

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PENN-NOUTH (Cambodia) (translated from French): I should like, first of all, to join other delegations in conveying to Sir Leslie Munro my delegation's sincere congratulations on his election as President of this Assembly. By inviting him to preside over its discussions, the Assembly has recognized him as a man of great tact, competence and devotion to the cause of the United Nations. My delegation is all the more pleased at this election in that relations between our two countries have always been characterized by friendship and mutual co-operation.

2. At the same time, my delegation would like heartily to congratulate Mr. Charles Malik of Lebanon on his spirit of abnegation and understanding, which has enabled the General Assembly to continue the tradition of harmony and unity which has attended the election of its President every year since the foundation of the United Nations.

3. The Cambodian delegation is glad to welcome the Federation of Malaya, which has just become the eighty-second Member of our Organization. Slowly but surely the United Nations is moving towards its goal of universality, and its membership is reflecting more and more faithfully the realities of the world situation.

4. Whereas in 1956 our discussions were overshadowed by tragic events, we can be thankful this year that the Assembly is beginning its work in a somewhat more peaceful atmosphere. That is not to say that we have completely forgotten the events of last year. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in the introduction to his annual report, they have "cast a clearer light upon the role of the United Nations in these times", a role which the Organization has played "sometimes successfully, sometimes with disappointing setbacks" [A/3594/Add.1, p.3].

5. The world is not at present experiencing an ideal and lasting peace. The danger of conflict still exists in certain parts of the globe. Peoples are still struggling for their freedom and independence. Cambodia considers that the international situation is far from

satisfactory, and the Cambodian people are anxiously wondering if there are not other threats to the security of nations.

6. Notwithstanding the present situation, Cambodia remains firmly convinced that all international disputes can and must be settled by peaceful means, with respect for the rights and sovereignty of each country and in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

7. As far as my country is concerned, we have never departed from those principles. Long before becoming a Member of the United Nations, Cambodia had steadfastly pursued a consistent policy of peace. In the struggle for its independence, its freedom and its right to live, it has always refrained from the use of violence and force.

8. Some might regard our policy of peace as a policy of weakness. I can assure them that my Government practises neither a weak nor a defeatist policy but that it considers that all countries, great or small, powerful or weak, should adhere to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation. In the event of direct negotiation failing, disputes should be brought before the United Nations, which should be regarded not as a forum for propaganda or sterile debate but as the highest international court where constructive discussion may take place.

9. I would even go further and say that the United Nations should have more authority and that it is the duty of all Member States, both large and small, to give it that supreme jurisdiction which it still lacks in some cases. The Members of the United Nations have every reason to unite their efforts and their aims in order to give it this authority, for in recommending the settlement of disputes by peaceful means the Charter makes it an essential condition that the principles of justice and international law should be safeguarded. Peace and justice are the foundations of the present-day world; neither can exist without the other. If justice is wanting, peace will be threatened.

10. In recent times, Cambodia has repeatedly had its air space violated and its frontiers threatened and encroached upon, while those of its people who are living in territories which were once an integral part of our kingdom are oppressed without cause. Nevertheless, true to its policy of peace, my Government sincerely hopes that all its disputes with its neighbours will be settled by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

11. It was in order to uphold this policy of peace that Cambodia adopted the principles of neutrality and of the pancha sila, which have been approved by the entire Cambodian people and are strictly applied by the royal Government. Cambodia desires the friendship and co-operation of all nations and does not intend, unless its existence is endangered, to participate in

any military bloc or alliance or to engage in any ideological or propaganda campaign against régimes or ideas prevailing in other countries. This policy of peaceful coexistence is reflected in the diplomatic, cultural and economic ties which the royal Government of Cambodia is maintaining with countries having different political systems.

12. The Government of Cambodia feels that, in order to strengthen these ties, the gulf which today separates the developed from the under-developed countries must be gradually narrowed. So far the United Nations has worked unremittingly to aid those countries which have recently attained their independence but which lack the means of adapting their economies to the rapid development of the modern world. My Government is glad to express its gratitude for the technical assistance which it has received from the United Nations. In view, however, of the vast amount of lost time which those countries have to make up and the comparatively meagre resources available to the United Nations, the assistance given is still not enough to secure adequate and balanced economic development in all parts of the world.

