



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>).....	411
Speeches by Mr. Deressa (Ethiopia), Mr. Firoz Khan Noon (Pakistan), Mr. Shtylla (Albania), U Pe Kin (Burma) and Mr. Chávez Ortiz (Bolivia)	

President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
 (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. DERESSA (ETHIOPIA), MR. FIROZ KHAN NOON (PAKISTAN), MR. SHTYLLA (ALBANIA), U PE KIN (BURMA) AND MR. CHÁVEZ ORTIZ

1. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Many of us here present have lived through anxious hours in this very Assembly Hall during the emergency special sessions of the General Assembly, called at the beginning of November 1956 to consider the Suez and Hungarian crises. The problem of preserving world peace devolved finally on the Members of the General Assembly, owing to the clear inability of the Security Council, which under the Charter has the primary responsibility in the circumstances. The ultimate and overwhelming responsibility devolved upon us, the small nations of the world.

2. To the eleventh session has now fallen an inheritance of unparalleled importance—the mission of warding off the onset of a third world war. Under the circumstances, nearly four score nations of the world have expressed their confidence in Prince Wan Waithayakon by unanimously electing him as President to guide the deliberations of the sole body that can offer some hope for evolving a peaceful resolution of the threat that confronts us all. At no time in the history of the United Nations have the deliberations of the General Assembly been more heavily fraught with consequences for the future of the world than at this eleventh session. Prince Wan Waithayakon's election constitutes, therefore, a supreme tribute to the confidence, esteem and affection which he and his great people so universally enjoy.

3. I have just observed that present-day events stress the importance of the role of the Assembly in preserving world peace. Today, more than ever, it is essential that this Organization be universal in fact as well as in name. Only to the extent that it represents all continents, races, nations and philosophies can it operate as the conscience of mankind and the embodiment of justice.

4. As an African State Ethiopia cannot, therefore, but draw particular satisfaction from the admission to membership at the eleventh session of the Sudan, Morocco

and Tunisia. The events of the present hour underscore sufficiently, to make further comment unnecessary, the exceptional importance of the role which the States of the Middle East and of Africa, in particular, have to play in the preservation of peace and security. We cannot hope to fulfil those responsibilities or aspire to any lasting solutions for the problems relating to this area—problems surpassing in scope, depth and acuity all of those which in the history of this Organization have come previously before this Assembly—unless the peoples of this area are in a position to make their full contribution to the work of this Organization. The unanimity and celerity with which the Assembly proceeded to approve the admission of these three States testify, therefore, to the exceptional importance which the United Nations and, indeed the world, attach to their contributions in this critical hour.

5. And so it is that, in the name of the Ethiopian Government and its delegation to the eleventh Assembly, I wish to hail the admission of these three African States, Ethiopia's neighbours and friends. Throughout a period of several years my delegation has supported all measures designed to further the attainment by Morocco and Tunisia of membership of the United Nations. On the other hand, the impressively rapid achievement of independence by the Sudan—Ethiopia's closest neighbour and a State and people with whom we have ties not merely of friendship, but of sincere and brotherly affection—is a cause of deep and particular satisfaction, and indeed rejoicing, in Ethiopia. In this connexion, it may be recalled that my country was the first to exchange ambassadors with the new and independent State of the Sudan.

6. The Ethiopian delegation cherishes the hope that the United Nations may soon welcome as Members other territories of Africa on the road to independence, and in particular the Trust Territory of Somaliland, which now exists under United Nations Trusteeship. Its inhabitants have always been and always will be considered as brothers by the Ethiopian people. It is our hope that the Trust Territory may achieve its full independence on schedule in 1960. Propinquity and ties of race, culture, religion and history have called, and always will call, for our closest collaboration and association with that new State. Also, it is our hope that the eleventh session may mark the admission of Japan, that great nation with whom so many of us have ties of close friendship and for whose culture and attainments all of us have such deep admiration. Finally, it is unjust that, more than a decade after the close of the Second World War, Germany should now remain excluded from this Organization. Surely it is impossible without German representation and participation, either to claim universality for the Organization or to hope for any comprehensive contribution by the United Nations to the solution of European problems.

7. I have spoken up to the present in terms of the exceptional importance which the crises of the present

hour have given to the work of this Assembly and to the particular necessity for ensuring that this body should be as universal as possible in character. In substance, its importance and achievements are due essentially to the contributions of the small States of the world whose approach to problems is founded on considerations of justice and concern for an integral application of the principles of the Charter, an approach unbeset by the temptation to use force or threats of force, as is the case of States which have immense wealth and that panoply of armed forces and industrial strength which are its inevitable coefficients. I have already touched upon the importance of the contributions of the small States in the present crisis, and shall content myself here with remarking that the United Nations Emergency Force, dispatched to the Middle East, consists mainly of troops contributed by the small States of the Middle East and Europe.

8. Under such circumstances, it is important that the participation of small States in the work of the United Nations be placed on as universal a basis as possible. My delegation therefore sees great merit in the proposals by our colleagues from Latin America to increase representation in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the International Law Commission.

9. With the admission of Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco, the African-Asian group has become the largest single group of States in the United Nations, now totaling one-third of the Members. What is significant, however, is that they do not constitute a bloc of States whose votes may be influenced one way or another. Each question is judged on its merits, with the result that the members of the group do not vote as a bloc except where it is a question of defending the principles for which every single member of that group has suffered. The Bandung Conference of 1955 has indelibly marked our community of ideals. Not one of us has escaped the scars of imperialistic designs, and our histories have without exception been marked either by a painful rise to independence against overwhelming obstacles or by bitter and continuous struggles to maintain that independence, struggles which are still going on today—and are not least in Africa.

10. Today, that problem has come before the United Nations, in a clear and unmistakable form, as regards events in Europe and in Africa. We in the African-Asian group cannot but remain firmly united in our defence of those principles and in our resolve to ensure that they shall be respected throughout the world. It was in this sense that at the London Conference of the summer of 1956 the Middle Eastern States, including Ethiopia, joined with the Scandinavian countries in insisting that no solution of the Suez crisis could be found except one fully respecting the sovereignty and—to use the Charter's language in Article 2, paragraph 4—"the territorial integrity" of Egypt, reached with the full consent of Egypt, excluding all use of force or threat of force and with and within the United Nations itself.

11. As a member of the African-Asian group, Ethiopia feels that, as an inextricable part of the concept of "territorial integrity" and by virtue of the fact that the Suez Canal is recognized as an integral part of her territory, Egypt had the clear right to nationalize the Universal Suez Canal Company, subject to indemnification, indemnification which she had promised at the time. On the other hand, it should be remembered—and I am sure that my colleague from Egypt will agree in this—that Egypt has always recognized that there is an interna-

tional interest in the maintenance of the freedom of the Canal. The proposals of President Nasser enunciated in August and September 1956, with reference to the Constantinople Convention of 1888, the recent acceptance in the Security Council of six principles of settlement and now, the request which Egypt has just addressed to the Secretary-General with reference to the reopening of the Canal with United Nations assistance, leave no conceivable doubt on this score.

12. Indeed, we all have an interest in the freedom of the Canal, some it is true, more than others. For example Ethiopia warmly applauds the understanding reached with the Egyptian Foreign Minister, for the reopening of the Canal, since it can well be questioned whether the national economy of any Member of the United Nations, still less that of any other member of the continent of Africa—where the Canal after all is situated—stands to lose more than the national economy of Ethiopia, almost all of whose exports pass through the Canal. Yet, as we have said, Egypt has repeatedly emphasized her recognition of the international interest in the freedom of the Canal. Under these circumstances, the principle of respect for and defence of territorial integrity as applied to Egypt, is clear and vital in its application and challenge. The United Nations has been seized of the whole affair and the entire African-Asian community views with the utmost abhorrence all use or threat of use of force. No measure of force can, therefore, be reconciled either with the United Nations procedures already accepted, or the principle of territorial integrity so clearly enunciated in Article 2 of the Charter.

13. It was with these considerations in mind, that, at the first emergency special session, Ethiopia, along with other nations from the African-Asian group, sponsored two draft resolutions [A/3275, A/3308] and, at the current session, sponsored another [A/3385/Rev.1]. As I had occasion to state at the first emergency special session, the plain fact is that a clear case of a breach of the peace has taken place, and this Assembly is duty-bound to act with speed and determination. We all called upon the three invading States immediately to withdraw their forces. We acted with speed and determination in dispatching the United Nations Emergency Force so as to facilitate that immediate withdrawal and, with the Secretary-General, who has exerted every effort to carry out the will of the Assembly, have asked for, and, unfortunately, are still waiting for compliance by the three invading States with the will of the entire community of States. We must call upon them immediately to terminate this attack against the territorial integrity of Egypt and no longer to delay in withdrawing their forces.

