic and reactionary desire to revive the nineteenth century. Of course, every other delegation here has the fullest right to differ with the opinions of my delegation and to oppose those opinions. However, this right can only be exercised in fairness and good faith if such a delegation is prepared to listen to, and objectively to examine, our views.

133. The Netherlands has signed the Charter of the United Nations and is determined to abide by it. We understand and we endorse the contents of Chapter XI of the Charter and, consequently, we are fully aware of our obligations. We know that we are acting in accordance with the letter and the spirit of this chapter with regard to the territory of Netherlands New Guinea and its inhabitants. We shall continue to do so.

134. Finally, a word about our membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. My country attaches such great value to its membership of that organization because we realize that it is essential to the preservation of our freedom. Self-defence must always be founded on the idea that there is something which deserves to be fought for. The defensive nature of NATO, within the purposes of the Charter, is unimpeachable for every unbiased observer. The fact that not only Communist countries, but sometimes even so-called non-committed nations, call NATO an instrument of aggression is yet another example of negation of facts. We shall, however, continue our NATO policy, and we shall likewise continue, in the Council of Europe, in the Western European Union, and in our increasingly strong Benelux partnership, to follow a policy aimed at strengthening the Charter.

135. In ending my statement, I wish to stress once again, on behalf of the Netherlands people, our faith that the United Nations will overcome the difficulties of the present and that, by the exercise of wisdom, objectivity and strength, it will proceed towards the realization of its lofty aims and thereby become the effective means for the preservation of peace with justice.

136. Above all, however, we are convinced that, for the fulfilment of this purpose, we shall need the help of Almighty God.

137. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): I should like to begin by associating myself with those representatives who have already congratulated Prince Wan Waithayakon on his election to the office of President of the General Assembly.

138. We are clearly passing through a crisis in international relations, due chiefly to events in the Middle East and Hungary. This crisis has occurred following a period in which international relations had taken a turn for the better, and we had accordingly been led to view the future development of those relations with greater hope and optimism. A possible end to the "cold war" appeared to be in sight.

139. A series of encouraging developments had taken place in a relatively brief space of time. Hostilities had come to an end in Korea and Indo-China. The Austrian question had been settled. The Bandung Conference had consolidated peace in a part of the world as important as it is large. The Geneva Conference of Heads of State had demonstrated the possibility of a *rap-prochement* and practical co-operation among the great Powers. Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union and with other Eastern European countries had returned to normal and were continuing to improve.

140. These were among the most striking signs of a favourable trend which, at that time, was becoming increasingly apparent. They actually reflected the growing interdependence and community of interests of the present-day world in every sphere of activity, as well as a growing awareness of this interdependence. The other, more general, signs of this trend were the gradual lowering of the economic and political barriers

dividing the world, the accession of a growing number of peoples and countries to national independence and the increasing influence exerted by those peoples and countries on world events.

141. Consequently, my delegation, like many others, was last year able to note the existence of conditions conducive not only to peaceful coexistence, but also to the conversion of such coexistence into active and constructive co-operation among States with different political, economic and social systems. This justified the hope that we could gradually resolve other outstanding problems and thus bring about an increasing reduction in world tension.

142. While noting that tensions had eased and international relations had improved, and while doing everything within its power to contribute to those developments, the Yugoslav Government, like others, was fully aware of the instability of the world situation. At that time, it emphasized that the mere realization of the fact that a general conflict would be tantamount to collective suicide was not in itself a guarantee of or a basis for lasting peace. My Government had also, on many occasions, stressed the fact that any balance based upon the division of the world into heavily armed blocs would be extremely precarious.

143. Events in the Middle East and Hungary have shown how precarious that balance is. I do not propose to review these events, with respect to which my Government's position is well known. It was restated forcefully by President Tito in his speech of 11 November 1956. I should prefer instead to interpret them and to draw the appropriate political conclusions.

144. While there has been a crisis in international relations, it should be borne in mind that there has been a no less acute crisis in the policies which have given rise to renewed tension. If it is realized that we are passing through a period of transition, hence of readjustment and readaptation, it will be seen that, despite all that has occurred, this is a favourable development.

