

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

ELEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



PLENARY MEETING 602nd

Thursday, 29 November 1956,
at 3 p.m.

New York

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)..... 427

Speeches by Mr. Sharma (Nepal), Mr. Unden (Sweden), Mr. Sasorith (Laos), Mr. David (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Entezam (Iran), Mr. Preoteasa (Romania) and Mr. Fekini (Libya)

Point of order by the representative of Iraq..... 442

President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 9.

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. SHARMA (NEPAL), MR. UNDEN (SWEDEN), MR. SASORITH (LAOS), MR. DAVID (CZECHOSLOVAKIA), MR. ENTEZAM (IRAN), MR. PREOTEASA (ROMANIA) AND MR. FEKINI (LIBYA)

1. Mr. SHARMA (Nepal): It gives me great pleasure to have the privilege of addressing this august body. At the very outset, may I avail myself of this opportunity to extend to the President my warmest felicitations on his unanimous election to this lofty position. We rejoice and feel honoured at his election because of the cultural ties existing between our countries from time immemorial.

2. Nepal, as you all know, is situated between two vast regions, India and China, where, in the course of history, many empires have risen and fallen. Even in the midst of fluid and fluctuating conditions all around it, Nepal maintained its independent existence with a degree of continuity not natural to the countries similarly located.

3. Nepal, having a history going back thousands of years, applied for membership of the United Nations as far back as 1948, but the tension between the big Powers came in its way, as it did in the way of so many others. This rightful claim of my country for membership was only recognized at the very end of the tenth session. But we could not send our delegation immediately after our admission, and this is the first time that we are able to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly. Under these circumstances, we are naturally handicapped by lack of intimate knowledge and experience of the United Nations at work. However, my delegation has come here with an open heart and has been participating in United Nations activities with all due interest and care.

4. Situated as it is between the two vast land belts of Asian civilization, Nepal represents the unity of two distinct worlds of thought and culture. Ethnologically related to the sturdy stock of the north, but more easily accessible and amenable to the civilizing and cultural

influences of the south, Nepal, in the course of its long history, has evolved a pattern of national life and civilization which bears the stamp of its own genius. Its national culture is a synthesis of various influences not only from the north and south but from regions further afield, and it is a conscious product of Nepal's success in adapting influences to its national characteristics without in any way allowing its own originality and balance to be disturbed.

5. Throughout its history, Nepal has taken a keen interest in the conduct of its foreign relations. When Western imperialism came to Asia and began to spread its tentacles over the continent, Nepal viewed this development with great concern and apprehension and felt that the solidarity of the Asian countries was the only remedy against it. It is interesting to recall how one of Nepal's statesmen, Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa of cherished memory, dreamed, though far ahead of time, of Asian confederation, and communicated concrete plans for achieving it to the courts of the Emperors of China and Iran and the powerful king and chieftains of India. His move to unite Asia against materialism was betrayed and foiled. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the administration of the country passed into the hands of a family which hermetically sealed the country from the outside world. This started a century of great decadence in the history of this land.

6. The Second World War constitutes an important landmark in the history of Asia. The war gave fresh impetus to the upsurge of nationalism and freedom in most of the countries in this part of the world and, as a result, quite a number of countries regained their freedom from the foreign yoke:

7. Because of Nepal's geographical position, the course of events in that country has always been influenced by the happenings in China and India. The change-over in the political situation which came in the year 1951 may in some respects be viewed as an integral part of the great awakening in Asia. The signal victories by the forces of nationalism in south and in southeast Asia awakened a yearning for liberty in the hearts of the Nepalese people. As befitted a descendant of the great Prithvi Narayana Shaha, who created a unified and greater Nepal out of the conglomeration of innumerable warring city-states, King Tribhuban, of dear memory, took a bold step to usher in an era of democracy and progress in Nepal.

8. History records many instances of brave, talented and generous kings, but never had there been a king who staked his life, throne and family on the securing of democratic rights and freedom for his people. His Majesty King Mahendra Vir Bikrama Shaha, whose coronation was solemnized only last May, and who was closely associated with his father in his great act of sacrifice and shared his love of democracy, has not only pledged and dedicated himself to the cause of fostering democracy, but has set a definite date for a general

election, the first of its kind in the history of the Kingdom of Nepal.

9. The country of Nepal is entirely land-locked. We have no outlet to the world except across the Indian mainland and through the snowbound passes of the Himalayas. We have a 500-mile free and open border in the south with India. We have also a common frontier with the People's Republic of China of the same length. Nepal knows that its security depends on the existence of cordiality between her great neighbours, India and China. Nepal is keenly desirous of contributing, in its own humble way, to the maintaining of friendship and goodwill between both of these neighbours without playing one against the other. We want to have the friendliest possible relations with all countries of the world. We bear ill will towards none. We want friendship and goodwill with all. We believe in the expansion of the area of our friendship.

10. We do not view with complacency the interference of one country in the internal affairs of another. We are opposed to imperialism of any kind or colour. We are opposed to the stationing of foreign troops anywhere in the world. We do not believe in armed pacts and military alliances, even as a preventive remedy against war. We are whole-heartedly in favour of disarmament because the arms race, as has been seen, has led to two devastating wars during our own lifetime. Our policy is one of non-alignment with any of the Power-blocs in so far as such alignment would commit a country to one particular side in the event of war. But whenever the choice is between good and evil, between freedom and slavery or between justice and injustice we shall always know which to choose. We shall judge every international issue on its own merits and shall act accordingly.

11. May I state that we abide by the same moral standards in assessing international events everywhere in the world—be it in the Middle East or in Eastern Europe. We deplore the invasion of Egypt by Israel, the United Kingdom and France in the same terms in which we deplore the Soviet armed intervention in Hungary. It is indeed highly unfortunate that three of the permanent members of the Security Council, which have such a great responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should be found guilty of suppressing the liberties of smaller Member nations in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Their actions have been contrary to the fundamental concepts of collective security and organization which inspired both the foundation and the growth of the United Nations.

12. In my humble submission, no nation, however great it may be, should be allowed on any pretext whatsoever to take unilateral decisions in any situation involving the use of armed forces. A very bad precedent has been created which, if allowed to pass unchallenged, will act as a source of temptation to other Powers in future to act in violation of the Charter, thus endangering international peace and security.

13. The attempts by the big Powers to confront the United Nations with a *fait accompli* by using force to gain their objectives of power politics and diplomacy must be discouraged at all costs. And there is another point to which I should like to call the attention of the Assembly. I have noticed of late a tendency on the part of the offending nations to link the issues of aggression with the permanent settlement of the Suez and Palestine problems. Everyone here recognizes the urgency of securing lasting political settlements in the Middle East.

But it is a question of establishing the priorities, and first things must come first. Once the foreign troops are withdrawn from Egyptian soil a climate will have been created which is favourable for political negotiations. May I submit that negotiations for a permanent settlement should be initiated only after the passions aroused by the aggression have subsided.

14. I have an observation to make with regard to the situation in Hungary. The cause of the freedom of the smaller nations is something which has always been dear to our hearts. Nepal, in spite of being a small country, has prized freedom above everything else in the world, and has shown the same respect for the freedom of other peoples.

15. I have heard with great attention the contention of the Soviet and Hungarian delegations that the reports on the atrocities and brutalities which have appeared in large sections of the world Press have no basis in fact. If that is so, what has prevented the Soviet and the present Hungarian authorities from allowing United Nations observers to visit Hungary and investigate the situation there? Will not such an investigation help to clarify the confused accounts of events and palliate the shocked consciences of the general public? Peace and freedom have become indivisible in the world of our time. Its denial anywhere affects all of us equally.

16. I regard the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force as a very bold and great step in the direction of perfecting the world body. This Force, created as it is to supervise the cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian territory, has strengthened the faith of the smaller nations in the efficacy of the United Nations. Their feeling is that if they find themselves in a similar situation they can count on similar assistance from this Force.

17. Before I conclude, I must make some reference to some of the achievements of the United Nations. Since the Congress of Berlin of 1878, many devices have been used, and many institutions created, to solve international disputes without recourse to war. The United Nations is the last in the series of human experiments in international co-operation, and the way it has been handling its responsibilities gives us reason to hope that this will be the successful experiment.

18. I need not recount all the achievements of the United Nations, for the list would be too long. Nevertheless, I must not omit to mention something about the Disarmament Commission, which includes atomic energy. There still remain vast areas of disagreement among the big Powers on the question of disarmament. But much ground has been covered and *modi operandi* are being devised to delimit the military installations of the big Powers. Once there is agreement among them regarding the question of disarmament, the danger of war will finally be at an end. Once atomic energy is exploited for peaceful uses, a new and breathtaking vista of progress and prosperity will open up before humanity. May the great day dawn soon.

19. I have just spoken about the expansion of the United Nations. Last year, the claims of sixteen countries to membership of the world body were recognized, and this year three new Members were added to the list. This substantial increase in the membership of the United Nations is really very heartening. But the deplorable fact remains that the claims of some of the deserving applicants for membership are yet to be recognized. I refer particularly to the claims of the People's Republic of China and of Japan, two great

countries that have always been in the foreground of the affairs in Asia. I press for the admission of these two countries because a just and lasting peace cannot be achieved in the Far East without their consent and co-operation. Nobody could show his love for his country by hating other people, except by a disinterested desire to conquer the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Science is a common good. European, American, Russian, Chinese or African people have the same passion for smiles and tears. Their history is the same history of man, of his failures and achievements.

20. Asia, Europe, Africa, America and the other continents are not separate continents but one continent where the trees and flowers put forth their blossoms and fade, where the earth is laden with grain and harvested, where the rivers cheer and gladden the plain, and from where the sun, the moon and the stars are visible. There is no event which has ever happened in Asia which did not have its repercussions in Europe or America. This is what our people and our Government have borne in their minds. They have asked us to be more useful to our country by intelligently co-operating with the United Nations on a plane above the petty bickerings of politics and Power-blocs.

21. Mr. UNDEN (Sweden): We must note with deep regret that this Assembly meets in a politically far colder atmosphere than has been the case during preceding sessions.