14. It should be noted that Article 2 of the Charter refers to threats or use of force, not only against the territorial integrity, but also against the "political independence" of any State. Here again, the sad experiences of most members of the African-Asian group unite them solidly in resolute opposition to all forms of attack against, or interference with, their political independence and all violations of the principle of non-intervention. Unfortunately, that problem with which we, the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, have so long had to live, and for which we have so greatly suffered, has become a burning issue before this Assembly. I would not, at this time, enter into a discussion of this question, which has already been dealt with at great length in regard to certain areas of the world by the speakers who have preceded me. At this stage, I would draw the attention of

the Assembly merely to the fact that it would be failing in its duty were it to ignore the disturbing fact that the same problem now exists also in Africa, and that the United Nations cannot hope to maintain respect for the principles of non-intervention and of political as well as territorial integrity and independence in one part of the world, if it should allow them to be threatened or ignored, as they are, in another. The United Nations already stands on the threshold of grave dangers. It would be a disaster of the greatest magnitude to allow these dangers to spread or to become intensified.

15. Let us hope that the efforts which are now being made may be a vindication of the principles of the Charter and may lead to a universal acceptance and to a defence of the concept that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from threatening the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. The problem is not confined to Suez—it arises elsewhere, including the continent of Africa itself where such threats already exist and bode ill for the future. The nations of the world must unite to banish forever this threat from Suez, from the Middle East, from Europe and from Africa. It cannot be ignored wherever its menacing presence may become apparent.

16. The broader problem of Palestine which should not be forgotten in our preoccupation with the Suez question, has been raised by many delegations during the first emergency special session and the present session. I would wish at this time, merely to draw attention once again, as did my delegation last year at the tenth session, to the miseries of the Arab refugees and to the urgent necessity for avoiding any further prolongation of their hardships.

17. Finally, I would refer, briefly, to the problem of Africa as a whole. With great prescience and justification, the Secretary-General for some time has been directing the attention of the Organization to the necessity of finding some means of resolving the problems of the African continent. However, as he has pointed out, too little heed has been paid to them, with the result that the questions relating to that vast area are now multiplying at an almost uncontrollable rate. In this connexion it should be recalled that most of the Trusteeship problems of the Organization, including those concerning Non-Self Governing Territories, are related directly and exclusively to the African continent and its peoples. However, the problems concerning this continent are still wider in scope and, unless attention is directed to them, the capabilities of this Organization may become severely taxed. It is of the greatest importance that there should be a fundamental change of attitude towards the problems of Africa, not only in general, but also with reference to particular areas and States.

18. The representative of Brazil has stressed with eloquence the significance of economic factors as the principal cause of many, if not most, of the political problems facing the United Nations. In this connexion, I would commend to the particular attention of the General Assembly the incisive and stimulating chapters which the Secretary-General has devoted to this subject, especially to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, in his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization for the period 16 June 1955 to 15 June 1956 [A/3137].

19. First of all, I should like to make a few comments with regard to the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). It is important that we should not fail to press forward with the expansion of SUNFED and its programme, profiting by

the able and devoted work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, set up by the General Assembly [resolution 923 (X)] and composed of representatives of sixteen Governments.

20. As regards the technical assistance programme of the United Nations, it is the belief of my delegation that a useful beginning has been made, but that its achievements fall far short of reasonable expectations and that, not alone because of lack of funds, but also because of certain weaknesses in planning and execution which experience has brought to light.

21. The Ethiopian delegation expects to make specific suggestions in this connexion during the work of the Second Committee. I shall, therefore, confine myself for the moment to the following observations.

22. It would seem to me that, without in any way infringing on the sovereignty of the recipient States, the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) could adopt a more active, rather than passive, approach to the problems. Its large staff of highly qualified administrators and technicians, and the immense technical resources and personnel available to it, should enable the Technical Assistance Board to take greater initiative in making provisional determinations as to regional needs and the needs of individual countries. It should then be prepared to proceed to implement its programme in each country, following consultation with, and approval by, such country of the proposed programme. Each country must, of course, in the first place, be prepared itself to contribute what it can to the Fund and, secondly, to make suggestions as to programmes; but it seems clear to my delegation that if the United Nations wishes to assume responsibility in this field, it must show a greater degree of initiative and a clearer disposition to go ahead with the implementation of its own proposals, once they have received the approval of the particular country involved.

23. My second observation is closely related to the remarks which I have just made with respect to the economic causes of resentment on the part of the African peoples. The technical assistance programme applies at present to more than half of the Members of the United Nations. However, the attention paid to the African States Members of the Organization is quite disproportionate to the needs and problems involved.

24. Those independent States receive much less than any other group except the colonies, for which, of course, entirely separate sources of assistance are available; and yet, of the strictly African States Members, two-thirds have achieved their independence only within the last few years or months, and stand in the greatest need of assistance. A total allocation of less than \$2 million for these African States, or only 7 per cent of the budget for an area of such crucial importance can scarcely be conceived as approaching any level of adequacy. Some new thinking of the problems in terms of over-all planning is surely an urgent necessity.

25. Such are the problems, as my delegation sees them, that appear to be of the greatest significance at the present time. Before closing, however, I wish to refer briefly to certain of the achievements which the United Nations has to its credit during the last twelve months.

26. The future development of atomic energy, because of the present stupendous rate of progress and the infinite repercussions and implications which this new era involves for us all, is veiled in obscurity and weighed down, unfortunately for us all, with grave fears of the unknown. As I stated in the course of my remarks at

the 9th plenary meeting of the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, we are deeply aware of the promise of the future, but we are also apprehensive.

27. At that Conference the Ethiopian delegation stressed in particular the necessity of providing for a more universal representation within the Agency permitting a more adequate recognition of the contributions which the continent of Africa must, inevitably, make in this field. It is significant that the largest single source of uranium in the world today is located in Africa. The importance of Africa in the field of atomic energy is thus a reflection of the wider importance of that vast continent whose vital and surging forces can no longer be ignored. It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Ethiopian delegation, and to me personally, as representative of Ethiopia at the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, that that Conference was able to agree upon a Statute for the Agency and that the Statute is now ready for ratification by Members of the United Nations.

28. I do not wish to close without referring to the laudable achievements of the United Nations in the development, during the past year, of conventional international law and, in particular, to the efforts directed at evolving a definition of aggression, as well as the labours of the International Law Commission of the United Nations, particularly with respect to the high seas, the régime of the territorial sea and the rights and duties of States.

29. At no moment in the history of the United Nations have we had more reason to be at once hopeful and apprehensive; hopeful that our perseverance and faith in solutions evolved within the past fateful days may lead, finally, to an era of peace and brotherhood; apprehensive that faintness of heart, or possibly even success itself, may cause us to relax in our firm resolve at all times to stand for a rigorous and unwavering application of the principles of the Charter, wherever and whenever they may be invoked.

30. It is true that by force of circumstance the Security Council has been unable to act in the questions now before us. The responsibility for evolving solutions is now ours and must not be evaded on the theory that the General Assembly can only have recourse to empty recommendations. We have remained faithful to that duty. In our present endeavours, we are also sustained by the courageous and selfless statesmanship of our great Secretary-General. Surely there is cause for hope.

31. Let us now resolve that our present efforts shall mark a turning point in the history of the Organization and that those who come after us may declare that we have well served the cause, not of peace in our time, but of peace for the coming generations.

32. Mr. Firoz Khan NOON (Pakistan): It gives me great pleasure to address the General Assembly of this world organization with Prince Wan Waithayakon as President. In his person, he presents the great traditions of the East. His work at the United Nations over a long period of years does credit to him and to his country, with which my own is so happily associated in the pursuit of peace and mutual prosperity. Thanks and congratulations are due also to Mr. Maza, the representative of Chile, for his successful tenure of office as President.

33. For me personally to represent my country in this august Assembly for the first time is a matter of special satisfaction and honour. I had the privilege of serving as a representative at the San Francisco Conference in

1945. Ever since, I have watched with profound interest the expanding activities of this Organization and its efforts to promote peace and progress.

34. We are happy that nineteen more countries have been admitted to the United Nations. To all of them we offer a most cordial welcome. In particular, we are happy to see the representatives of Tunisia, Morocco and the Sudan sitting in this Assembly. With the struggle for independence of Tunisia and Morocco we were actively concerned and we rejoiced in their regaining their independence. With the evolution of the Sudan, we had the honour of being associated in its constitutional transition to full sovereignty. We earnestly hope that before long Japan and the other States that fully qualify under the Charter will also be admitted, so that this Organization will become truly universal, as it was always intended to be. With Japan we have most cordial relations and are anxious to see this great nation play its appropriate part in the world Organization.