145. It would, of course, be wrong automatically to equate the events that have taken place in the Middle East with those which have taken place in Hungary. It seems to me, however, that the same lesson may be drawn from both.

146. Various arbitrary explanations of these events have been given, particularly by the parties directly concerned. But let us make no mistake. The truth regarding the scope and meaning of these events, as well as the responsibilities involved, could not be suppressed. It has become common knowledge.

147. Let us take the question of the aggression against Egypt. The representatives of certain States, and particularly of those directly responsible for the aggression, have attempted in vain to justify their action. None of the series of contradictory explanations has succeeded in convincing us. And for good reason.

148. For instance, we were asked to believe that the invasion of Egypt was necessary in order to prevent a general conflagration, which was alleged to be imminent. We all know very well that the contrary is true, that it was the war in Egypt which had jeopardized world peace.

149. The other argument, no less surprising or spurious, concerns the alleged difference in the proposed treatment of the "democracies," on the one hand, and the "dictatorships" on the other. In urging the need for equal treatment, this argument at least has the merit of acknowledging some resemblance between the mis-

deeds it seeks to compare. Secondly, this argument makes much of the fact that the parties concerned deigned to consent to a cease-fire. However, the invading forces are still on Egyptian soil. Thirdly, this argument clearly reveals the arbitrary nature of such distinctions, because aggression cannot be regarded as less reprehensible simply because it has been committed by one or more countries with a "democratic régime".

150. The conclusion to be drawn is that international relations cannot be truly democratic unless the use of force is excluded. It is therefore particularly alarming to see certain ruling circles in these same countries arrogating to themselves the right to impose conditions and endeavouring unreasonably further to aggravate the general situation by the use of ideological slogans and watchwords designed to bolster their own position, which has been seriously weakened by their own previous ill-considered actions.

151. With respect to the so-called long-term problems of the Middle East, we cannot but admit that they figure prominently among the causes which have led to the present crisis. We are also aware that we must, in due course, set about solving them. It would, however, be quite intolerable if advantage were taken of the presence on Egyptian soil of foreign invasion forces—whose withdrawal has repeatedly been urged in General Assembly resolutions which must eventually be complied with—in order to exert pressure upon the Egyptian Government with a view to obtaining concessions from it. Today, it would be more intolerable than ever to take any action which might prevent Egypt, the victim of aggression, from exercising its full sovereignty.

152. The problems of Algeria and Cyprus belong to the same category. Here, too, we are faced with the pernicious consequences of the "survival of colonialism" and the "desire of certain Powers for domination". These have been denounced from this rostrum [590th meeting] by Mr. Bourguiba, the representative of the Tunisian Government, who is probably better qualified and more competent to do so than anyone else. The Yugoslav Government supported the demands of the populations concerned, in principle, but, as it also wished to adopt a realistic approach, it endeavoured to display the utmost moderation to avoid jeopardizing the prospect of an agreement freely entered into by the two parties concerned.

153. However, we feel today that that stage has been passed. Such an agreement is being prevented not by the Algerians or the Cypriots, but by the opposition of the Governments of the old colonial Powers. So far as Cyprus is concerned, the events in Egypt have finally demolished one of the British arguments which was considered by many to be the most compelling, the one based on strategic considerations, those events having raised the basic question of the interests and the policy served by the strategy in question.

154. Nor has anyone been convinced by the explanations put forward in the case of Hungary by the Governments directly concerned. We continue to hope, however, that calm and normal conditions will soon be restored in that country, so that the Hungarian people may be able to realize their legitimate desire for full national independence and the democratization of their social and political life.

155. On the other hand, it is essential that certain foreign political circles should refrain from taking advantage of the present difficulties of the Hungarian

people for purposes of propaganda or political strategy which are hardly compatible with the interests of peace.

156. Is such a favourable trend of development possible in Hungary? We firmly believe that it is. We believe that this trend is already under way, dramatic though the form it is taking may be. A readjustment of relations between the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe is taking place, because it has become a necessity. The movement is towards mutual respect, sovereignty, independence and co-operation on an equal footing—principles which were all embodied in the declaration made by Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in Belgrade on 2 June 1955, and in the declarations published after President Tito's visit to the USSR in June 1956, and reiterated in the Soviet declaration of 30 October 1956. The results of the recent negotiations between Poland and the USSR provide further evidence of this trend.