22. If I may begin with a few words about the Egyptian question, I would like to point out what a painful surprise it was to most of us that the United Kingdom and France, in handling an international issue, suddenly resorted to the old-fashioned methods that were outlawed even by the Covenant of the League of Nations and that are wholly incompatible with the United Nations Charter. No explanations and attempts at justification can disguise the fact that the military action taken against Egypt constituted a flagrant violation of the Charter. Long before the Israel invasion of Egypt, official statements from the United Kingdom and France as well as military preparations made by these countries seemed to indicate that military action was in the minds of the two Governments. The public debate left the impression that we were taken back to the times when the great Powers made military demonstrations to recover financial claims from weaker countries.

23. The news of the United Kingdom and French action brought to my mind an earlier case, which I had reason to follow closely as a Swedish representative at the League of Nations. I am thinking of the time when Mussolini occupied the Greek island of Corfu as security for claims for compensation considered to have arisen from the murder of an Italian general by Greeks.

24. It seems to me, however, that we cannot but acknowledge the willingness with which the two countries complied with the Assembly's request for an immediate cease-fire. I hope that in the future, too, they will draw the natural conclusions from the Assembly's decided disapproval of their unilateral military measures, taken in order to attain national or international ends.

25. I will say in this context that my Government completely agrees with the Secretary-General's interpretation of the task of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt, which the General Assembly has sanctioned. Thus the task of this Force must not be to remain in Egypt to put political pressure on that country with the intention of bringing about a settlement of the Suez Canal issue.

26. May I be permitted to add that it has been of the greatest importance that the United States during the discussions on the Egyptian question so unequivocally and firmly based its stand on the United Nations Charter and so clearly defended its basic principles.

27. Israel's preventive war against Egypt cannot be justified. That Israel has been subjected to numerous provocations from its Arab neighbours for many years is indisputable. But that did not entitle Israel to resort to war on Egypt. In my country we have always felt a deep sympathy with Israel and its energetic, industrious and brave people. We now deeply regret that Israel by its offensive military acts has damaged its own cause.

28. There have been reports these last few days of deportations of Jews from Egypt. I would like to express my sincere hope that these reports are unfounded or exaggerated. No doubt the Secretary-General will feel entitled to establish facts in this matter. It would be a terrible blow to our Organization and to the principles it stands for if we once more would have to register anti-Semitic feelings and facts, adding to the tragedy we are witnessing in the Middle East these days.

29. With regard to the tragedy in Hungary I fear that the Soviet leadership does not quite understand the indignation to which the crushing of the incipient revolt has given rise all over the world.

30. I realize that Hungary, from the Soviet point of view, is looked upon as part of the security zone the Soviet Union considers itself as having formed by imposing Communist régimes upon the border States.

31. The Soviet political leaders want us to believe that all opponents of the present régimes in those countries are Fascists and that the Soviet Union obeys a higher political law by suppressing with violence every attempt to bring about a change in the existing Communist régimes. The Soviet Union seems to tolerate the modified form of Communism in the Border States that we have grown accustomed to call "Titoism". But there the limit is apparently set. Titoism in Yugoslavia and a similar régime—"Gomulka-ism"—in Poland does not mean, according to the doctrine now adopted by the Soviet Union, that Fascism has come into power. But when the Hungarian Government under Imre Nagy went a few steps further away from the only true Communist régime, that Government was branded as being under the influence of Fascist counter-revolutionaries.

32. But these assertions are, as everyone knows, completely untrue. The choice for Hungary is not between Fascism and Communism. There are other alternatives. Should not Hungary be given the chance—if the majority of the people so wish—to establish a régime similar to the democracies in Austria, in Finland, in Sweden and in the other Scandinavian countries? We are not Fascist countries. Must the great and powerful Soviet Union find its security at stake because the border States or some of them establish democratic political systems different from that of the Soviet Union?

33. In my country we look at it this way: the security of the Soviet Union and of all other European States would be strengthened by an increased amount of independence and freedom for the border States. By a generous policy towards these States—generous in a political sense—some areas of friction in Europe would be eliminated. Tension would automatically be relaxed and the danger of war reduced. It is an antiquated belief that a country adds to its security by trying to

preserve a decisive political influence on neighbouring countries against the will of their peoples.

34. The Nagy government announced in a circular note the establishment of a neutral status for Hungary as its programme. In answering that note, the Swedish Government expressed its interest and sympathy with regard to this programme. We still hold the view that Hungary, neutralized like Austria, would be a factor of security in Europe. Even if I disregard all other aspects of these events, the Soviet Union has made a grave political error in refusing to tolerate a popular movement in Hungary that has aspired towards greater political democracy. As I indicated before, the Soviet Union made another mistake in failing to realize the indignation that would be created by the violence used against the Hungarian people.

35. It is futile to have us look upon the Soviet troops in Hungary as mere guardians of law and order, corresponding to an ordinary national police force. These troops represented the naked power, not of their own country, but of a foreign Power, acting as self-imposed guardian and protector of Hungary. The sympathies of the whole world went out to those who made such heroic efforts to win greater freedom for their country and people.

36. I fear that the effects of what has happened in Hungary will be felt for a long time. If the Soviet leaders wish to pursue the policy of relaxation that was perceptible before the events of the last months, this wish cannot be realized by their remaining blind to what has so shocked the world. Only a new policy on the part of the Soviet Union, aiming at greater political and personal freedom as well as national independence for the Hungarian people, can be a new starting point for a policy aimed at a lessening of tension.

37. Mr. SASORITH (Laos) (*translated from French*): I should like first to express once again, on behalf of the Laotian delegation, my heartiest congratulations upon the election of Prince Wan Waithayakon by the General Assembly. This distinction is not only a recognition of his personal merits of heart and mind, but is also a high honour done to a country and a people which are our neighbours and to which we are attached by age-old ties of deepest friendship. I cannot but regard this happy circumstance as most gratifying and auspicious.

38. When on 14 December 1955 the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to admit the Kingdom of Laos to this Organization, the entire Laotian people experienced a feeling of pride such as it had rarely known in the entire course of its history. The people of Laos, a notoriously peace-loving people, had just emerged from ten years of war. Laos was still nursing its wounds, making good its war damage and making a count of its widows and orphans. In these circumstances, its admission to the United Nations seemed like the dawn of a new era and took on the importance of a real peace treaty.

39. At the same time, this preferment by the supreme international body set the seal on the newly-won independence of the Kingdom of Laos and gave assurance that henceforward we should be listened to, understood, aided and protected. It is therefore not mere etiquette which now impels me, as leader of the Laotian delegation to the Assembly, to express our deepest gratitude to those Members of the United Nations which voted for our admission.

40. The admission of the new Members, including ourselves, marks a further step by the United Nations

towards our ultimate objective—representation for all the peoples of the world. In this connexion, the delegation of Laos appeals most earnestly for the admission of neighbouring countries, Korea, Japan and Viet-Nam.

41. I think it would not be out of place now to give you at least a brief account of this far-off country, Laos, which you have invited to sit among you. Actually, the geographical characteristics of my country, the features of its history, its civilization and its ideals will determine what attitude it will take and what contribution it can make to the difficult task we have in common—the task of building for peace. In a word, the external relations of Laos are determined by certain geographical, historical and economic imperatives.

42. Lying along the valley of the Mekong, but without an outlet to the sea, its riches a number of magnificent rice-growing plains as well as picturesque plateaus and mountains, Laos knows the tribulations of a continental country. Although at first sight it is difficult of access, the way in which its mountain and river systems lie, inevitably marked it out as a cross-roads. And, indeed this geographical cross-roads, between the Indian and the Chinese worlds, was the meeting-place of those groups and influences whose struggles and peaceful intercourse were to leave in the river valley one of the branches of the Thai race: the Laotian people. Laos was thus predestined by its geographical position to play the part of a turn-table standing in the very centre of Asia, between different civilizations and ideologies. Thus its fate as a frontier province between the East and the West give it a duty to defend and develop the solidarity of the Asiatic continent, of which it is an integral part, as well as the links which unite that continent with the rest of the world.

43. Historical factors play no less important a part in defining the external relations of Laos than the geographical imperatives I have just outlined. The history of the Kingdom of Laos is the history of a people now more than three million in number, working continually to erect a civilization of its own within the framework of its ancient traditions.

44. Laotian civilization is made up of contributions from many different sources, but it was, and is, founded upon Buddhism. This explains why the Laotian people are not bent upon establishing a materialist civilization. Moulded for centuries by Buddhism, to which they have remained profoundly attached both in their beliefs and in their daily conduct, they find in respect for the spiritual and moral values of the doctrine of the great Sage their consolation, their hope and the light of their life.

45. I would not dwell upon this point if I had not for a long time been impressed by the remarkable similarity, indeed almost identity, in certain aspects, between the principles of Buddhist doctrine and the Charter of this Organization. Pre-eminence of spiritual values, respect for human dignity, mutual tolerance and above all the search for peace with freedom: are these not at once the very principles of the United Nations Charter and the rules laid down by our Buddhist *Pancha Shila*?

46. Let us also dispose of the criticism sometimes levelled at this common doctrine, which is too often presented as the canon of passive acceptance and enfeebling idealism. The history of the Laotian people shows that there is no incompatibility between the love of peace and the fundamental desire for independence and unity. For centuries we have vindicated our freedom.

Now submerged, now resurgent, the Laotian nation, though imbued with the doctrine of peace, has never renounced freedom. Only yesterday we were at odds with a country to which we are linked by many ties and which remains one of our best friends. Today, as though to mark the achievement of our goal, it is as a fully sovereign State that the Kingdom of Laos takes its place in this Assembly, on an equal footing with all the other Member States in regard to its rights and obligations.

47. Because our civilization has made of us an essentially peace-loving people, because we place tolerance in the forefront of the democratic virtues, because we are and shall remain the champions of justice and freedom, the Laotian people will associate itself with all steps and decisions taken here in the United Nations with the purpose of maintaining peace in justice and freedom.