35. In view of the enlargement of the membership of the United Nations, it is imperative that provision should be made for greater African-Asian representation on the Security Council. The Pakistan delegation is of the view that a mere redistribution of non-permanent seats on the Council would not serve the needs of the situation. An immediate expansion of the Council is called for. We welcome the initiative taken in this matter by a group of Latin-American States and trust that the great Powers will adopt a sympathetic attitude on this issue so as to permit of the smaller Powers taking a larger part in this most vital sphere of the activities of this Organization.

36. While asking for an increase in the number of non-permanent seats on the Security Council, my delegation is not in favour of increasing the number of permanent seats. The veto is already used far too often and in matters in which it should never be used. My delegation is of the opinion that the time is now ripe when we should give earnest and immediate consideration to a possible reduction in the number of members who can exercise the veto and the occasions on which it can be exercised by those who continue to be permanent members.

37. While we actively support the collaboration of States on a regional basis, as clearly permitted by the Charter, for the promotion of peace and economic development, we should look with apprehension on any development which might tend to divide the United Nations on a racial basis.

38. The principles underlying the Charter being the cornerstones of our foreign policy, we pursue with pacts and agreements, or without them, our ideals of friendship and association with other States that are similarly devoted to the promotion of peace and prosperity. Our collaboration with other countries of our region, our membership of groups and our alliance with the United States are founded on these basic ideals of our foreign policy. These have been reaffirmed by our Prime Minister recently when he said:

"Let me make it clear that we are anxious to be on friendly terms with all countries, and chiefly with our neighbours and our brother Muslims. I would lay down as a principle of our foreign policy: good-will towards all and malice towards none. I would seek the co-operation of all, and we shall contribute fully towards maintaining peace. We must abide by our pledged word and agreements. Let it be understood that we mean what we say; that our word is our bond."

39. Our arrangements and pacts with our neighbours and with other like-minded countries have sometimes been misunderstood and maligned. I take this opportunity to stress that the objective of these arrangements is collective security and economic collaboration, so well prescribed and sponsored by the United Nations Charter. In fact, we have spared no effort to emphasize in these agreements the bias for economic collaboration. We consider these efforts as a link in our chain of policies to develop our natural and human resources through our own effort in association with countries which are in a similar position to ours, and with the assistance of countries which are economically advanced and wish to assist us in our development.

40. Our participation in the Colombo Plan also is of this nature, and we are gratified at the sustained help and collaboration of our associates in this Plan. Here I must refer to the co-operation by the United States in our effort to raise the standard of living of our people. The programme of assistance, reconstruction and development undertaken after the Second World War by the people of this great country is unprecedented in history.

41. The primary task of the United Nations, in conformity with its Purposes and Principles, is the strengthening of international peace and security. At the moment, the general international situation is far from reassuring. Most disturbing is the situation in the Arab world caused by the Arab-Israel dispute. The primary responsibility for this dispute in our opinion rests upon those countries, which voted for the creation of the State of Israel. We have stated this repeatedly in the United Nations. Now the dispute has unfortunately taken the form of an open conflict and warfare. It is a tribute to the United Nations that the statesmanship and wiser counsels of its Members did, after all, succeed in bringing about the cessation of hostilities, and we have been delighted to see the United Nations acting with swiftness and determination. But that is not enough. It is much more important to find a just, an upright and a permanent solution of all issues which lead to such conflicts. The Arab refugee problem and the continued existence of Israel are the greatest dangers to peace. Israel, an area which, from a mere home for the Jews, has grown into a full-fledged State, has been guilty of constant aggression and expansion with the help of those who created this ulcer in the heart of Arab lands. If we want a permanent solution, this recognition of Israel must be withdrawn.

42. When the great Powers, as in Egypt, are amongst the violators, the task of the United Nations becomes very difficult. But it has been proved on this occasion that the United Nations is now capable of undertaking and enforcing a peaceful solution of any dispute, if we have the will to do our duty.

43. This consideration applies equally to the Hungarian situation. The situation in that country is most poignant. Those who have been struggling in the cause of freedom in that country have already undergone heart-rending misery and suffering. The United Nations must consider how it can move quickly to bring not merely aid and relief, but also to achieve the desired objective for all people in similar circumstances, wherever this struggle may be waged.

44. Hungary is not an isolated case, though at the moment the most striking instance of its kind. These are crucial tests for this Organization. They call for earnest and resolute action.

45. In our efforts to bring about a peaceful and a negotiated settlement of the Suez Canal question, we did not hesitate to take a realistic attitude. We stood up for the legal and sovereign rights, and for the dignity and legitimate aspirations of Egypt. We recognized the need for the free flow of world trade, commerce and economic collaboration, in the larger interest of world peace and prosperity. Consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter and with our avowed policy to settle international disputes by peaceful means, we deplore the recent development in the Middle East and condemn the unprovoked aggression by three States, an aggression which cannot be justified, whether it was launched to settle the Canal dispute or to stop the spreading of subversion and insecurity in the Arab world and other colonies. We are strongly of the opinion that the rule of law and international justice must prevail, and that the resolutions of this Assembly concerning evacuation of all foreign troops and Canal clearance must be implemented at once. This duty now devolves on the Secretary-General; and we are confident that he will discharge his responsibility immediately.

46. We are deeply concerned about the tragic happenings in Algeria, of whose claim to freedom Pakistan is a staunch supporter. If wiser counsels do not prevail and the forces of repression that have been let loose in North Africa are not checked, the whole of that area will be submerged under chaos and anarchy. In respect of several of these grave situations, this Organization in the past has stood aside helplessly and watched the situation grow worse. My delegation feels that in addition to giving clear directives to the parties concerned in such situations, the United Nations should bring into play its resources of reconciliation, clearly enunciated in its Charter.

When conditions arise which call for correction, but are not corrected without loss of time, the elements of a conflict begin to accumulate. Unless these causes are removed or are remedied in time, a conflict becomes inevitable. We regret to find that when it is a question of the settlement of an issue between countries unequal in size and strength, the settlement is seldom achieved through direct negotiations. This naturally gives an opportunity to the wrongdoers to consolidate their wrongful positions.

48. In violation of its commitments to the Security Council, India has recently, through a hand-picked Assembly at Srinagar—sitting under severely repressive conditions—been seeking what is virtually the annexation of Kashmir. If the people of Kashmir want to belong to India, why do they not have a free plebiscite? There are ten Presidents of the Plebiscite Front in gaol, along with a large number of other Kashmir patriots, who oppose integration with India. Today there are at least fifty battalions of the Indian Army occupying that small country. The failure of the Council to resolve the deadlock that has blocked all progress towards the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir has not served to strengthen the authority or to enhance the prestige of the United Nations. My country has made continued efforts, through reference to this world Organization and in full accord with its decisions and recommendations, to settle our dispute over Kashmir with our neighbour India. It is not a case where there is any difference of opinion about what it is. On that there is complete unanimity. It is a case, unfortunately, of one of the parties concerned arbitrarily obstructing the course of justice enjoined by the consensus of opinion in the United Nations. There the matter stands, mock-

ing and challenging the principles of the Charter to which every single Member of this august Assembly is pledged. I cannot but express our keen disappointment, both with the attitude of India and the inaction of this world Organization in the settlement of this dispute.

49. I believe that if the United Nations could abolish the fear of war, many nations would be able to spare money for economic development. Pakistan is spending 70 per cent of its budget on its defence forces. India is spending the same percentage on her armed forces, which means four times our expenditure. Small nations could cut down this expenditure if it were established that the United Nations would go to war in their defence.

50. It is interesting to note the striking resemblance between the agenda of the first session of the General Assembly and the present one. Curiously enough, both stress the problem of atomic energy and reduction of armaments, not to mention a score of lesser issues which have been discussed year after year. While many of those have not yet been finally disposed of, the record of some shows spectacular success.

51. The one issue before the General Assembly which relates to the basic purposes of the United Nations is disarmament. This aim, which is also the paramount purpose of the United Nations Charter, was written into the Atlantic Charter at a time when the secrets of the atom were still obscure. Scientists have since made tremendous strides and the atom has now thrown a challenge, both as an agent of destruction and as a means of increasing development and prosperity.

52. I confine myself here to the effect which the atom's dominion over our consciousness had in the field of international diplomacy and on our tackling of the problem of disarmament. That problem has now been under discussion for more than ten years, but agreement has eluded the statesmen working on it. At the same time, the most sceptical among us would have to admit that the gap between positions has considerably narrowed. My delegation fervently hopes that this gap will be bridged. It has to be bridged because the alternative is too frightful to contemplate. Human beings may lack many virtues, but the instinct of self-preservation is strong as a motive force in our actions.