13. It is encouraging to note that some of the larger nations have understood the importance of the problem of economic co-operation and, setting aside all political considerations, have come to the aid of the less developed countries. Sincere and loyal economic co-operation between large and small nations is perhaps one of the most effective means of creating an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration and, in the final analysis, of promoting peace among nations. Whether this co-operation is brought about through the United Nations or through bilateral or multilateral arrangements, we should encourage it or facilitate it if it is based on the principle of equality and mutual respect.

14. International co-operation of this kind would contribute substantially to the maintenance of peace if the great nations would agree to use their scientific discoveries in the nuclear field solely for peaceful purposes and if they succeeded in reaching a satisfactory solution of the problem of disarmament. The United Nations has not yet been able to find an answer to the fundamental questions placed before it year after year: the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons and other instruments of mass destruction. It has not yet succeeded in persuading the great Powers to agree to reduce their armed forces or to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons or even to stop testing such weapons.

15. All delegations here are already aware of Cambodia's position with regard to this problem. In view of the mortal danger that nuclear weapons would bring upon mankind in the event of armed conflict, my Government has made the following proclamation:

"In common with the other peoples of the world, the people of Cambodia are gravely concerned about the repeated testing of nuclear weapons. They are fully aware that the effects of atomic or hydrogen bomb explosions cannot be fully controlled and they fear contamination of their territory, which is totally unequipped, not only to protect itself, but even to detect the danger.

"Furthermore, the people of Cambodia, being deeply imbued with the teachings of Buddha, have the utmost respect for life in all its forms.

"They view with alarm the colossal means of destruction in the hands of the great nations ranged against each other which they may at any time be tempted to use.

"Any attempt to conclude an international agreement to halt nuclear tests and to prevent the use of atomic missiles will have the whole-hearted support of our peace-loving people."

16. In this matter, we cannot accuse the United Nations of being ineffective. If it has not attained the objectives set forth in the Charter it is because, as the Secretary-General states in the introduction to his annual report, the facts of international life impose limitations upon it.

17. My Government feels that an immediate agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests would constitute an important step forward in the search for a compromise solution among the nations possessing these weapons of mass destruction.

18. The facts compel us to recognize that the problem of disarmament, like all fundamental problems in which the special interests of the great Powers are in conflict, cannot yet be solved. The small, poor and weak countries are bound to suffer just like the great Powers from the possible consequences of this conflict of interests. In view of the share of responsibility that they are obliged to assume, the United Nations would do well to pay a little more heed to the smaller countries and to try to make the best use of their good offices, for they are not powerful or important enough to have any stake in international affairs and problems, but show dignity and propriety in their policies and in their international relations. These small countries could offer a modest but impartial opinion and make a constructive contribution to the settlement of the difficulties besetting the peoples of the world.

19. By assigning an equal vote to each of its Members, the United Nations has enabled these small countries to participate in international affairs irrespective of their geographical importance or their power. This is no more than fair, and we feel that there is no justification for the suggested revision of the Charter in such a way as to enable the great Powers to play a dominating role. The system of an equal vote for each country, large or small, has never prevented the finding of just solutions. The small countries are just as conscious of their responsibilities as are the great countries, for they are just as sensitive to the consequences of a conflict between the great Powers. All too often they play the part of helpless spectators in the conflict of interests between such Powers. They are not in the habit of forming blocs against the strong nations. For these reasons, we feel that neither the facts of the case nor the demands of justice warrant any attempt to change the voting system.

20. Since regaining its independence, Cambodia has constantly striven for loyal and sincere co-operation with many countries in order to be able to live in an atmosphere of mutual respect and peace. It is in the same spirit that my country wants to participate in the work of the United Nations. I am certain that we have the same goal, and I venture to think that the services rendered by a country in the cause of peace cannot be measured purely in terms of its strength, its area or its population. If the United Nations is to abide by its

principles, Member States must co-operate in an atmosphere of equality and mutual respect. The effectiveness of the United Nations depends primarily upon its moral strength and upon the collective conscience of mankind. All nations, whether small or great, strong or weak, may be usefully employed in the noble task in which our Organization is engaged.

21. Mr. HU SHIH (China): I wish to join Sir Leslie Munro's numerous friends in expressing to him the hearty congratulations of my delegation on his election to the presidency of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, an honour which he and his nation so well deserve. My delegation pledges to him its full and whole-hearted support.

22. One of the very recent good tidings from Asia is the independence of the Federation of Malaya. My delegation, both in the Security Council and in the Assembly, has expressed its satisfaction in connexion with the admission of Malaya to membership in the United Nations. The independence of Malaya is important in itself. It is also important as a part of that general movement which has, since the end of the Second World War, conferred freedom and independence upon many nations in Asia and Africa which are now sitting in our midst as our fellow Members.