48. While the Laotian civilization, inspired by the principles of Buddhism, is based essentially on respect for spiritual values, the Kingdom's recent accession to independence and full sovereignty has brought it face to face with the serious problems inherent in the status of under-developed countries. Laos has only just begun to develop its resources, and must devote all its energies to exploiting its natural wealth, certainly abundant but still almost untouched, to building a body of skilled technicians, and to combating poverty, ignorance and disease. Any success in raising the standard of living in Laos must depend on these things. We had accordingly to work out a systematic programme to meet our different needs in order of priority. That is why my Government has seen fit to prepare a Five-Year-Plan, which is now being methodically put into effect.

49. The scope of the task as thus defined was such that it obviously could not be carried out on a local basis, but called for international co-operation and economic assistance from abroad, subject always to the proviso that any such assistance was furnished on the basis of mutual interests and strict respect for the sovereignty of the beneficiary State, to echo the Bandung Declaration of 1955. It was stipulated that it must on no account serve as a pretext for economic imperialism of any kind.

50. We take pleasure on this occasion in paying a tribute to the generous spirit of understanding shown by the two great States which have contributed so effectively to the implementation of our plan—France, with which we have such long-standing bonds of friendship, and the great democracy of the United States; and we should like to include in this tribute the work of the United Nations in providing technical assistance, and the valuable contributions made by our partners in the Colombo Plan.

51. I should also like to stress the interest with which Laos is following the development of plans for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The proposals made by President Eisenhower in the General Assembly on 8 December 1953 [470th meeting] is in keeping with the generous and liberal traditions of the United States, and will go down in world history as one of the most sincere acts of faith in international peace and co-operation. It was a step whose boldness and breadth of vision captured the imagination of peoples the world over; and already it is beginning to achieve results. A great hope has been born, particularly in countries like Laos which are anxiously watching the steadily increas-

ing gap separating them from the more highly industrialized countries. In acceding to the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, my country's purpose is to signify its sincere endorsement of the high-minded aims pursued by that organ.

52. Because of the historical, geographical and economic needs which we have just outlined, the foreign policy of Laos is directed towards the defence of the very principles of the Charter upon which the United Nations is founded. I would go further: for a small State like ours, the United Nations constitutes the strongest guarantee that might shall not prevail over right. We look to the United Nations as the supreme court which will protect us against all trespass and all threats, as the bulwark of our freedom and of the freedom of all States which refuse to conceive of a return to the law of the jungle, in international relations.

53. Our anxiety at the danger which we feel is threatening this Organization to which we are so strongly attached is therefore understandable. It seems to us that since the Korean War, the vital interests of certain great Powers have never been so violently in conflict, and that the conflict has never been more dangerous to world peace. The United Nations is thus being put to a severe test. It must either succeed in dealing with the present crises in Hungary and the Near East, in which case its authority will emerge stronger from the ordeal, or it will fail, and if it does its days are most certainly numbered. We are not presuming to suggest remedies or to offer advice. But we would venture, in face of the grave dangers threatening the United Nations, to address a strong appeal to all Member States, whether large or small, and to urge upon them to do all in their power to ensure the most rapid and effective enforcement of the decisions taken by our Organization.

54. Let us make no mistake, the destiny of the United Nations at this moment depends more than it ever depended upon its ability to take effective action. In that connexion, we can only welcome the recent creation of the United Nations Emergency Force under the high authority of our Secretary-General. We hope that it is only a first step, and that this nucleus of a world police force will develop into an effective instrument of action, a real armed force in the service of peace.

55. But our satisfaction is not entirely unqualified. While we regard the despatch of this international police force to Egypt as a welcome event, we cannot altogether help being surprised at the casualness, not to say indifference, with which certain States seem to accept the flouting of the Assembly's recommendations in Hungary. We place all our hopes in the efforts of the Secretary-General to solve this problem; but we cannot help thinking that time is passing and that it would be just too easy to accede to the requests of the Assembly when the heroic battle which the valiant Hungarian people are now waging in defence of their liberties has ended for lack of combatants.

56. I therefore have the honour to inform this Assembly, on instructions from my Government, that the Kingdom of Laos has decided to make the troops of one company available to the United Nations Emergency Force. The Kingdom of Laos wishes thereby to give evidence of the high esteem in which it holds the untiring efforts of our Secretary-General in the defence of international peace and justice. It

also wishes, by this gesture to demonstrate its confidence in the future of our Organization and its desire to associate itself with any action taken to strengthen international co-operation.

57. I have also been instructed by my Government to respond to the appeal addressed by our Secretary-General to all Member States, calling upon them, in accordance with the resolutions [1004 (ES-II), 1006 (ES-II), and 1007 (ES-II)] adopted by the General Assembly on 4 and 9 November 1956, to participate to the greatest extent possible in the relief action to help the Hungarian people. The Government of the Kingdom of Laos has decided to contribute the equivalent of one million French francs to this magnificent relief work. By this modest gift it wishes to show its deep sympathy with the sufferings of a people which refuses to let itself be enslaved, and to give evidence of its faith in international solidarity.

58. Our Organization still has of course only very limited powers of action. This being so, we would venture to draw attention to another and no less grave danger to its effectiveness: passion and the lack of self-control. It is a fact well known to all international organizations that over-ambitious decisions are often fated to remain a dead letter; and in the case of problems as grave as those before this Assembly, inability to obtain results would be tantamount to condemnation.

59. Do not misunderstand me: there can be no question of yielding on principles, since any concession there would be cowardice; but a clear distinction must be drawn between principles and methods of implementation. It is in the choice of the appropriate means of settling the present crises that realism is needed. If the solutions proposed are to be practicable and enforceable, they must spring not from the heat of passion, but from the will to obtain results, not from the desire to win an empty and fruitless propaganda victory, but from wisdom and moderation. It is only by such means, it seems to us, that we shall be able to exorcise that evil spirit which has haunted so many international organizations, and which caused the death of the League of Nations, namely, failure due to over-reaching.

60. In this year of crucial significance for the future of our Organization, millions of human beings throughout the world are to commune together to celebrate the memory of our revered master, Buddha Sakyamuni, and on the occasion of his 2500th anniversary, to extol the abiding values of his teaching. May our small State recall a precept which has been handed down to us full of age-old wisdom: "the middle road is the road of vision and enlightenment; it leads the way to lucidity, serenity and peace".

61. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The present session of the United Nations General Assembly is being held at a time when the international situation has become serious and complex. On the one hand, the course of international events between the tenth and eleventh sessions of the Assembly was marked by a continued lessening of international tension, reflected in the progress made in a number of specific fields and in a number of concrete instances, and there were real prospects of strengthening peace throughout the world. On the other hand, there was increased activity on the part of those forces which are seeking to halt the trend of events in the direction of the strengthening of universal peace and friendly co-operation among peoples.

62. The development of the international situation during this period has shown that there are great opportunities for further intensifying co-operation among all countries regardless of the structure of their society. There was new evidence to show that the best way of promoting co-operation and achieving progress in the solution of urgent international problems is by negotiation. In this way, during the past year, there has been a further lessening of international tension in some areas. All this constitutes a positive factor in international life and is to the advantage of the United Nations, which, as is now obvious, can play an active part in this development, provided all its activities are constantly guided by the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

63. Our Organization has been substantially strengthened by the admission of nineteen new Members. We sincerely welcome them into the family of the United Nations. We believe that the widening of the United Nations membership and the experience which these new countries can contribute will have a favourable effect on discussion of the very important international questions that are being dealt with by the United Nations.

64. As a result of patient negotiations conducted in a spirit of fruitful co-operation and mutual understanding, the International Atomic Energy Agency was established, and its Statute unanimously approved. And although, alongside the good points, there are some significant shortcomings in the Statute, it does show that where the parties are of good will and united in their efforts, positive results can be achieved in solving complex questions of international co-operation.

65. The progress made in relaxing international tension was a thorn in the flesh of those forces which, for years, have been fanning the cold war and keeping it alive, accumulating exorbitant profits from the feverish armaments race and using the threat of provoking a new world war to back their speculations.

66. These aggressive forces unleashed an armed attack on the peace-loving Egyptian people, who had embarked on a successful struggle for their national and State independence. The open aggression committed by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt is nothing but a desperate attempt of the imperialists to halt by force the progressive decay of the colonial system and to frighten the peoples who are fighting for the right to a free life and independent development.

67. However, imperialist attempts to halt by force the powerful and ever growing movement of national liberation are doomed to failure. The disintegration of the colonial rule of imperialism is inevitable and cannot be halted by any force in the world. Already, more than 1,200 million people in Asian and African countries have cast off the yoke of colonialism and are building a new life freely and independently, in peace and friendship with all countries.

68. Public opinion throughout the world has taken note with great satisfaction of the cessation of hostilities in Egypt. However, the cease-fire was only the first step towards liquidating the military conflict. The immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the aggressors from Egyptian soil is still the main requirement demanded by the peoples.

69. In spite of the unanimous desire of all peoples, as expressed in a number of resolutions adopted by the

General Assembly, the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel have refused to withdraw their troops from Egyptian soil forthwith, and have put forward various conditions for compliance with the United Nations resolutions.

70. Instead of leaving the country immediately, the troops of the aggressors, as we have been told by the Foreign Minister of the Egyptian Republic, are consolidating their positions on Egyptian soil and are committing atrocities in the Gaza Strip, Port Said and other towns.

71. So long as all troops which took part in the attack on Egypt are not withdrawn, we cannot consider the aggression at an end or the possibility of a renewal and extension of the conflict entirely eliminated. The Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel, which have committed brutal aggression against Egypt, have no moral right whatever to impose any kind of conditions for the withdrawal of their troops.

72. World public opinion decisively condemns the acts of the aggressors and will not permit them to achieve, by such manoeuvres, the objectives which they could not attain by direct military means.

73. We are sorry to have heard, even in the General Assembly, voices—not many voices, perhaps, but some—which are prepared to support the manoeuvres of the aggressors.

74. The delegations in question support the aggressors' attempts to use the United Nations Emergency Force for the purpose of securing foreign, or "international" supervision of the Suez Canal. In that connexion, it must be emphasized that the question whether, and how long, the United Nations Emergency Force shall be stationed on Egyptian soil can be decided only in agreement with the Egyptian Government.