53. Not less important in our programme of economic development and social progress is the contribution made by the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations and its allied agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund. Under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, a large number of experts are engaged in Pakistan in activities designed to raise production, improve means of transport and communications, raise health and education standards and develop water resources. In East Pakistan, the United Nations experts are working usefully on the Ganges-Kobadak project for irrigation, navigation and power.

54. My delegation is convinced that the establishment of a food reserve is urgently needed to provide assurance, in time of emergency, of an adequate stock of food to prevent distress as well as shortages caused by scarcity. In our opinion, it is necessary to devise a method by which a country may procure food grains to meet a shortage in any one year, without upsetting for that year or the following years its programme of economic development, which would be upset if it had

to use its limited foreign exchange resources for importing food. Asian countries could be helped to become self-supporting in food if some of the foreign aid were given in the shape of modern aids to agriculture—for example, tractors. Part of the cultivable land—already much partitioned into small holdings—which at present is given to raising fodder for the oxen would, with the help of tractors, be able to produce much needed food grains. The tractors could be worked on a co-operative basis. Each cultivator could easily afford to pay the hire. Thousands could be purchased privately if we had the foreign exchange. There is no doubt that the position would be the same in many Asian countries.

55. The first step toward solving economic and social problems is to understand their implications. We attach great importance, therefore, to the studies that have been or are being undertaken by the United Nations Secretariat and the Regional Economic Commissions at the request of the Economic and Social Council and other United Nations bodies. The problems that are under study include such questions of paramount interest, not only to Pakistan but to all economically backward areas, as the study for the stabilization of commodity prices, whose fluctuations on the world market would work havoc on our economy. The American accumulated surpluses of cotton are an example. The United Nations technical assistance, loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and advice and assistance from the International Monetary Fund have been an integral part of our economic planning, particularly in the field of agriculture and industry. We record our thanks to their administrations at Headquarters, as well as to their representatives serving in our country.

56. We look forward to the International Finance Corporation for the flow of foreign investment to our country, for which Pakistan's laws and Pakistan's tax structure provide encouragement and lasting and profitable employment. We hope that the other similar project of the SUNFED, which has an even greater and more profitable role to play in this field, will materialize soon. We are optimistic in this respect, particularly when we see how speedily the United Nations has realized the importance of economic development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and how fully nations have collaborated in bringing to fruition the plan put forward in the General Assembly on 8 December 1953 by President Eisenhower [470th meeting]. We are gratified with the results of the United Nations conference which has recently concluded by inaugurating this International Atomic Energy Agency for the peaceful uses of the atom. We look forward to the assistance this Agency will provide in the production of power for industry and in the improvement of agriculture and medicine. Cheap electricity, in my opinion, is a great key to Asian prosperity.

57. We have realized that, in international efforts to prevent war, it is necessary also to encourage and foster social progress and respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have also realized that it is not an easy task and that many hurdles to social progress remain to be overcome. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done. Progress on the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights was slowed down by controversy. This year, however, we adopted the Convention on Slavery which brings up to date the older Convention of 1926 and is a positive achievement.

58. The General Assembly's prompt action in setting up the United Nations Emergency Force encourages my delegation in the hope that without undue delay the International force envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter will be established on a permanent basis for enforcing the rule of law in all international disputes. Even though this permanent international force may not be stronger than the national armed forces, its moral force, with the backing of the whole civilized world, would be an effective deterrent to any potential aggressor. This international force, comprising for the present the units made available to the United Nations by the armed forces of Member States under General Assembly resolution 377 (V), should eventually be recruited and paid for by this Organization and located, under its own commanders, in various strategic areas of the world. The principles which I want to commend to your attention are not novel. Men and nations have sworn by them for ages, but defied them in their practical conduct. These principles have been expounded and acclaimed in this very forum. These principles are no other than the rule of law and justice among nations. In my country, as in any other, the people have believed in and looked to the United Nations as the impartial upholder of the supremacy of law and justice. Unless nations, big or small, which constitute the United Nations, are prepared to work for this end fairly and fearlessly, the future of the world will remain bleak, and the small and the weaker nations will remain subject to the tyranny of the strong.

59. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (*translated from French*): In participating for the first time in the Assembly's general debate, which is held at each session, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania wishes to emphasize that its Government holds the United Nations in high regard, that it respects the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and believes in the possibility of making the United Nations "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends" of peace, friendship and co-operation. Although the People's Republic of Albania was for ten years unjustly refused admission to the United Nations, it has respected and supported the Charter in all its activities as a free and peaceful country. Now that it has been admitted, the Albanian Government hopes that its contribution to the cause of peace by the side of other Member States will be all the more effective.

60. With the President's permission I should like to outline briefly my Government's policy and its attitude to some of the main problems before this session. That policy is dictated by the vital interests of the People's Republic of Albania, which are inseparable from the interests of peace. The Albanian people are well known throughout their long history, for having fought the foreign invader and shed their blood for freedom and independence without ever surrendering.

61. During the Second World War, Albania was one of the first victims of Fascist aggression: the country was invaded first by Fascist Italy and later by Nazi Germany. Already on 7 April 1939, the Albanian people had taken up arms against the aggressors; at the price of exceptionally heavy sacrifices, they fought side by side with the other Allied peoples until victory against the common enemy was achieved. They liberated their country and put a people's democracy into power, thus becoming masters of their fate. It is only now that Albania is truly a free, independent and sovereign country.

62. On this twenty-ninth day of November, the Albanian people are celebrating their national holiday, the twelfth anniversary of their liberation from Hitlerite occupation. In the course of this relatively short time, profound changes have occurred in Albania. Thanks to the persistent toil of its people and the very valuable and disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and other peoples' democracies, Albania, once a backward agrarian country, has developed both its agriculture and its industry. At the time of its liberation, 85 per cent of the people were illiterate; today, there are no illiterates under forty years of age; the number of schools has increased fourfold, and the first university, comprising six higher institutes with seventeen faculties, has been founded. The number of health establishments has increased from nine to 400.

63. I have mentioned these facts to explain the deep interest of the Albanian people and their Government in the maintenance of international peace and security. Despite our achievements, a great deal remains to be done to make the life of our people happier and more beautiful. That is why we consider peace the most precious possession, and an indispensable condition for the building of our country. That is why all my Government's efforts in international affairs tend towards peace; they are inspired by a policy of peace and friendship among peoples which corresponds to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

64. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania recognizes and supports the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence, considering them a solid foundation for sincere and fruitful relations between countries, irrespective of their social system. On the basis of these principles, it has established diplomatic relations with twenty countries and commercial exchanges with an even greater number of nations, and it is ready and willing to establish normal relations with every country desiring this. The People's Republic of Albania has never intervened and does not now intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries, just as it does not wish or tolerate interference by others in its own affairs.

65. The Albanian Government has always desired relations of friendship, co-operation and good neighbourliness with adjacent countries, and it has always acted accordingly. The restoration of normal relations with the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia corresponds to the traditional friendship between our two peoples and their vital interests. My country maintains normal relations with Italy, and it desires to have such relations also with Greece in the common interest of the two countries and of peace in the Balkans.

66. Recently, the People's Republic of Albania established diplomatic relations with certain other countries, such as India, Egypt, Finland and Austria. We think that we should expand our friendly relations in the economic and cultural fields.

67. The Albanian Government has welcomed the liberation and independence of such friendly countries as the Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia and their admission to the United Nations. The Albanian people has traditional links of friendship with the Arab peoples and with all the peoples of the Near East and the Middle East. The Albanian Government feels it would be desirable to renew and consolidate these friendly links for the common good and for the cause of peace.

68. With the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other peoples' democracies, the People's Republic of Albania maintains very close relations of

friendship and multilateral co-operation, founded on the just principles of equality, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of non-interference and fraternal co-operation and assistance. In the future too, my country is resolved to develop and consolidate these friendly relations, which represent an element of prime importance for the safeguarding of its independence and future development.

69. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania is participating in the Assembly's work for the first time at a moment difficult for international relations and for the United Nations itself, a moment when the unprovoked aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against peaceful Egypt has caused deep and justified concern among all the peoples and endangered peace.

70. Only recently, thanks to the energy and the co-ordinated efforts of various countries—including the socialist countries to which much of the credit in this evolution is due—the dominant features of the international situation were a certain slow but steady relaxation, and the tendency to solve international problems by peaceful means. The Geneva meeting of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers which met in Geneva in 1955, aroused great hopes in the hearts of peoples; it dissipated the sombre clouds which had gathered for ten years on the horizon as a result of the "cold war" and of the policy of a "position of strength". The spirit of Geneva became a symbol of a new atmosphere in international relations, in which predominated the efforts to establish understanding and confidence between States with different systems, to establish and develop relations between countries in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and of the United Nations Charter. A number of events which occurred during that brief period bear eloquent witness that the policy originating in Geneva was a practical policy in harmony with the interests of all peoples. New prospects emerged favorable to peace and international co-operation, new hopes were born to free humanity from the heavy burden of the armaments race and from the nightmare of a third world war.