157. All these facts confirm our conviction that there is no longer any possibility of a return to the old order in the countries of Eastern Europe, whether it be a return to what is termed "Stalinism"—save in the event of a grave deterioration of international relations—or a return to the previous régime. It should, of course, be understood that, in these countries, the peoples' demands for full national independence and a broad measure of social democracy are but two aspects of the same desire for social progress.

158. The weaknesses and shortcomings of what is called the "free world" are obvious. Serious weaknesses and shortcomings have also been revealed in the socialist camp. Once we discard the explanation, as convenient as it is misleading, that these difficulties are primarily due to foreign intrigues, several things become apparent.

159. First, there is an unmistakable movement for peace on both sides of any barrier separating different parts of the world, despite ideological or other divisions.

160. Secondly, no country with a particular social system or association of countries based on a similar system is thereby protected against internal difficulties and upheavals; this is particularly true of relations among the States concerned. In fact, although the problems of the two camps are naturally different, there are in both cases serious shortcomings in relations between States belonging to the same camp, in relations between the camps, and in the relations of the two camps with other countries. Moreover, these relations are not viewed correctly.

161. Thirdly, these relations cannot develop favourably unless they are based on progressive forces and processes.

162. For these reasons, the appeals and demands made in both camps for unity or internal solidarity are perforce illusory. Before such unity could be achieved, relations themselves would have to be modified in the direction of greater democracy. But that objective once attained, the resulting unity, which was previously artificial, would no longer have any point, because democratic relations would obviate the need for opposing blocs and camps. These would be replaced by peaceful competition and by joint action to maintain and strengthen peace.

163. It is for these reasons that I referred a short time ago to the crisis of certain policies. The moulds in which such policies have long been set are obviously cracking under the pressure of clearly marked trends towards coexistence and co-operation. It is therefore

no coincidence that the military alliances upon which the policy of blocs is based are undergoing a serious internal crisis. This crisis is solely due to the fact that the alliances and the policy are no longer adequate to cope with international problems.

164. In this new situation, the theory has been put forward that recourse to force in localized actions was feasible inasmuch as the threat of a general war was receding. We have seen that it is precisely such historically and politically unsound theories that have led to the present crisis and to renewed tension in international relations. The aggression against Egypt is an example as tragic as it is instructive. It has already been recognized in this connexion that, apart from the fate of the military action, the intervention was, politically, a complete failure.

165. From what I have just said, it is clear that I do not share the view of those who contend that the present crisis in international relations has vitiated the policy of coexistence. I believe that the contrary is true.

166. The main factors responsible for the favourable trend in international developments continue to operate. The fact that we have had a closer look at the face of a nuclear war does not make it any less terrifying. The general tendency towards greater interdependence and co-operation among all parts of the world, as well as the yearning of mankind for peace and security, have not weakened but, on the contrary, grown stronger. Neither the feasibility nor the necessity of coexistence and co-operation has been diminished. On the contrary, it is more than ever obvious today that they represent our only alternative to war. In the final analysis, it is our responsibility to ensure that this alternative is adopted.

167. We know that we are not alone in this view. Mr. Hoover, the United States representative, made the following statement from this rostrum a few days ago:

“Our goal must be a world in which nations and peoples can live side by side, whatever their internal political, economic and social systems, without fear and with real hope for self-fulfilment.” [581st meeting, para. 99.]

Mr. Shepilov, the Soviet Union representative, after rightly criticizing the theory of a balance of power among the great Powers armed to the teeth, emphasized that:

“What we need . . . is no temporary patching up of the edifice of peace, but a fundamental solution of the problems that agitate mankind.” [589th meeting, para. 97.]

Many other representatives have expressed similar views.