75. At the same time as the forces which are hostile to peace were resorting to aggressive action in the Near East, attempts were also being made in Europe to jeopardize peace and security. In the heart of Europe, in the Hungarian People's Republic, we witnessed for the first time since the defeat of Fascism in the Second World War an open attempt by the Fascist underground, supported from abroad, to force Hungary from the path of democratic and socialist development and to restore by terror and armed force the old Horthy régime.

76. Czechoslovakia, as a neighbour of the Hungarian People's Republic is directly affected by these events. Those taking part in the *putsch* made *revanchard* and revisionist claims which were directed against the security and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic, and represented a threat to peace and security throughout this part of Europe.

77. The white terror, the horrible atrocities which the unbridled Fascists perpetrated on the peaceful population, including women and children, during the few days when they controlled the streets of Budapest and other towns, show vividly what kind of future the counter-revolutionaries envisaged for Hungary and its people. However, their aims went much farther. Their plan envisaged a victory of reaction which would drive a wedge in the brotherly relations which exist between the socialist States and would turn Hungary into an exceedingly dangerous hotbed of tension and a jumping-off ground for military adventures in Europe.

78. The events in Hungary confirm the fact that international reaction has no desire to reconcile itself

to the existence of the world socialist system and uses every opportunity to threaten the peaceful development of the socialist countries.

79. International reaction organizes and carries out widespread subversive activities against the socialist countries, broadcasts lying propaganda by radio, releases balloons filled with slanderous booklets and leaflets designed to incite the people against their lawful Governments, and constantly seeks to create a counter-revolutionary underground in the peoples' democracies.

80. It can only be regretted that the United Nations, instead of emphatically opposing this type of activity by forces hostile to peace, is being used in the political interests of certain circles, for slanderous attacks on countries with a socialist system.

81. Another example of what is being done to maintain international tension concerns the attitude to the question of the lawful representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

82. The People's Republic of China is playing an increasingly prominent part in the mainstream of international life. It is generally recognized today that without the participation of this mighty world Power not one of the more serious international problems, and especially no problem affecting Asia and the Far East, can be effectively solved. The United Nations is engaged on a dangerous course when it permits the imperialist and strategic interests of a single Power to dictate to it year after year a procedure which postpones the solution of so urgent and important a question.

83. The aggression of imperialist forces against Egypt and the war propaganda carried on in some North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, which have again brought the danger of military conflict to the fore, have also mobilized public opinion throughout the world, and aroused insistent demands for progress on a question which is of the greatest importance to the cause of peace, namely, the question of disarmament.

84. We do not share the view of those who do not consider the present situation conducive to a solution of the disarmament problem. To accept that view would be to give way to the forces which are interested in increasing international tension and unleashing new conflicts. The feverish armaments race, which lays a heavy burden on the broad masses of the people, is a dangerous threat to international peace and security and, at the very least, a significant source of international tension.

85. The interests of mankind and of peace and security everywhere make it imperative that everything possible be done to find a positive solution of the disarmament problem.

86. Although work on a general disarmament programme is at present encountering certain difficulties, that gives us no reason or excuse for blocking all action on the question. There are a number of particular aspects of it on which agreement could be quickly reached: a reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments, a reduction in military budgets, the prohibition of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the creation of a special zone in Europe where armaments would be limited and controlled.

87. Already last year the Czechoslovak Government, in an effort to make a practical contribution to solving the problem of disarmament, reduced the numerical strength of the Czechoslovak People's Army by 34,000

men, and this year by 10,000 more. This year defence expenditures in our country decreased by 7.9 per cent, as compared with 1955. Similar steps taken by the other peace-loving countries are convincing evidence of the fact that the disarmament problem can be solved and that the decisive factor for its successful solution is goodwill on the part of the Governments of the countries concerned and their willingness to reach agreement. If such agreement has not yet been reached even on particular aspects of the disarmament problem, this is not due to "technical difficulties" but only to insufficient willingness on the part of the Western Powers.

88. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, the proposals made by the Government of the Soviet Union in its statement of 17 November 1956 [A/3366] are an outstanding contribution to the solving of the disarmament problem. In making these proposals, the Soviet Union has once again given convincing proof of its goodwill and sincerity and has taken a further step towards bringing its views into line with those of the Western Powers.

89. The Western Powers, which are repudiating one after the other the very proposals they themselves had previously made, have, of late, indicated that they have no desire to engage in direct negotiations on a plan for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, as long as there is no acceptance of the "open skies" proposal made by the United States. For the sake of reaching agreement on this question, the new Soviet proposals go a long way to meeting this demand also. Now it is for the Western Powers to show goodwill and make their contribution towards attaining a goal on which the hopes of all peace-loving mankind are pinned, namely the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, and the establishment of confidence among nations.

90. Along with the question of disarmament the Czechoslovak Government, guided by the desire to preserve and strengthen international peace, attaches primary importance to the question of collective security in Europe. The Government and people of Czechoslovakia are deeply concerned that Europe should cease to be a hotbed of tension, and that the people of Europe should enjoy the necessary conditions for a tranquil and peaceful existence. The importance of security in Europe is also indicated by historical experience, which shows that military conflicts originating in Europe have always led to world wars and have brought dire distress on all peoples.

91. The whole course of historical development amply confirms that the only correct way to secure peace in Europe is to establish a system of collective security based on the participation of all European States, regardless of their social or governmental structure.

92. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic welcomed the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of a treaty of non-aggression between NATO member States and countries adhering to the Warsaw Treaty. Such a treaty, to which the Soviet Union and the United States, the countries with the largest military establishments, would be parties, would result in a rapid change in the international atmosphere and would help to establish confidence among States and to lessen international tension. It would create favourable conditions for the conclusion of an all-European collective security treaty.

93. A treaty providing for a system of collective security in Europe would also facilitate settlement of the German question, the significance of which goes beyond the boundaries of Europe.

94. It is perfectly obvious that Czechoslovakia, which is a neighbour of both German States, has an immediate and primary interest in the creation of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic maintains its view that the question of restoring Germany unity can and should be solved in the first place by direct negotiations between the two German States and with full regard for the further strengthening of European peace and security. We cannot accept a solution of the German question which would lead to increased tension in Europe and jeopardize our own security.

95. In the course of the general debate, opinions were expressed which did not correctly reflect the danger inherent in the rebirth of German militarism. It was alleged that, with the discovery of atomic energy, there had been so radical a change in contemporary "conditions" that a resurgence of the aggressive spirit in Germany was no longer a serious threat to the security of Germany's neighbours. We do not share this view. It is not only erroneous, but dangerous for the future development of Europe. We submit that not only our geographical position but, above all, our experience entitles us to draw our own conclusions, which are indisputably well-founded. In the course of a single generation, mankind has twice had to suffer the horrible catastrophe of a world war. In both cases, aggression came from a militaristic Germany. And today we are asked to believe that war is out of the question and that the security of Germany's neighbours is enhanced on account of the existence of the atomic bomb. This leaves out of account the fact that the revived *Wehrmacht* is to be armed with atomic weapons. Germany's neighbours will never believe that the new *Wehrmacht*, armed with even more terrible weapons, will be less dangerous than its predecessor before the Second World War. Millions of Germans themselves do not accept this contention, but oppose the re-enslavement of the German people by the ill-famed General Staff.

96. In its tragic history the Czechoslovak people has endured much hardship and suffering at the hands of German militarism, the enemy of mankind. We do not wish to allow any repetition of that tragedy and we therefore issue a warning concerning the dangerous phenomena which are taking place across the frontier from us in Western Germany, where militarists and *revanchards* are again raising their heads.

97. The Czechoslovak delegation feels that it should draw the General Assembly's attention to a problem in whose solution Czechoslovakia is particularly interested. In spite of the repeated protests of the Czechoslovak Government, uncontrolled balloons are being released into the airspace of the Czechoslovak State carrying leaflets advocating acts of hostility against the Czechoslovak Republic. This hostile propaganda has no effect whatever; the Czechoslovak people flatly reject it. Nevertheless, these balloons are a serious hazard to domestic and international air communications and the explosive substances with which they are filled endanger the health, life and property of persons who come into contact with them.

98. The Czechoslovak Government has taken a number of steps on the international level to remove this

danger, but so far to no avail. It has approached the Government of the United States through the diplomatic channel, since these balloons are released by United States organizations from bases situated in the Federal Republic of Germany. It has also drawn the attention of the Secretary-General to the situation which has arisen. Similarly, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic has requested the International Civil Aviation Organization to take steps to put a stop to the violation of Czechoslovak airspace. Up to now, however, no effective measures have been taken.

99. The launching of balloons of any kind into the airspace of another State without its consent is contrary to international law and constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of that State. Moreover, the balloons released over the territory of Czechoslovakia and of other States are a serious threat to the life and health of the citizens of those countries and in many cases cause considerable damage to property. They are also a danger to air communications and their launching is itself a violation of article 8 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation of 7 December 1944. Such activities are contrary to the principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in a number of other international instruments.

100. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that the General Assembly should discuss this situation and take action in conformity with the United Nations Charter to prevent the unlawful despatch of uncontrolled balloons over the territory of other States.

101. Peaceful coexistence and the development of friendly co-operation between peoples are not simply principles we of the Czechoslovak Republic have proclaimed, but are the actual basis for all our activities in the field of foreign policy. Czechoslovakia is strengthening its manifold ties, political, economic and cultural, with all countries regardless of their social systems. Our country has recently been visited by many prominent representatives of various States, by parliamentary delegations and other official guests who have had an opportunity of learning for themselves of the peaceful achievements of the Czechoslovak people and of their desire to live in friendship and co-operation with the peoples of other countries. The Czechoslovak Government intends to continue its efforts to increase and strengthen these many-sided ties.

102. Czechoslovakia attaches special importance to the development of its economic and commercial relations with all countries regardless of their social and economic systems, on a basis of mutual advantage and of equality of rights between the parties, without discrimination of any kind.