71. But this positive outlook in the evolution of the international situation was brutally changed by the concerted aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt. Suddenly, a new and very grave situation was created: peace was broken, a free, peaceful Member of the United Nations was attacked and invaded; towns like Port Said and Gaza were heavily damaged, thousands of innocent Egyptian citizens, including women and children, were massacred. The aggression against Egypt has caused universal revulsion and cannot be allowed to go unpunished.

72. Why did the United Kingdom, France and Israel attack Egypt? I do not wish to go very deeply into the problem, which has been amply debated and analysed, but will confine myself to a few observations. In the eyes of the aggressors, Egypt was guilty of wishing to live in freedom and sovereign independence, of having the audacity to declare its opposition to colonialism. Colonialists, however, hate free peoples, that is why the attack was made. The Albanian people have full sympathy with the just cause and the heroic resistance of their friends, the Egyptian people. The United Kingdom and France resented the nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company by Egypt, because that legitimate action of a sovereign State violated their imperialist interests. Other Western countries took the same attitude in this affair. It is common knowledge

that they made many joint attempts to intimidate Egypt and deprive it of its sovereign rights over the Suez Canal by various means, such as the Dulles plan, the Suez Canal Users Association, etc. But Egypt held firm. It had justice and right on its side. It administered the Canal and ensured free navigation in accordance with the 1888 Constantinople Convention.

73. The question came up before the Security Council, where unanimous agreement was reached on six principles which were to serve as a basis for the settlement of the dispute. Why did the United Kingdom and France disregard these principles, choosing the path of aggression? Why did they violate the Charter which lays down that "all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force"?

74. The facts prove that the aggression in Egypt was intended not only for the seizure of the Suez Canal, but was part of a vast plot against the independence of Egypt and the other Arab countries, against the peace and freedom of nations. The indomitable Egyptian people, with the moral support of all peaceful peoples, stopped the aggressors. There can be no doubt that they will achieve victory because their cause is just. The critical situation created in the Near East and the Middle East by the aggression against Egypt is now threatening the independence of other Arab countries. A vast political and military propaganda campaign is in full swing against Syria. Public opinion is rightly alarmed and demands that the aggressors should be stopped in time.

75. The Albanian delegation has already clearly defined its Government's position on the question of the aggression against Egypt. We support Egypt's just cause and its resistance to aggression. We believe that the United Nations must display energy, that it must end aggression against Egypt by compelling the forces of invasion to evacuate Egyptian territory completely and without delay, so as to restore peace in the Near East and eliminate the danger of war which is threatening us.

76. In their statements before the General Assembly, certain representatives ventured to establish comparisons and analogies between the Anglo-French-Israel aggression in Egypt and the events in Hungary, indulging in various kinds of slander. I have no intention of reverting to this matter, which is already quite clear. I merely wish to say that if any connexion between the two events is looked for, it exists in the fact that they can both be traced to a common source, i.e., the reactionary Western groups, known to be hostile to the freedom of nations, whether they be the nations marching forward on the road to socialism or those which have shaken off the colonial yoke.

77. The aggression against Egypt was to open the way for the subjugation of the free peoples of the East and for the crushing of the Algerians, Cypriots and other subject peoples engaged in the fight for their freedom. The counter-revolutionary *putsch* at Budapest was to overthrow the people's power in Hungary and restore the Fascist Horthy régime, creating a Fascist State, a hotbed of war in the centre of Europe. Thus, the two events are linked as parts of one plot. In addition, the events in Hungary were certainly intended by their organizers to serve as a cloak for their aggression in Egypt, which explains the staggering propaganda effort displayed with regard to them and also certain attempts to use the United Nations for this purpose.

78. There can be no doubt that, after the events of Egypt and Hungary, the peoples will show increased vigilance in defence of their freedom and their achievements, preventing a return to Fascism or colonialism. The initial words of the United Nations Charter are these:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind—"

I venture to recall these words to emphasize that, although the international situation has seriously deteriorated owing to the aggression against Egypt, we should remember that the United Nations was created to meet a historic need of the peoples in their struggle against Fascism and to guarantee international peace and security after the victory.

79. The peoples place their hopes in the United Nations and ask the United Nations to understand, and work for the realization of, their fundamental aspirations. We have arrived at an epoch when war is not inevitable, when humanity may remove this scourge. We are entitled to hope that the United Nations will act more effectively in future for this end. In our delegation's view, it should be remembered that the United Nations was not set up to be an organization of countries representing the same system and that it is not, in fact, such a body, but on the contrary an organization of all Member States irrespective of their social or political system.

80. We also think that the United Nations will be of limited effectiveness as long as the great People's Republic of China is debarred from its legitimate place in our Organization to the detriment of peace and international co-operation. As a result of this absurd attitude which is harmful to the prestige and cause of the United Nations, the 600 million inhabitants of China constituting a fourth of humanity, are still unrepresented. The People's Republic of China is a great world Power whose influence in international relations is indisputable and increasing from day to day. It must be plain that no international problem of any importance can be effectively settled without participation of the People's Republic of China. We are convinced that by her presence in this body, China could make a substantial contribution to the defence of peace and increase the efficiency and authority of the United Nations.

81. The agenda of the present session of the General Assembly is in itself an eloquent reflection of the important problems before the United Nations and the various peoples of the world. Several of these problems relate to international security, to the freedom of peoples still languishing under colonial domination, or still placed under the Trusteeship System which, in our view, cannot be continued indefinitely. Particular attention should be given to economic and social problems, especially to economic co-operation and trade. When these problems are considered, the Albanian delegation will seek to make its modest contribution in the spirit of the policy of peace and friendly co-operation pursued by its Government.

82. At the present stage, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the fundamental questions are disarmament and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. For years the United Nations has been concerned with this problem, but unfortunately no result, no agreement has been achieved so far. The armaments race constitutes a heavy burden

on world economy and a danger to peace. The nations wish to live in tranquillity, without fear of the morrow and to enjoy life; that is why they are opposed to war and the armaments race, to military blocs and to the so-called "brink of war" policy.

83. In the new atmosphere created by the Geneva meeting, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania reduced its armed forces by 9,000 men. The Soviet Union and other peaceful countries also reduced their military strength, and it would be desirable for other countries to do likewise.

84. The Soviet Government recently made a number of new proposals to rescue the disarmament problem from stagnation. The Albanian Government fully supports the new Soviet initiative, which it regards as a very important step towards agreement on this vital question. Humanity would welcome with enthusiasm an agreement between the great Powers on the problem of disarmament and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons as the beginning of a new phase in international relations. Our delegation expresses the hope that the other great Powers will display the same goodwill as the Soviet Union and that the present session of the General Assembly, which has begun in an atmosphere of gloom, may conclude by an agreement on the most important problem of our epoch.

85. We think that atomic energy, that brilliant invention of human genius, should serve only to improve and embellish the life of men, and not to destroy. We wish to see that newly founded International Atomic Energy Agency respond to the hopes of the nations for a peaceful use of this energy.

86. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania reaffirms its support of the efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe, which would certainly have a very favourable influence on all international relations.

87. In the field of economic co-operation, we favour the expansion of trade relations on a basis of equality and mutual advantage, without discrimination or artificial obstacles. With the growth of its economy, Albania is progressively expanding its trade with the various countries. It has supported the efforts of the Economic Commission for Europe; and the world economic conference proposed by the Soviet delegation would, in our view, make an effective contribution to the expansion of world trade and international co-operation.

88. In conclusion, let me express the hope that the work of the present session of the General Assembly will effectively contribute to a restoration of peace in the Near East, and the elimination of the threat of war and that it will bring the peoples closer together on the road of peace and friendship.

89. UPEKIN (Burma): We are keenly aware that we are meeting in one of those periodic crises in world affairs which deeply affects all nations and peoples. We must also be aware that the very existence and activity of the United Nations during this crisis amply demonstrates its worth. I do not wish, even in imagination, to contemplate what might have happened in its absence. Certainly we know that the scourge of a third world war ominously loomed on the horizon, but is now receding. Perhaps we have learned a lesson which, by paraphrasing a famous dictum, we can take to heart: if the United Nations had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent it, for all nature and, I add, humanity cried out for it.