168. I may be told, of course, that words are not always borne out by deeds. But I also know that statements are binding, and that the greater the number of explicit statements, the harder it is to repudiate them. We realize that the great Powers will not readily give up the positions and privileges they hold in spite of the fact that the general course of development calls for such action. But we also know that, although they may only pay lip-service to the spirit and exigencies of the time, they little by little comply with its dictates in practice also. This does not mean that the other specific problems with which we were faced before the present crisis have been relegated to the background. Far from it.

169. Let us consider the problem of disarmament. Following a period marked by a substantial reconciliation of conflicting views, we appear to have reached another deadlock. In this connexion, I should like to make two observations.

170. First, my Government maintains the specific proposals it made in the Disarmament Commission [DC/92] providing for certain initial measures with respect to both conventional and nuclear weapons, together with the necessary system of control.

171. Secondly, the Government of the USSR has just made a new proposal [A/3366]. We urge that this proposal should be studied with the attention it deserves. We note with satisfaction that the United States representative has also drawn attention to some of its favourable aspects.

172. In view of the importance of the matter, I should like to emphasize my view that proposals of such importance should not be labelled as propaganda even before they have been considered. In order to achieve favourable results, we must agree to move from the abstract to the concrete, in other words, from the plan to its execution, from intention to action. Any specific solution proposed may present certain advantages or disadvantages for one of the parties concerned. In that case, other proposals—equally specific and detailed—should be made. However, we must recognize that we cannot continue indefinitely to appraise any specific plan for gradual disarmament in terms of the advantages we should like to obtain from the over-all balance of armed forces it would establish.

173. In other words, any plan, from whatever quarter it may emanate, must be judged in terms of its effect upon the strengthening of peace and not in terms of an inevitable war. We must remember, in this connexion, how at different times during a particular period each of the two large blocs considered the settlement of the Austrian problem a strategic defeat.

174. Among the urgent problems before us, I should like also to mention the removal of economic barriers and the increase of international trade, the development of under-developed countries, the project known as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, the International Atomic Energy Agency dealing with the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and the question of the universality of our Organization.

175. With regard to all these problems, my Government firmly adheres to the views it has expressed on many occasions. In the case of SUNFED, it was glad to note the favourable attitude taken a few days ago by the Soviet Union, one of the largest potential contributors. We hope that the United States will also take a favourable decision on this matter in the near future. Indeed, it is only through large-scale international co-operation under United Nations auspices that this problem of such vital importance to world peace can be solved.

176. Before concluding, I should like to emphasize that the United Nations has emerged from its recent ordeals with added stature and authority. It has become evident that where major international problems are involved the United Nations can no longer be disregarded, nor the principles of the Charter ignored. I wish to refer particularly to the active and most valuable role that Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, has played throughout, and even long before, the present crisis.

177. The principles I have just outlined will guide my delegation in its consideration of the items on the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. These principles are also at the root of our whole foreign policy, which is entirely aimed at safeguarding peace and strengthening international security and co-operation on the basis of the independence and sovereign equality of all States, in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

**Statement by the representative of France**

178. Mr. BROUSTRA (France) (*translated from French*): Mr. Fawzi, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, referred from this rostrum yesterday [597th meeting] to Press reports that French tanks had recently been landed at Port Said. As his sources for this information, Mr. Fawzi mentioned in particular the United Press and a British newspaper, the *Daily Herald*.

179. Mr. Krishna Menon then asked the Security Council immediately to get in touch with the French Government to obtain confirmation or denial of these reports.

180. I am very happy to be able to read to this Assembly the *communiqué* on the subject issued this

morning by the French Government. The text of the *communiqué* is as follows:

"The French Government did not deem it necessary to refute the article published yesterday in the British newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, according to which a French tank regiment had recently been landed at Port Said for the purpose of reinforcing the Allied military forces. The report was purely a figment of the imagination."

181. The General Assembly will certainly deplore the fact that the Egyptian representative apparently gave credence to a report of this kind at the risk of gravely misleading the Assembly. Such a procedure can only jeopardize the peaceful settlement which must be found in the Middle East.

182. Not only has there been no further landing of French forces at Port Said, but I am authorized to state that, following the arrival of the Norwegian detachment of the international Force, the French Command withdrew a company of infantry and a naval commando unit from Port Said and is preparing to withdraw another unit after the arrival of the Yugoslav detachment.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*