103. The United Nations should make a more effective contribution to the development of a stable basis for a wide exchange of goods, which would help to bring about the increased co-operation on a world-wide scale in the interests of all nations. One of the most important problems arising in this connexion is that of bringing into being conditions that will ensure a further expansion of world trade, the volume of which still falls far below needs and possibilities, as a firm foundation for the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

104. Czechoslovakia can give effective assistance in the solution of that problem. In recent years the industrial production of our country has more than doubled by comparison with pre-war years and a powerful economic groundwork has thus been laid on a high technical level.

105. At the same time, as a result of the rise in the purchasing power of the population, there has been a significant increase in the consumption both of industrial and consumer goods in our country. In our plans for national economic development provision is made for a substantial increase both in production and in consumption, which will at the same time guarantee an expansion in our capacity for trade with all countries.

106. The volume of international trade could unquestionably be still larger were it not for the continued existence of artificial obstacles erected for political reasons and the futile endeavour to slow the economic development of States with a socialist system.

107. In spite of these obstacles, however, there has recently been a steady rise in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade with the capitalist countries. Our economic relations with the economically under-developed countries have taken a particularly favourable course. Between 1953 and 1955 alone, the total volume of our trade with these countries rose by about 140 per cent and a further increase is forecast in the second Five-Year Plan.

108. One serious obstacle to the successful expansion of world trade is the fact that 1,000,200,000 people, the population of the economically under-developed countries, produce goods and services to the total value of some 150 million dollars, whereas 500 million people, the population of the industrialized countries, annually produce goods and services to the value of over \$700,000 million, ten times more per head of population.

109. We believe that speedy and effective measures should be taken to correct that situation. The principal means of removing the present striking disparity between the industrially developed and the industrially under-developed countries is the industrialization of the under-developed areas as rapidly as possible. It is in the interests of everyone that the economically under-developed countries should more nearly approach the level of the developed countries and should be able to participate in world trade and in the world economy on an equal footing.

110. As an industrialized country, Czechoslovakia is giving and will continue to give the economically under-developed countries every possible support and assistance.

111. I have just given the Czechoslovak delegation's views on the contemporary situation and on certain problems which we believe to be particularly important and for whose solution, in our view, the General Assembly should assume full responsibility.

112. All peace-loving people have warmly welcomed the definite relaxation of international tension which has taken place of late. They are, however, disturbed and indignant at the intrigues of aggressive groups which are endeavouring to resurrect the past, to increase tension, to cause the situation to deteriorate, to create an atmosphere of hostility and hysteria and to destroy peace and security throughout the world. This can bring no good to ordinary men and women. They expect the United Nations to prevent such a situation from arising. They are anxious that we should make every effort to put the principles of the Charter into effect, and to ensure lasting peace, friendship and co-operation between nations so that every individual

may live in peace and without fear for the fate either of his country or of his countrymen.

113. The Czechoslovak people, freed from the Fascist yoke by the Soviet Army, has embarked on the course of building socialism and has achieved great successes. Fortified by their indestructible friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other countries which are following the same course, the industrious and gifted Czechoslovak people have built a State with a powerful industry and an advanced agriculture; they have created a flourishing country where, as time goes on, they are enjoying the fruits of their labour to an ever-increasing extent.

114. A few hours ago the Czechoslovak Government, fulfilling a promise it made at the time of the promulgation of the Five-Year Plan for the construction and development of the national economy, declared in the National Assembly that there would be a reduction—the sixth—in the prices of foodstuffs and manufactures. This price reduction represents an annual saving of nearly 1,400 million Czechoslovak crowns to our people. As from 3 December 1956, meat prices in our country will be reduced by 15 to 20 per cent, the prices of meat products by up to 31 per cent and those of preserved and cooked foods by up to 46 per cent. The prices of agricultural products will be reduced by up to 25 per cent. The prices of manufactures, including radio sets, cameras and watches, will be reduced by 18 to 35.5 per cent.

115. This, the sixth price reduction, has been made possible by the fact that our people is successfully fulfilling the tasks entailed in the development of the national economy. The fact that our people is already, for the sixth time, gathering the fruits of such a policy is but fresh confirmation of the soundness of the policy pursued by our Government, the principal characteristic of which is and always will be a concern to ensure a speedy rise in the material and cultural living standards of our workers.

116. The Czechoslovak people are rightfully proud of their achievements and are fully determined to go forward along their chosen path, of the correctness of which they have had abundant corroboration.

117. In the deliberate, firm and wise attitude which they have adopted, the Czechoslovak people have, particularly in recent times, given a clear answer to international reaction, frustrated its hopes and plans and thereby rendered a great service to the cause of peace and security in Europe.

118. The Government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, in fulfilment of the wish and will of the whole of our people, intends in future to continue to make every effort to frustrate the plans of the enemies of human happiness, to secure the triumph of the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter, to bring about lasting peace and security and to ensure peaceful co-existence, friendship and co-operation between all peoples for all time.

119. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (*translated from French*): The joy and pride that my delegation feels at the election of Prince Wan Waithayakon are too sincere for me to fail to extend to him my belated congratulations. His unanimous election was the best possible proof of our confidence and a well-deserved tribute to the high qualities which he has shown during his long and brilliant career as a diplomat and statesman.

120. My object in taking part in the general debate is merely to say a few words about the recent events which have taken place since the publication of the Secretary-General's Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/3137]. In my opinion the questions dealt with in this report can best be discussed in the committees, where my delegation will not fail to express its views on these matters as they come up. The recent events to which I have just referred are the Suez crisis and the situation in Hungary.

121. Let us first speak of the Suez question. Last year, during the tenth session of the General Assembly, we noted with satisfaction that there had been a relaxation of international tension. This improvement in international relations had encouraged us, with good reason, to view the future with moderate optimism, but the nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company produced a violent reaction on the part of certain interested parties and threatened to transform certain differences of opinion into implacable opposition.

122. Attempts were made to settle this growing conflict outside the United Nations, but these well-meaning efforts failed to achieve the desired success. We ourselves took a very active part in these attempts, both in the London Conferences of last summer and in the Five-Power Committee, and we spared no effort to solve this problem in the spirit of the Charter, that is, by peaceful means.

123. As I have just said, these efforts did not meet with complete success, but at least we had the satisfaction of having prevented an armed conflict. Our satisfaction appeared well-founded, for when the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom decided to refer the Suez question to the Security Council we thought with good reason that they were expressing their willingness to accept the decision of the Council.

124. At the end of last October, when we were hoping for an equitable solution of the Suez problem on the basis of an agreement reached in the Security Council, and when we thought that the idea of resorting to force had been definitively abandoned, we were suddenly confronted by Israel's aggression against Egypt, followed by a violation of Egypt's sovereignty and territorial integrity by the military forces of France and the United Kingdom.

125. What were the motives for this military intervention at a time when we seemed to be making progress toward a peaceful solution? We are right to ask this question, for at the very moment when this military intervention was taking place the Secretary-General was still offering his good offices for the purpose of exploring and defining the existing possibilities for solving the Suez problem in accordance with the requirements laid down by the Security Council. In his report [S/3596] on this subject, the Secretary-General noted that the Egyptian Government had expressed full agreement on all the questions raised in the negotiations, except for one point which, in our opinion, could also have been settled satisfactorily if the parties to the dispute had only shown sufficient goodwill and mutual understanding.

126. Our surprise was all the greater since these flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter and these attacks on the prestige and influence of our Organization, came from two States which had permanent seats in the Security Council and for that reason bore a greater share of responsibility for main-

taining international peace and security. But that is not all: these are the same States that prevented the Security Council from taking the necessary steps when the question of Israel's aggression was brought before it. Since the Council was dead-locked, there was no alternative but to refer the matter to the General Assembly itself. Therefore, we warmly supported the proposal to convene an emergency special session which enabled the Assembly to take quick action to impose a cease-fire and request the withdrawal of the invading forces.

127. While this action was being taken in the United Nations, the Iranian Government was intensifying its efforts, in co-operation with the Governments of Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, to secure the evacuation of Egyptian territory at the earliest possible date.

128. Anxious to preserve peace in that region, the heads of the four Governments met at Teheran, where they considered the situation carefully and concluded their deliberations with a public declaration of their position in the matter. This declaration, dated 8 November 1956, condemned Israel's aggression and called upon the latter to withdraw its armed forces behind the armistice lines immediately. It also expressed the grave concern of the four Governments at the Anglo-French military action in Egypt and their fear that that action might weaken the only world Organization which offered any hope for peace and justice to the world. It asked the United Kingdom and French Governments to end hostilities immediately, to withdraw their forces from Egypt and to respect fully the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Egypt.

129. The four Powers again declared that the Suez Canal dispute ought to be settled by peaceful negotiation and under the auspices of the United Nations. They stated that any settlement of that dispute ought to guarantee, *inter alia*, freedom of passage through the Canal, while respecting the full sovereignty of Egypt. While reaffirming their faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter, the four Powers expressed their condemnation of aggression of any kind.

130. Finally these Powers noted with satisfaction the message received from the Government of the United Kingdom through its ambassador in Teheran to the effect that the representations made by these Powers to the United Kingdom had had a certain influence upon the latter's decision to agree to an immediate cease-fire.

131. We have reviewed the main points of this declaration in order to show that these four Powers, which are co-signatories of the Baghdad Pact and at the same time loyal to the principles of the United Nations Charter, did not hesitate to condemn Israel's acts of aggression as well as the military intervention of the United Kingdom, once they had decided that the latter had acted in violation of the Charter.

132. This conduct of the four Powers clearly shows that their association under the Baghdad Pact is of a defensive character and can hardly possess the aggressive aims which have sometimes been unjustly imputed to it. Contrary to the allegations of those who believe that the Baghdad Pact is merely a device created by certain Powers for the purpose of subjugating the peoples of the Middle East, the four Parties to the Pact have proved that in reality it is an instrument of peace to be used in carrying out the aims of the Charter and that these four Powers are no less persevering than the others in opposing colonialism and defending the right of peoples to self-determination.

133. With regard to what is being done in the United Nations to settle the Suez question, I am happy to note that the Assembly took the necessary decisions as soon as the matter was brought before it and that it is closely following the subsequent developments.