90. We, the Southeast Asians, have the normal quota of satisfied pride when a citizen of our own nation, or when a distinguished representative from among our neighbours, is honoured by this Assembly. On this occasion, I have a double reason for my quota of pride. The General Assembly has elected Prince Wan Waithayakon as the presiding officer of this historic eleventh session, and, at the same time, in the same person has elected my friend from Thailand. During the years I was posted to Bangkok, Prince Wan Waithayakon ably and graciously filled the post of Foreign Minister. I am sure that I speak for many here and abroad when I say that we are indeed fortunate to have him as our President during this session of the Assembly.

91. Further, we are indeed indebted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and for the unflagging devotion of that new creation of our times, a dedicated corps of international civil servants, capable of harmoniously reconciling national patriotism and supranational service.

92. This leads me to offer, on behalf of my Government, a word of welcome to the nineteen Governments whose admission to this Organization will further contribute to its efficacy. As the United Nations proceeds to exemplify the principle of universal membership in its corporate structure, it is thereby strengthened. My Government endorses that principle. It believes that all sovereign nations are equally eligible for membership in this body. This principle does not necessarily carry with it endorsement of the type of government which any nation adopts. Custom and law are inherently the privilege of any sovereignty, and, in fact, help to constitute such sovereignty. Since the United Nations is an order of sovereign nations aiming to serve the peace, to safeguard one country against invasion by another, and to better the lives of all peoples, it seems to us that the number of the Members of the United Nations should equal the number of sovereign States existing in our one world.

93. It is in the light of this principle of universal membership in the United Nations that my Government supports the representation of the People's Republic of China, the admission of Japan and of all other sovereign Governments not yet admitted to membership. We cannot conceive how the area called Asia, the great continent of which Europe is but a peninsula, can be truly represented in our deliberations if these great Powers of Asia are not represented here.

94. It is our hope, therefore, that even those nations which do not wish to establish bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China or with Japan or with any other country will speedily accept the principle of universal membership and representation for the United Nations. It is no argument to say that because some nation was once condemned by the United Nations, it should therefore for evermore be denied entrance to our Organization. It is rare indeed for any nation so to act as to avoid the disapproval of some nations or group of nations sometime in history. We cannot escape the consequences of the past, but we cannot permit the past to continue to rule the present and necessarily to condition the future.

95. I said at the outset of my remarks that we are meeting during one of those periodic crises which deeply affect all nations and all peoples. Since the Suez Canal issue arose this past summer, our minds have been constantly preoccupied with the affairs of the Middle East. This interest is not one solely of sentiment, though sentiment is surely involved. We are

acutely aware of the fact that the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of 1869 marked a new period in the relations between Europe and the East—not that we of the East have always received the benefit of this Western enterprise.

96. But, be that as it may, the Suez Canal, historically and contemporaneously, is a most important highway for our international commerce and trade. Accompanying our interest, we must unreservedly recognize that the Suez Canal courses through Egypt's territory; that it is Egypt's right to nationalize the operating company; that it is Egypt's duty also to abide by the conventions and agreements which open the Canal to all countries as users of the Canal. In this connexion, the Government of Egypt has solemnly reaffirmed its obligations under the Constantinople Convention of 1888 regarding the freedom of passage through the Canal. Up to the time its territory was invaded by Anglo-French troops, there had been no violation in respect of those obligations. In other words, Egypt had not given any provocation in that respect. We cannot, therefore, see any justification for any intervention, armed or otherwise, by any Power in order to ensure its interests in the Canal. If there had been any violation of the conventions and agreements, in the way in which Egypt ran the Canal, the proper registration of such violation, the proper action on such violation, belongs in the first place to the United Nations.

97. Nothing has been gained, in fact, much has been lost—lives, property, friendly relations, encouragement of unprincipled intervention into the affairs of small Powers by big Powers—since the United Kingdom and France militarily intervened in Egypt. I do not link the issue of Israel's war against Egypt to the Suez issue. Israel has said it was in danger of being attacked, but my Government cannot condone a so-called "preventive war" and must condemn Israel for resorting to this in order to advance its cause. Preventive wars are never preventive. Wars are wars.

98. What I have here said with respect to the Middle East situation applies equally to the Middle Europe situation. The armed intervention of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Hungary cannot be condoned and must be condemned. The Hungarians must be left free to shape their own destiny.

99. In referring to the news of the cease-fire in Egypt, I said in this Assembly on 7 November 1956: "We welcome the fact that some measure of sanity has finally returned [to our friends]." [567th meeting, para. 93.] No small aspect of that measure of sanity in the Middle East situation has come about by the wide acceptance for the first time in modern history of an international police force, now officially termed the United Nations Emergency Force, subject not to national sovereignty but to this very body. My Government, along with several others, has offered a military unit to this Force. It did so not because it likes the idea of a police force in the present situation but because it sees in the mere existence of this new arm of the United Nations yet another instrument by which it can keep the peace and better establish a new and firm peace. We count such gains as precious items in building a spirit and a will transcending the necessary though limited boundaries of national sovereignty. Thus the United Nations Emergency Force is a major step toward sanity.

100. Thus far I have been talking about the crises which have engaged all our attention and our energies for approximately these past four weeks. I now wish

to comment on certain other issues which could easily become critical if no solutions are found for them.

101. As representatives may know, Burma is a member of the Trusteeship Council. Its representatives in that body have undertaken their responsibility fully committed to the principle set forth in the United Nations Charter concerning equal rights and self-determination of peoples. This principle governs our action in promoting self-government and in securing the independence of all countries whose people desire the one or the other. In 1954 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in its annual publication *Issues Before the Ninth General Assembly* said:

"The 'club-like atmosphere' which prevailed in the Trusteeship Council for some years has been disturbed in recent months. The time is close at hand when decisions will have to be made concerning the future of several Trust Territories."

Obviously it was healthy for the world that the "club-like" atmosphere be disturbed. And, what was "close at hand" in 1954 is closer at hand in 1956.

102. According to the *Population and Vital Statistics Reports* of April 1956 published by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, approximately 24 per cent of 632 million of the world's population have achieved self-government or independence since the Second World War. Another 45 million are destined for self-government and independence. But this leaves more than 100 million people living in lands under alien political domination. They represent part of the magnitude of the task before us. The *communiqué* issued by the Prime Minister of Burma, U Ba Swe, and his colleagues of India, Ceylon and Indonesia on 14 November 1956 at New Delhi, called attention to the prevailing modes of colonialism. These modes vary in North Africa, in the Middle East, in Middle Europe and in Asia. But essentially all the Prime Ministers expressed their concern at "the revival of the spirit and methods of colonialism" and their determination "to resist any resurgence of colonialism whatever form it may take".

103. Not all the questions of colonialism arise in the Trusteeship Council. Obviously the special emergency sessions of the United Nations General Assembly have dealt with both varieties of this dread political disease. My Government sincerely hopes that this Assembly will speed the time-table of self-government and independence which the Trusteeship Council applies. Also it is hoped that the Assembly will see fit to consider the worsening and deteriorating relations affecting respectively France and Algeria and the Netherlands and Indonesia. Perhaps discussion here will convince the democratic Government of France that it might wisely extend full democracy, an unequivocal choice, to the Algerians. And the discussion might convince the democratic Government of the Netherlands that when it "quits" an area which it had conquered by arms and trade more than three centuries ago it is better to quit it fully, unequivocally. Once the Government of the Netherlands removes the thorn of West Irian, it can then voluntarily renew the ancient ties between Indonesia and itself. I venture to predict that such ties will become stronger and more friendly in direct proportion to the withdrawal from West Irian—or become even worse than they are now if the Netherlands unwarrantedly remains in this ancient portion of the Indonesian Archipelago.

104. There are two other matters remaining for brief comment. My Government initially welcomed the atoms-

for-peace proposal first put forward by President Eisenhower. It is indeed gratified to note the progress already made. It looks forward to the actual operation of the atoms-for-peace organization, whose existence and structure are now being practically shaped, and whose actual functioning may be expected in mid or late 1957. In conjunction with the eighty nations whose energies brought this to pass, my Government wishes to express its hope that cheap atomic power, available curative atomic radiology and other uses of the fission and fusion of the atom—these contributions of science—may soon confer their bounties on the majority of the world's population who, in fact, need them.

105. Finally, my Government wishes to express its appreciation of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. We continue to benefit from it and from the continuing work of the specialized agencies, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We look forward to the new operation of the International Finance Corporation. It is, to us, another illustration of the way in which a world economy with serious imbalance may be upgraded. Since we regard any upgrading in any national economy as a potential, if not actual improvement in the world economy, we therefore believe that the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, the specialized agencies, the Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation build both a productive structure and an infrastructure which necessarily contribute to all nations. It is yet another example of the well established point that one's self interest is frequently served by having a just regard for the interest of others. To round out this assemblage of institutions for mutual aid my Government heartily joins some forty-six other Governments who have announced their support for SUNFED, that is, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. The wry joke used to be made that the SUNFED is for the unfed, with the implication that it benefits only the "have-not", impoverished nations.