134. Let us now turn to the situation in Hungary. In this matter, as in the Egyptian problem, we expressed ourselves in the Security Council in favour of convening an emergency special session of the General Assembly. Here again we had the satisfaction of noting that the Assembly acted promptly and judiciously. Here again we supported the resolutions which were taken. One of these [1007 (ES-II)] concerned assistance for the Hungarian people. So one could object to measures for the relief of human suffering. As a matter of fact, contributions are already coming in from all quarters. The other resolution [1004 (ES-II)] was to send impartial observers to study the situation on the spot. We have heard charges and counter-charges with respect to the events in Hungary. What better action could we take than call for an investigation on the spot into the truth or otherwise of what has been said on both sides? I appeal to the Hungarian Government to give a favourable reply to the Secretary-General's repeated requests that United Nations observers should be admitted to Hungarian territory.

135. This is our position with regard to the two most important and urgent problems now before us. I should like to add that for us the cause of liberty is one and indivisible. We condemn aggression and intervention against the freedom of a people from whatever quarter.

136. We believe that the impulse toward freedom is irresistible, however great the strength of the Powers that try to oppose it, and we hope that all Governments will recognize this fact and understand once and for all that genuine friendship between nations can exist only on a basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, and that political influence imposed by force of arms can create only hatred and discord.

137. In spite of the dangers which they entail for the maintenance of world peace and security, the tragic events in Hungary and the Middle East have enabled the United Nations to make remarkable progress in certain fields the full scope of which nobody can ignore.

138. We are especially pleased to see the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force under the auspices of the United Nations. Although the powers of that Force are limited, they possess considerable importance. Here we should like to pay tribute to the great accomplishment of the Canadian Minister of External Affairs and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, who in a very short time has succeeded in organizing, pursuant to the General Assembly's resolutions, a force considerable detachments of which are already in Egypt and ready to carry out the duties assigned to them.

139. To be sure, that Force is not the international army which was envisaged by the Charter. The Organization does not yet have an army which is capable of making its decisions respected, because the permanent members of the Security Council have been unable to reach agreement. It is none the less true that the creation of this international police force marks a great step forward and will make it easier, later on, to organize that international army without which the Organization can never enforce its decisions completely, in spite of its great moral influence.

140. We must also note a resurgence of vitality in the United Nations, which has shown itself able to mobilize world public opinion against the use of force.

141. In concluding this review, I should like to take a look at the future and tell you what lessons, in my opinion, should be drawn from the events which have just taken place. First, we all ought to make a sincere effort to solve the problem of the Suez Canal in a way which will guarantee the right of free passage while observing due respect for Egyptian sovereignty. Second, we ought to make a practical effort to bring about a fair settlement of the Palestine question. However, it is obvious that no final settlement of these two problems can be reached until the invasion forces have evacuated Egyptian territory. The United Nations will then be in a much more favourable position to assist the interested parties to arrive at a just and permanent solution.

142. We believe that sooner or later the right of peoples to self-determination in all those countries which do not yet enjoy independence will be recognized and that the colonial Powers will be better advised to abandon voluntarily an obsolete attitude which no longer meets the requirements of our time. On the other hand, we must admit the necessity of settling all problems of this kind under the auspices of the United Nations, so that the legitimate aspirations of these peoples can be realized without resorting to violence.

143. In particular, now that the Algerian question has been included in the Assembly's agenda, fortunately without any opposition from France, an effort should be made to solve this problem in a way which will be consistent with the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people and which will help to restore peace and security in that part of the world.

144. In spite of the recent sad events which have widened the gulf between the African-Asian peoples and the colonial Powers, we think that we ought to exert all our efforts toward bringing the peoples of Asia and Africa closer to the peoples of the West. We must, indeed, acknowledge that we urgently need the technical science and capital of the more advanced countries in order to speed up our own economic development and, in particular, our industrialization programme. The West, on the other hand, needs some of our raw materials, since without them its industry would be unable to function. We can serve our common interests only by restoring mutual confidence and sincere international co-operation. We ourselves have neglected no opportunity to contribute to that co-operation and we shall be very glad to serve as a bridge between the West and the various peoples whose co-operation is not only a guarantee of international peace and security but also helps to improve their own living conditions.

145. We are very glad that the Government of the United States is making similar efforts and is trying to convince its allies that sincere and friendly co-operation is the only course open to us, and that fortunately such a course will prove profitable to all. The United States Government has clearly understood that it is only by following such a wise policy that we can bridge the gulf between East and West.

146. In closing, I should like to repeat that it is in the interest of all of us to respect the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations. By so doing we shall help to strengthen the prestige of

our Organization, which, in present circumstances, is still the sole hope of humanity. Those who complain today about some of the recommendations passed by the General Assembly might be the first to invoke them tomorrow, for if aggression is not banished forever, they may be the next victims.

147. Mr. PREOTEASA (Romania) (*Translated from French*): This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is of particular importance in view of the tense international situation in which it is taking place.

148. Before I give the views of the delegation of the People's Republic of Romania on the important questions now facing the General Assembly, I should like, as the representative of a new Member of the United Nations, to give a brief account of the principles which determine the conduct of my country's foreign policy.

149. Romania is engaged in a vast programme of construction and economic development, the purpose of which is to raise the material level of living and the cultural standards of the people. Romania used to be known, and has often been described, as offering a market contrast between the economic wealth of the country and the chronic poverty of the masses, a poverty so great that it affected the nation's biological resources.

150. In order to measure the extent of the effort being made and the progress that has been achieved in relation to the former situation in Romania, it is significant to note that at the end of 1955 industrial production was about three times greater than in 1938. Three months in the case of electric power, 84 days in the case of iron ore, 4 months in the case of steel, 28 days in the case of methane gas and 79 days in the case of meat products are all that is needed today to equal the entire production of 1938.

151. From an agricultural country and a producer of raw materials Romania has transformed itself into a fast-growing industrial-agricultural country. It has established industries for the manufacture of machine-tools, tractors and trucks and, conclusive proof, it has succeeded in building up a complete oil equipment industry, which enables it to operate this source of wealth in the interests of the people and the State.

152. Since Romania has set itself as its principal task the completing of this constructive programme, the country is profoundly and organically concerned in a policy of peace and international co-operation. For this reason it encourages unceasingly in its foreign policy the principles of peaceful coexistence, of co-operation with all countries on an equal footing, with reciprocal respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. In line with these principles, Romania bends its efforts constantly towards the effective expansion of political, cultural and business relations with all countries, regardless of their social system.

153. The close relations of friendship and mutual assistance which have been established between Romania, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries, have been loyally placed at the service of the interests of these countries and of those of international peace and security. In fact everything in this friendship serves to maintain and strengthen the cause of peace.

154. During the last ten years—a period during which the popular democratic régime has developed and definitely consolidated itself—Romania has expanded

its relations so as to include many countries in Europe, Asia and the Near East and established diplomatic and economic relations with some of them for the first time. The People's Republic of Romania has economic relations with sixty-two countries and is making practical efforts to develop economic, political and cultural relations with States in Western Europe, North America and Latin America.

155. Taking as its point of departure the principle that there is no dispute which cannot be settled by negotiations, the Romanian Government has taken the initiative in settling problems left pending with other countries. Let me recall that during the last few months, Romania has re-established diplomatic relations, interrupted by the last war, with Greece, one of its close neighbours. It has also invited the United States of America to discuss certain problems which are pending between the two countries, to promote commercial and cultural relations between them, and to develop ties of friendship between the American and Romanian peoples. We are sure that truly sound relations can only exist between States that respect each other's national independence.

156. Romania won its complete national independence in the popular rising against Hitlerism on 23 June 1944, a rising which removed Romania from the hated Hitlerian war and joined it to the United Nations by its struggle and by the blood shed by the Romanian army side by side with the Soviet Army to crush Nazi Germany once and for all.

157. These guiding principles of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Romania correspond to the profound aspirations of the Romanian people and its national interests. The People's Republic of Romania looks upon the liberation movement among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries with deep sympathy and understanding. This attitude has a profound historical explanation. In the still recent past, the people of Romania went through bitter experiences; when their country was kept in an economically retarded state and their national wealth was exploited for the profit of the great world monopolies, while Romanian Governments changed incessantly according to the interests of a few great Western capitals, and Romania was dragged into military adventures which bore no relation to its national interests.

158. For the Romanian people today this dark chapter of their history is finished forever. We greet those States which have recently conquered their independence and are now playing an increasingly important part in the defence of international peace and co-operation. We regard this fact as one of the most important factors for progress in contemporary history. This irresistible advance of the national liberation movement has called attention to the question of the complete liquidation of the colonial system. The attempt to use war to re-conquer lost colonial positions is all the more serious and big with consequence. The aggression launched by England and France, with the support of Israel, against the brave people of Egypt, is characteristic in this respect.

159. The methods and practices of colonialism, condemned by all mankind, cannot be resumed in the second half of the twentieth century without running the risk of political, economic and military disaster. The energetic and determined reaction of the peace-loving forces, and the almost unanimous resolution [997 (ES-I)] of the General Assembly were able to

halt the aggression; the aggressors found themselves isolated and condemned. These results cannot have failed to impress international aggressors.

160. The Romanian delegation wishes to emphasize that in the interests of peace and security the most important step is the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces from Egyptian territory and the re-establishment of the *status quo* at the time of the aggression; it was with this understanding that the General Assembly decision was adopted. This is the only way to prevent subsequent complications, and to approach the other questions concerning the Middle East.

161. The Romanian People's Republic which has developed economic, cultural and friendly relations with a number of these nations in the Middle East to our mutual benefit, is deeply concerned in the re-establishment of peace in that region, the consolidation of the independence of the Arab States and the promotion of their economic development. The Romanian delegation considers that the United Nations should firmly oppose any further intrigues or plans of aggression in the countries of the Middle East.

162. Colonialism is a permanent cause of international tension and of the violation of human rights, of conflict and of war. That is why one of the chief and most urgent tasks of the General Assembly is to discuss and to settle equitably the problems on the agenda of Cyprus, Algeria and West Irian. My delegation wishes to lay particular stress on the pressing necessity of settling the Cyprus question which has been referred to the United Nations by Greece.

163. It is obvious that the colonial régime imposed on the people of Cyprus by the United Kingdom occupying forces is one of the chief sources of disturbance and instability in South East Europe and in the Near East. The Romanian delegation believes that the speedy grant to the Cypriot people of the right of self-determination is in the interests of all States, particularly in view of the fact that recent events have shown that the United Kingdom has transformed Cyprus into a military base for purposes of aggression which threatens the peace and independence of the people of that part of the world. The Romanian people, who are linked with the people of Greece by long ties of friendship and by joint struggles for independence, warmly supports the Greek request for a solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the burning aspirations of the Cypriot people for liberty.

164. The Hungarian situation has been brought up before the General Assembly on several occasions. The delegation of the People's Republic of Romania has had occasion, several times, to express its opinion on this matter, which was, and is, a domestic problem of the Hungarian State. We consider that the failure of Fascist Horthyist elements to restore the former régime by making use of the popular movement which was seeking to strengthen the people's democracy, has removed the possibility of Hungary becoming a centre of trouble and disturbance in the heart of Europe.

165. It must be understood that when we refer to Fascists and Horthyists we are not bringing into the discussion any new factor which needs interpretation. We mean the persons who were part of, or who directed, the Horthyist formations, and who styled themselves thus at the time when they were in power. What is indispensable at present is to assist the Hungarian people to recover from their cruel sufferings

and to rebuild their lives. The Romanian Government is determined to give every assistance to the people of Hungary, their friends and neighbours.

166. The Romanian Government considers that the disarmament question is the essential problem which must be solved in order to secure a lasting peace. An agreement on disarmament could open up vast possibilities for the solution of international conflicts. The world would have taken a great step towards peace. The peoples would be relieved of the heavy burden of military expenditure and of the atmosphere of tension which has been created in order to justify these expenses. On the other hand to continue the armaments race, to go on heaping up conventional weapons, atomic weapons and hydrogen weapons, would mean increasing the danger of unleashing a new aggression, for the armaments race gives rise to tension, to cold war, and to the policy of positions of strength which must tend to direct the course of events towards a third world war.

167. The history of the disarmament talks which, at the League of Nations, served as a smoke-screen behind which international aggressors could intensify the armaments race and prepare their plans for unleashing the Second World War, should be ever present in our minds. We agree with those representatives who, in speaking of the need to solve this problem and of its importance, emphasized the responsibility which falls on all countries but particularly on the great Powers.

168. The General Assembly has had before it the new proposals by the Government of the Soviet Union, set out in a statement [A/3366] of 17 November 1956, on the question of disarmament and the easing of international tension. The Romanian delegation considers these proposals to be a most important contribution, which could lead to a positive settlement of the question. It is obvious that not only the Romanian People's Republic but also the majority of countries which are anxious to eliminate the threat of war, to establish favourable terms of trade and to devote their budgets to social work and the development of the national economy, expect that the other great Powers, and first and foremost the United States, will really fall in with the Soviet Union proposals.

169. I propose to refer to some aspects of the problem which are of particular interest to the Romanian People's Republic. Romania has reduced the total strength of its armed forces by 60,000 officers and men and has shortened the term of military service, thus giving conclusive proof that it is prepared to put into practice the policy of armaments reduction. The Romanian People's Republic thinks it essential that an international agreement should be reached on the progressive reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the great Powers and of other countries. We firmly support the Soviet Union proposal concerning the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the discontinuation of nuclear tests, and the establishment of an international control of these measures.

170. The Romanian People's Republic has constantly maintained that peace and security in Europe cannot be safeguarded by the establishment of antagonistic military blocs but by the joint efforts of all European States to create a general security system. In this spirit we support the proposal for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries; such a pact would create new and highly favourable conditions for a continuing progress

in the direction of general disarmament and the strengthening of peace.

171. We must point out that the Warsaw Treaty, to which Romania is a party and which was concluded with a view to providing a defence against the danger created by the resurgence of a new *Wehrmacht* in West Germany, was conceived from the beginning as a conditional pact. It provides that should a system of collective security be established in Europe, and a Treaty concluded for this purpose, for which the Contracting Parties will unswervingly strive, the Warsaw Treaty will lose its validity. The Western Powers, first and foremost among them the United States of America, have engaged in a vast propaganda campaign against the Warsaw Treaty, although they maintain military bases round the Eastern European countries which are parties to the Treaty and large military forces in West Germany. The existence of these bases is undoubtedly a source of tension and a threat to the security of the Eastern European countries.

172. In its statement before the General Assembly the Soviet Union presented concrete proposals to the Western Powers concerning the elimination of military bases, the reduction of NATO forces and their withdrawal from foreign territory, the withdrawal of Western troops from West Germany, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of countries which are signatories to the Warsaw Treaty. The implementation of these measures would undoubtedly bring about a genuine relaxation of tension in Europe and throughout the world.

173. The importance of the problems we must face and the spirit of responsibility with which they must be approached are all the greater in that, as has already been stressed, we find ourselves at a crucial point in the development of the international situation, when each Member of the United Nations will have to give a definite answer to the following questions: Shall we allow the phantom of cold war to reappear? Shall we allow new plans for aggression to be openly flaunted with calm and cynicism, or shall we decide upon a return to the principles of peaceful co-operation, the only means of ensuring the peace and progress of all peoples?

174. If we are to repulse the forces of cold war and dispel distrust, our first step should certainly be to endeavour to solve in a realistic and practical spirit the vast problems that at present are in abeyance. At the same time, however, we should devote our full attention to every means of strengthening international co-operation by developing those means for which favourable conditions have been or can be created, namely, commercial and cultural relations and direct contacts between leaders and prominent people of all countries.

175. In the opinion of my delegation, one problem that deserves attention is the extension and the encouragement of diplomatic relations between States in order to promote and consolidate international co-operation. The development of diplomatic relations is not accorded the same place as the development of international trade or economic, cultural and political relations between States.

176. If we consider the favourable effect that the recent re-establishment of diplomatic relations between certain countries, broken off as a result of the last world war, has had on the international situation, we see clearly that it would be of real advantage to make

some efforts in this direction. Similarly, we are not forgetting that some new States have come into being in the last few years. The general spirit of co-operation between nations will be the more strengthened as these new States are able to develop their diplomatic relations more rapidly. The decision to establish diplomatic relations with one State or another is, of course, a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of each Government. General Assembly recommendations on the subject, which we feel would be both appropriate and feasible, would be of great help in promoting this positive action.

177. On the subject of economic problems, which are of considerable importance, the Romanian Government considers that the interests of progress and international understanding call of necessity for international trade based upon mutual advantages and developing without artificial barriers or discrimination. Within the framework of international economic co-operation, the problem of economic and technical assistance to under-developed areas assumes particular importance in those areas where, as the Secretary-General points out in his Introduction to the Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/3137/Add.1] "poverty continues to be the law of life for the great majority of mankind".

178. The just solution of this problem is, however, considerably complicated by the vast sums certain States are spending on armaments and by the fact that the assistance these States are giving to under-developed areas has a preponderantly military character. The Romanian Government has declared itself in favour of granting economic and technical assistance to under-developed areas on the basis of full equality of rights and without any military or political conditions. It is in this spirit that the Romanian People's Republic will support the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. We consider that the exchange of technical experience on an international scale, as is in practice developing, could extend to all countries, the most advanced as well as the least advanced. The Romanian Government favours such an exchange of experience. It is prepared, for instance, to pass on to other countries its own experience in the oil industry.

179. We cannot conclude without re-emphasizing the fact that the particularly important role that the United Nations is called upon to play in the promotion of international co-operation is seriously diminished by the absence from this Organization of representatives of the Chinese people, who number 600 million.

180. We shall not go into all the aspects of this absurd situation, which is of the utmost prejudice to our Organization. Just consider the fact that twenty-two countries of the two Americas, with a total population of approximately 350 million, have twenty-two votes in this Assembly, whereas the Chinese people, who represent one quarter of mankind, have not a single vote. We are glad, of course, that every nation, no matter how small, has an opportunity to participate with equal rights in the work of the United Nations. We are glad that the United Nations is approaching the full achievement of the principle of universality but that is the very reason why the obstacle raised in the path of international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations by the unjust and inadmissible situation which keeps China excluded from

the activity of the Organization, will appear even more flagrant and more obvious—if this situation continues.

181. I wish to emphasize the particular importance that the Romanian delegation attaches to the role and work of the United Nations. We are living in a period in which the circles that are interested in maintaining and increasing international tension have engaged in aggression and are maintaining a troubled atmosphere favourable to new attacks against the peace and independence of peace-loving States. In these circumstances, it is necessary that all the forces of peace should be mobilized, that the nations should remain on the alert, and that statesmen and Governments should take up the unsolved international problems in a spirit of responsibility.

182. The United Nations has played and must play an important part in this respect. In order to achieve its noble mission set forth in the Charter—the defence and the maintenance of peace and international security—the United Nations should not be in the position of acting only after the fire has broken out but it should come to grips with the international causes of conflict and tension. It should be ever on the alert to prevent international conflicts and to solve them through negotiations and discussions round the conference table. It is for that reason that we deem it necessary that the United Nations should cease to be used as a platform for propaganda and incitement. The tension created by such cold-war Epigones is an obstacle to constructive efforts. We are convinced that the atmosphere thus created prevents many delegations from making their true and full contribution. We are confident, however, that the United Nations will be able to make of the General Assembly the place of all places for international negotiations for the gradual solution of the problems confronting the United Nations, with the equal participation of all countries, large and small.

183. The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic is ready to make its full contribution to the solution of the problems before the Assembly and to co-operate with all those delegations which are animated by the desire to make the spirit of understanding and goodwill, which will consolidate peace and international co-operation, prevail in this Assembly.

184. I wish to be permitted to associate myself with all the expressions of congratulation which previous speakers have extended to Prince Wan Waithayakon on his election as President of the General Assembly.

185. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the United Kingdom of Libya, which has just arrived at United Nations Headquarters, has the pleasure of conveying to the General Assembly the best wishes of its Government for the successful conduct of the Assembly's discussions and the success of its work at this session.