106. Perhaps it may be fitting for me to end my remarks at this point with a brief quotation. We, the representatives of seventy-nine countries who are seated here, and the countries whose delegations should or shall eventually be here—"we are members one of another". Until we realize that on this earth, we shall have no true peace.

107. Mr. CHAVEZ ORTIZ (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the Bolivian delegation I wish to congratulate Prince Wan Waithayakon upon his election to this high office, which he so richly deserves.

108. We are meeting in this eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly at so critical a juncture in world affairs that we are moved to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations, whose purpose it is to maintain the peace and security without which the Governments represented here would find it impossible to ensure the well-being of their peoples.

109. For that reason, collective security will have to be our main and continuing concern. The world yearns for the day when people will be able to live free from the fear of war and aggression and from any threat of foreign intervention in their domestic affairs. Unfortunately, our concern is today rendered more acute by the position taken by those who invaded Egyptian territory, and those who violated the fundamental principle of non-intervention by interfering in the internal affairs of the people of Hungary. Those events, on

which the attention of the Member States of this international Organization is concentrated, impel the under-developed countries, more particularly, to take joint action for the protection and safeguarding of the fundamental rights enshrined in Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Charter.

110. When I say that the preservation of those rights is of particular concern to the countries that are in the early stages of industrialization, I have in mind the fact that only if we have a clear understanding of the effectiveness and objectives of collective defence applied through the United Nations, can those rights be safeguarded. The great Powers are capable of defending themselves and it is only the small nations that run the risk of aggression or illegal intervention. The General Conference to review the Charter which is to be convened in due course, will have to make a careful study of Chapter VII with a view to strengthening the measures provided for dealing with threats to the peace or acts of aggression. Such acts could be halted immediately, if provision was made for machinery that could go into operation without delay; that would not imply any disregard of the special rights accorded by the Charter to the permanent members of the Security Council.

111. We understand that the main object of the General Conference to review the Charter, is to appraise the merits and the shortcomings of the Charter in accordance with Article 109 in the light of the experience accumulated in the ten years it has been functioning. We should remember that on balance the achievements of those ten years are rather more encouraging than discouraging. The fact that the United Nations has managed to survive such events as those of Korea and Indo-China and all the phases of the cold war, which were serious enough to have destroyed any international institution of weak structure, leads us to conclude that the Charter is a legal instrument of more than ordinary effectiveness. It is not perfect, of course, but the practical results achieved by the United Nations under its rule are substantial, specifically with regard to the maintenance of world peace and the benefits provided by the specialized agencies and by United Nations technical assistance.

112. The United Nations is at present faced with the worst international crisis in the last ten years. The disputes between Israel and the Arab States, which have never been settled despite the repeated efforts of the United Nations, have helped to sharpen the conflict between Egypt on the one hand and France and the United Kingdom on the other over the Suez Canal. These circumstances produced a combination of interests which caused two great Powers to disregard their obligations, as permanent members of the Security Council, to work for the maintenance of international peace and security. The resort to violence, which is prohibited by the Charter, converted Egyptian territory into the scene of a war of aggression which is from every point of view reprehensible, for whatever the reasons invoked to justify the three-fold invasion of Egypt and the claims put forward in support of them, it is inadmissible in our time that violence should be made the arbiter of international disputes. The Suez problem should and can be settled, after the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Egyptian soil, by peaceful negotiations and the application of juridical principles which respect both the sovereignty of Egypt and the universally accepted right of free passage through the Canal.

113. Once the question of free passage through the Canal has been settled—and that is not impossible because the only question to be settled in that connexion is the dispute between Israel and Egypt—the only outstanding problem would be the economic relations between Egypt on the one hand and French and United Kingdom capital on the other. On that point, the Bolivian delegation holds that Egypt has an irrefutable sovereign right to nationalize the Canal, a right endorsed by the international community in General Assembly resolution 626 (VII). In our view, the Suez Canal represents a substantial source of income to the Egyptian economy and Egypt is entitled to exploit it as profitably as possible. The Bolivian delegation also considers that, under the same resolution, the Universal Suez Canal Company is entitled to compensation. That is how Bolivia acted when it nationalized the tin mines owned by the great Bolivian mining companies. Ever since the day that the historic nationalization decree went into force, the Bolivian Government has been allocating a proportion of the proceeds from sales of tin to the payment of compensation, the sum allocated amounting by now to more than \$US 13 million.

114. If the question of nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company were dealt with in that manner, the only problem would be the amount of money the Egyptian Government owed the Company; that matter could be settled with proper respect to the sovereignty of Egypt and it is no justification for a military offensive which has all the characteristics of colonialist intervention.

115. Turning to another question, I should like to say that at the present time Bolivia is not directly concerned with the question of the territorial sea. It is, however, interested in the question of free passage, which should be applied without restriction to normal passage through the territorial sea, through straits and canals open to commerce and through territories bordering on countries which have no outlet to the sea. It is on those lines that the Bolivian delegation will approach the relevant General Assembly agenda item [53] in the Sixth Committee.

116. In connexion with the principle of equal rights without distinction as to race, set forth in Article 55 of the Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I am glad to say that Bolivia is proud that its national revolution has enabled it to put those principles into practice. This is the deep significance of agrarian reform in Bolivia: it has enabled the rural workers, for the most part indigenous Bolivians, fully to enjoy and exercise their rights, not only fundamental human rights, but all the civil and political rights Bolivia allows all its citizens, beginning with the chief economic right, namely the right of human beings to derive full benefit from the product of their labour and not to be exploited by others.

117. Thus the Bolivian revolution has made the Indian a free human being, master of his own fate, by restoring to him the ownership of the land which he lost more than 400 years ago; it has made him an architect of the new Bolivia because he can now take an active part in political life through universal suffrage; it has made him capable of helping to forge the historic destiny of Bolivia, for it has given him access to Western culture through the vast primary and fundamental educational programmes established under the Bolivian Education Code, while at the same time he can contribute to the national spirit the tradition of the magnificent foundations of one of the oldest cultures in Amer-

ica. In this gigantic undertaking, my country has had the benefit of international understanding in the form of an educational development scheme under the United States Point Four Programme, the Andean Mission of the International Labour Organisation and United Nations technical assistance.

118. This entire process of integration has now been recognized in article 4 of our new Constitution, which states:

"In the Republic of Bolivia, there are no slaves, nor may there be any kind of servile obligation or privilege based on economic situation, race, sex, degree of education or any other grounds."

It is this deep conviction of revolutionary Bolivia that will guide our delegation in continuing to denounce segregationist policy wherever it may prevail.

119. In line with the anti-colonialist policy of the Bolivian people, our delegation in the United Nations has been supporting the cause of independence for Tunisia and Morocco ever since the seventh session of the General Assembly. In the world of today, peoples are moving steadily forward toward self-government and independence. The emergence of new States is the most important event of our time and it is futile to attempt by the use of violence to impede the historical evolution toward freedom and independence which is now changing the face of the international community. Bolivia, born of a long and heroic struggle for freedom, stands shoulder to shoulder with all the peoples in the world who are fighting for their political and economic emancipation. The revolutionary Government of my country firmly adheres to Bolivia's traditional anti-colonialism and offers its brotherly greetings to the new Members of the international family which, like Tunisia, Morocco and the Sudan, have recovered their sovereignty through sacrifice and the blood of their sons. It views with the greatest satisfaction the admission to the United Nations of sovereign States which had been excluded for over ten years, through no fault of their own, and it hopes that the United Nations will also receive those countries which fulfil the requirements of the Charter and are still awaiting admission.

120. We must not forget that the United Nations played an important role in helping those States which I have mentioned, as well as the noble State of Indonesia, to gain their independence. Actions of this kind constitute a practical application of the right of self-determination and thereby fully justify the existence of the United Nations and make of it an effective instrument for peace and international stability.

121. The principle of self-determination is in essence the right of peoples to choose their own destiny once they have attained the necessary stage of maturity. It is a right closely akin to freedom because the existence of free men is inconceivable in societies which have not achieved the state of freedom. Only those human beings who are at liberty to determine their social, economic and political destinies and manage their own affairs can really enjoy the freedom which is man's birthright. Even in those societies where a system of force has established itself, there is, if that system has been imposed from within, a possibility that it can be overthrown and be replaced by a juridical system that guarantees the free exercise of all rights. The same cannot be said of societies whose fate is at the mercy of a foreign Power, for they must first win their independence before they choose their own destiny.

122. Men long for independence in the same way as they long for freedom, and they are prepared to fight

for it as once they fought to abolish slavery and servitude. However, in choosing the path of violence, they must pay a heavy price in lives and suffering. This may in a way be compared with a painful birth the agony of which the United Nations is called upon to alleviate or to avoid altogether. Thus, consideration must be given without delay to Algeria and Cyprus, which are seeking self-determination. The Bolivian delegation feels that the political and economic independence of peoples and their right to decide on their own future are the initial steps toward ensuring the complete enjoyment of human rights.

123. Another principle which is closely linked to that of self-determination is the right of sovereign peoples to be completely free from any foreign interference in their internal affairs. Not only is non-intervention in the affairs of other States an obligation, but it must be respected as an indispensable principle that enables peoples to live together. The Bolivian delegation therefore deplores the fact that this principle, embodied in Article 1, paragraph 2, and Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, has been violated at the expense of a small State.

124. That State is Hungary, and in the case of Hungary, the Bolivian representative felt compelled at the second emergency special session of the General Assembly to suggest that a way should be found to enable the Hungarian people to express their wishes freely. We fully realize, however, that the nature of the problem is such that the General Assembly must be very careful not to give the impression that in defending the principle of non-intervention it is advocating interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign Member State.

125. At the same time, the presence of Soviet armed forces inside Hungary makes this a clear case of intervention by a foreign Power in the domestic life of that State. The situation can in no way be justified by the request of the present Budapest Government for foreign troops, since no Government may call upon a foreign Power to settle its own internal affairs. The unwarranted presence of the Soviet army shows that the Hungarian conflict has become an armed attack against the Hungarian people which is all the more serious in that it brought about the overthrow of the Imre Nagy Government. The United Nations must therefore do everything in its power to bring this intervention to an end. Only when the Soviet troops have ceased to occupy Hungarian territory will the problems we are now facing revert to Hungary's own jurisdiction.

126. The discovery by science of nuclear energy, and especially its adaptation to peaceful uses, offers the world almost unlimited opportunities for progress. The prospects of harnessing nuclear energy are today so great that mankind is on the one hand torn by the fear of annihilation and on the other buoyed up by the hope of improving its lot by control of the forces of nature. On the one side is the danger of the thermo-nuclear bomb and on the other the wonderful vista of future progress made possible by the use of nuclear energy for the industrial advancement of all the peoples of the earth. Such a prospect holds out the hope of an era characterized by new and deeper human relationships and by fresh manifestations of human knowledge.

127. One man of goodwill has realized the decisive possibilities as well as the dire implications of this portentous discovery. I refer to President Eisenhower who, in a memorable speech before this General Assembly [470th meeting], pointed out the need for linking the

atom with a mission of peace and progress. With this aim in view, the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was held from 20 September to 26 October 1956 at United Nations Headquarters and was attended by representatives of eighty-two States and of the specialized agencies. As the result of the work of this, the greatest international Conference of all time, the international Atomic Energy Agency was established.

128. At the 13th plenary meeting of the Conference a proposal for the establishment of a world university of the atom, which had been introduced at the ninth and tenth sessions of the General Assembly by the Bolivian delegation, was moved by that delegation and seconded by the distinguished delegation of Ecuador. By unanimous agreement this proposal was referred for study and action to the Board of Governors and the General Conference, which are the main directing bodies of the new nuclear agency. The International Atomic Energy Agency and the future world university of the atom represent the first embodiment of a desire for equality which, if fully satisfied, will provide a firm basis for a new international society that will enjoy all the benefits of nuclear science.

129. The establishment of both bodies—the Agency and the university—is aimed primarily at eliminating the danger of a monopoly of the theory and use of nuclear energy, for if one or a few Powers gained such a monopoly, a hegemony would be established which would result in the total domination of the world by the strongest of the nuclear Powers or at best the division of the globe into zones of influence. The Bolivian delegation feels that only by making scientific knowledge relating to the atom generally available and by extending its benefits to all peoples can the rights of the medium-sized and small countries in the so-called atomic age be safeguarded.

130. My delegation would like to stress the economic problems faced by the under-developed countries, of which Bolivia is one. Owing to the concentration of technique and capital in certain areas, the modern world is divided into countries that are highly developed and those whose development has been retarded. The latter countries show incipient signs of economic progress but cannot themselves solve their present economic problems because of the continuing tendency, which is apparent in both the East and the West, of capital and economic development to be centred in the larger countries. This magnetic attraction of the great economic masses accentuates more and more the differences between the highly developed and the under-developed countries.

131. According to the report on *Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries*,¹ prepared by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1951, Latin America, which has one of the highest rates of population growth, needs \$2,540 million to increase its national *per capita* income by 2 per cent and thus appears to be the area of the world that shows the smallest deficit. In other words, of the five areas into which the under-developed countries are grouped in the study, Latin America has the least headway to make up in order to enter upon a period of normal economic activity which would enable it to cope with its own agricultural and industrial development. With the progress thus made, it would soon become one of the areas sufficiently ad-

vanced to co-operate in raising the standards of needier areas.

132. For this reason the development needs of Latin America should receive priority treatment from both the Assembly and the Second Committee. It should be added that the economic problems of Latin America, though not serious at the moment, are tending to worsen. Up to 1952 the high prices obtained for primary commodities resulted in a favourable rate of economic growth and allowed up to 18 per cent of the goods and services making up the gross income of Latin America to be reinvested. However, this figure has fallen sharply to 13.5 per cent, thus reducing the increase in *per capita* income to about 1 per cent. Owing to the present inadequacies of the Latin American economy, a country requires a minimum reinvestment rate of 20 per cent of its gross income in order to carry on its development programmes by itself. We therefore reach the conclusion that the problem of Latin America is among the most urgent.

133. Within this general economic framework, Bolivia is the country with the lowest *per capita* income and the lowest rate of economic growth and development. It is still passing through a pre-capitalist stage and cannot cope unaided with its development problem. The Bolivian revolutionary movement sought to diversify the national economy by introducing new forms of economic activity and launching public works programmes designed to provide additional sources of income. As a result, however, of the rudimentary nature of the Bolivian economy, this effort brought on an acute outbreak of inflation which compelled the country to take energetic measures in order to avoid disastrous consequences. The stabilizing process will nevertheless mean the inevitable postponement of plans to diversify our economy. This experience of ours illustrates the tragic dilemma of under-developed countries as regards their economic prospects.

134. In these circumstances, the relief that might be afforded to under-developed countries through an increase in international trade is somewhat less than a panacea because of the present inability of these countries to increase their production of saleable or changeable commodities. Only a larger influx of capital can therefore help to promote the development of these countries. In Bolivia, however, which is still facing the difficulties inherent in its pre-capitalist economy, and has immense areas of undeveloped land and a low volume of power output, the favourable conditions created for the investment of capital by such measures as the new Petroleum Code, the new policy governing the export of minerals and the expansion of the domestic market—as the result of land reforms which, by providing employment for 2.5 million peasants, have opened up new prospects for agriculture and industry—must be supplemented by interest-free loans so that the conditions necessary for attracting foreign capital on a larger scale may be established and preserved, for if investors are able to repatriate their profits and capital, they will be encouraged to make a real contribution to our country's economic progress.

135. Many countries must accordingly first of all prepare a favourable climate for investments, and in this connexion the enormous importance of the creation of SUNFED to countries with weak economies is quite obvious. The proposal for SUNFED was first made in the United Nations and the studies relating to it are now almost complete, but the establishment of SUNFED

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1951. II. B. 2.

is being postponed on the ground that disarmament should come first. We must nevertheless bear in mind that disarmament has become a chronic problem in the United Nations whereas the desperate situation of the under-developed countries, involving as it does the welfare of nations and thus of human beings, is a matter for urgent attention.

136. The Bolivian delegation believes that this Assembly should find a way of making SUNFED, which we all so much desire, a reality. While it is true that the industrialized countries will be able to contribute larger sums to SUNFED when the arms race is over, it is no less true that the need which many countries have for SUNFED is now so urgent that some way should be found for setting it up immediately. Later, when considerable savings have been achieved in the

highly developed countries through disarmament, the resources of SUNFED will be further expended.

137. Finally, we must not forget that the efforts and resources of the smaller countries, which now find themselves in a state of backwardness, have contributed much to the advancement of the industrialized countries. A realization of this fact underlies the United States plans for assisting countries in different parts of the world. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing Bolivia's gratitude for the generous aid which has been given to us and is helping us to overcome the difficulties inherent in our weak economy. The Bolivian delegation accordingly believes that SUNFED will help the under-developed countries to strengthen their economies and enable them to reap the full benefits of their independence.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.