186. The Libyan delegation also takes great pleasure in expressing to Prince Wan Waithayakon, President of the General Assembly, its warmest congratulations on the great confidence shown him by his colleagues, who were happily inspired when choosing him to guide the work of this session. In tendering him its congratulations, it also extends to the President its best wishes for the successful discharge of his important functions, and has the honour to promise him its closest and most sincere co-operation. It also warmly congratulates the members of the Assembly's General Committee.

187. The Libyan delegation is more than happy to compliment the Secretary-General on the manner in which he is performing his onerous and numerous duties, and wishes to transmit to him and to his colleagues an expression of esteem mingled with appreciation, admiration and encouragement.

188. My delegation, in the name of the United Kingdom of Libya recently admitted to membership in the United Nations, wishes, on behalf of the Government and people of Libya, to impart a fraternal and a friendly greeting to all those Member States of the United Nations that in words and deeds have shown their desire to establish peace, mutual respect, co-operation and friendship among the countries of the world, for friendship, in our opinion, should be founded on frankness, mutual respect and healthy realism, as well as on understanding and co-operation in matters of common interest.

189. The Libyan delegation takes pleasure in addressing its warm congratulations and a cordial welcome to the States recently admitted to membership in the United Nations. It has, in particular, the admission to the United Nations family of the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco, countries which are bound to our own by ties of brotherhood and good neighbourliness, and whose past has been made glorious by their struggle to achieve freedom for their peoples.

190. The recent course of world events and the perilous turn given to the international situation by the use of armed force to settle international questions as typified by the attack launched in the Middle East, against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Egypt, strengthen Libya's conviction that, in order to prevent the spread of armed aggression and in the last analysis to avert a general catastrophe, the United Nations, on the principle of the settlement of international disputes by the peaceful means set forth in the Charter, must act firmly and courageously to prevent any threat to peace; it must stop every act of aggression directed against the integrity of a Member State or the aspirations of any nation which strives to live in human dignity and freedom and thereafter join the United Nations as a new member of our international family. The Libyan delegation accordingly speaks for the Libyan people in expressing the satisfaction felt at the news that the United Nations had intervened to halt the aggression committed against Egypt, and their fervent hope that similar action will be taken to halt the aggression which, alas, has long been directed against the nations of Palestine and Algeria.

191. I would emphasize that, in the light of its experience as a member of the League of Arab States, and as a participant in the African-Asian conference held at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, Libya considers that groups of this character have made a sincere and active contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and are acting in accordance with the principles and ideals of our Charter, Chapter VIII of which, in recognizing the legality of such regional arrangements, regards them as fit and proper to participate in the maintenance of peace and to end aggression.

192. The Libyan delegation would add that, in its opinion, one of the most effective ways of establishing international peace, understanding and co-operation is to ensure that the principle of the self-determination of peoples is applied; to aid the peoples in their will to enjoy that right; and to intervene in their support when their very aspiration to this universal right ex-

poses them to armed attack. My delegation accordingly believes that the Palestinian question, the Algerian question and all other questions of like nature should be settled by the United Nations in accordance with that right. I would point out at this juncture that my country, which acquired that right under the auspices of the United Nations, has always endeavoured to model its conduct on the principles of the Charter, and has successfully resolved to settle by peaceful means certain difficult questions left pending with the Powers which once occupied its territory.

193. My delegation considers it a further factor for peace that the United Nations should foster international co-operation in the peaceful utilization of the more important sources of energy as a means of promoting economic progress and leading all peoples to prosperity. Libya has every interest in the efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency to achieve this purpose and is ready to co-operate with the Agency, and would be willing to assist it by placing at its disposal whatever space it might be able to use in one or more of its fields of activity.

194. Only a few days ago the Libyan people, in unreserved gratitude and with a joy sobered by the regrettable acts of aggression committed to the east and to the west of our country, celebrated an event as dear to them as the Organization responsible for that event. I refer to 21 November, the anniversary of the resolution [289 (IV)] adopted by the General Assembly in 1949 concerning the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya. I wish to assure the Assembly that Libya is doing everything in its power to maintain and strengthen that independence. The Libyan delegation takes this opportunity of expressing its gratitude and appreciation for the technical assistance Libya is receiving from the United Nations.

195. In conclusion I would utter a fervent hope that this Assembly will have yet other opportunities to win further titles to humanity, honour and glory through the adoption of resolutions similar to that of 21 November 1949 for the benefit of nations now striving heroically that the principles of human dignity, self-determination and freedom which inspired our Charter may prevail.

Point of order by the representative of Iraq

196. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq on a point of order.

197. Mr. JAMALI (Iraq): When the representative of Israel took the rostrum at the 600th meeting—on a point of order, my delegation, like the delegation of Egypt, thought that he was coming to express the penitence of his Government for the dastardly attack on Egypt, or to express his Government's regrets for the ignominious shooting of the Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip. We thought that he might be coming up to the rostrum to announce the date of the withdrawal of the Israel troops behind the armistice lines. However, we did not expect him to announce the readiness of his Government to have the 900,000 Arab refugees, long the inhabitants of Palestine, return to their homes, or to declare his Government's readiness to respect the Charter, human rights and the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine.

198. This is too much to expect from Israel, whose arrogance and aggressive tendencies make them blind to right and justice in Palestine. The representative of Israel expresses his anxiety and concern for the

treatment of the Jews in Egypt. We feel sure that he is ringing a false alarm, but we question his qualifications to raise the issue before this General Assembly for two reasons.

199. First of all, his Government is already red-handed before this General Assembly, *vis-à-vis* Egypt. They are also caught red-handed in their indiscriminate shooting of innocent Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip. The recent picture in *The New York Times* of 23 November 1956 showing a baby Arab girl shot in the chest beside her dead mother is objective evidence of Israel atrocities. One wonders how the representative of a Government which commits such atrocities has the nerve to come to the rostrum and attack Egypt on the basis of rumours which have not even been verified.

200. In the second place, who made Israel the spokesman for all the Jews all over the world? The Jews outside Israel are citizens of their respective countries, and Israel has no special right or reason to interfere in their affairs, any more than it has a right to interfere in the affairs of people of other races or creeds.

201. Israel's interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Israel's attempt to uproot the Jews from their homes in the various countries and to raise world propaganda in the Western capitals on their behalf, is utilized as a method by which Zionists raise funds for Israel in the United States of America. This Israel propaganda for collecting money must be exposed to the world. Israel always raises false alarms and spreads exaggerated and perverted propaganda on behalf of the Jews in many parts of the world. It is done not to help those Jews, for they usually get hurt by Israel intervention; they get hurt because their loyalty to the country to which they belong is shaken. But Israel does not care for the integrity of other countries and the welfare of the Jews in those countries as much as she cares for uprooting them, with the purpose of transferring them to Israel and raising funds for that purpose. Those who contribute funds to Israel should know that they are doing no service to the Jews or to humanity by furthering Zionist aims.

202. This classic method of exploiting the Jews of other countries and casting aspersions on the reputation of States in which Jews live happily has become well known to the world. Israel anxiety over the Jews in Egypt falls into this category. My own country, Iraq, where the Jews have lived for thousands of years with their Moslem and Christian brethren, has gone through this experience. We in Iraq had no Jewish problem before the coming of Zionism into the Middle East.

203. Today, there is another reason for the Zionist Israel uproar about the fictitious claim that Egypt is driving the Jews out of the country. The purpose is to divert the attention of the world from the major issue of Israel's aggression and invasion of Egypt and its violation of the armistice lines to a side issue, which, if it were true—and in all probability it is not—would count for very little beside the tragedy of the Arabs of Palestine and the aggression of Israel against Egypt

and its indiscriminate shooting of the Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip.

204. I wish to assert from this rostrum that the Arabs have nothing against the Jews as Jews. We have always lived with the Jews in peace and harmony; we have always provided them with homes and shelter when they were persecuted in other lands. It is Zionism, with its aggressive and arrogant attitude, with its offspring Israel, that is the main cause of trouble and unrest in the Middle East today. The whole world knows that Jews in Arab lands generally, and in Egypt in particular, have been treated with all fairness and tolerance, on a basis of equality, even in the darkest days of the Palestine war or in these days of the dastardly Israel invasion of Egypt. If Egypt takes security measures designed to guarantee its own safety and the safety of its citizens of the Jewish faith, it is because Israel attacked Egypt and because Israel used some of those unfortunate Jews for espionage and other aggressive designs.

205. The Jews of the world must be protected, but they must first of all be protected from Zionism in general and Mr. Ben-Gurion in particular. It is Zionism and Mr. Ben-Gurion which work to undermine Jewish loyalty to the countries to which the Jews belong. It is this uprooting, this looking towards the outside, to Israel, that creates trouble for the Jews all over the world. We are sure that Israel will prove to be the biggest curse not only to the Arabs of Palestine but to the Jews all over the world. It tries to uproot them and to undermine their loyalty.

206. Let us listen to Mr. Ben-Gurion in the Knesset where—according to *The New York Times* of 29 November 1956 which quotes him—he charged Egypt with imposing “a reign of terror on all Jews of Egypt who desire to hold fast to their Jewish faith which is bound up with faith in a return to Zion”. I repeat “which is bound up with faith in a return to Zion”. In other words, Mr. Ben-Gurion is insinuating that the Jews of Egypt must return to Zion.

207. During the same Knesset discussion yesterday Tewfik Toubi, an Arab member, interrupted the Premier's reading of the motion to ask, “what about the atrocities against the Arab inhabitants?” A roar of “Be quiet!” followed and—still according to the *The New York Times*—the Premier joined in, saying “You scoundrel! Are you Nasser's representative here?” That is democracy, and that is how the Arabs are permitted to express their views in the Israel Knesset.

208. In short, my delegation believes that the Israel attempt here to fabricate a case for the Jews of Egypt is another example of seeking ammunition for the Zionist fund-raising campaign in the United States, and an attempt to turn the thoughts of the world from Israel's invasion of Egypt and indiscriminate shooting in Gaza to a side issue. We believe that the Jews must live on a basis of brotherhood and equality with all the peoples of the world, in any country in which they happen to reside, and that they must first of all be protected from Zionism and from Mr. Ben-Gurion.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.