23. Unfortunately, in the contemporary world, in contrast to this movement of national liberation, there has been the opposite movement of national enslavement. Many countries in Europe and Asia have been deprived of their human freedoms and national rights. We in the United Nations can never forget the fate of these enslaved peoples.

24. In the resumed meetings of the eleventh session of the Assembly, we discussed the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592]. My delegation is moderately satisfied with the resolution [1133 (XI)] which was then adopted by an overwhelming majority. I wish we could have done more.

25. Today, I wish to pay a tribute to the freedom fighters of Hungary in the form of a report on the great repercussions which the Hungarian uprising has produced on my people on the Chinese mainland.

26. The Chinese people on the mainland seemed to have learned a great deal about the Hungarian uprising, and have been greatly excited by it.

27. Even in the official Communist Press, the Chinese people could find a number of important documents published in full. One of those published documents was the Soviet declaration of 30 October 1956, which gave great joy to the Chinese people who sympathized with the cause of Hungarian freedom. For, as we all recall, in that declaration the Soviet Union was telling Hungary and the entire world that the Soviet Government had ordered its military command to withdraw the Soviet units from Budapest and that the Soviet Government was prepared to begin negotiations with the Hungarian Government on the question of Soviet troops on Hungarian territory.

28. What was most exciting to the imagination of my people living under communist tyranny was the clear and indelible impression that the powerful and ruthless communist dictatorship in Hungary, after ten years of absolute political control and ideological remoulding, had suddenly been swept away by the spontaneous

uprising of ill-armed students and factory workers. That régime had suddenly found itself deserted by the people, by its own army and its own police force, and was restored only by the intervention of Soviet troops.

29. Moreover, the Hungarian revolution appeared to look beyond communism and to aspire to a democratic revolution, abolishing the secret security police, discarding the one-party system, restoring a free Press and a free radio, and pledging to hold free elections in the near future. It was these anti-communist and democratic manifestations that made the Hungarian uprising so exciting to my people on the mainland.

30. Even Mao Tse-tung himself admitted in his speech on 27 February 1957:

"Certain people in our country were excited when the Hungarian events took place. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets and oppose the People's Government."

31. The events in Hungary have given rise to two important anti-communist movements on the Chinese mainland during the last few months. One of these has been a nation-wide outbreak of anti-communist feeling among the students in the universities, colleges and middle schools. The other has been one full month of outspoken criticism and attack on the Communist Party by many Chinese intellectuals in the universities and in the so-called "democratic parties".

32. There are about 5 million boys and girls in the middle schools, colleges and universities. These millions of Chinese youths come from all walks of life and know the real conditions of the people. The acute suffering of the vast farming population, the universal impoverishment of the Chinese nation through the so-called socialist construction, and the large-scale enslavement of the people in all forms of economic and political regimentation -- all these cannot but be most deeply felt by every sensitive young student daily witnessing the hardships of his or her own family life.

33. It is absolutely untrue that the communist régime in China has won over the minds and the hearts of the young. What happened in Hungary last October has proven beyond doubt that the young students and workers of Hungary had not been captivated by fully ten years of communist rule and indoctrination. The recent student revolt in China furnishes us the best proof that, after eight years of absolute rule and ideological moulding, the students in China are almost unanimously in opposition to the communist régime.

34. The recent student revolt began in the Peking university on 4 May, a date made memorable thirty-eight years ago by the historic "4 May" student movement of 1919, which was also started by the students of Peking university.

35. On that evening of 4 May 1957, 8,000 students gathered at a commemoration meeting, at which nineteen student leaders made fiery speeches openly attacking the communist régime for suppressing freedom and democracy in the schools and in the country. From that evening on, the wall-newspapers of the Peking university became the open forum of the free opinion of the students.

36. The Peking university student leaders edited and printed a periodical entitled "The Relay Cudgel of Democracy", which they mailed to all colleges and schools throughout China as a clarion call to all students to join the common fight for freedom and democracy. They also sent their representatives to contact the students in the thirty-odd universities and colleges in the Peking and Tientsin area. As one of the student leaders put it:

"The call is for the mobilization of an army of one million youths to fight communism, to oppose the so-called revolution, and to overthrow the real enemies of the people. We must fight for democracy, for freedom, and for the rights of man."

37. The response was unanimous from all student bodies in every part of China -- from Mukden in the north to Canton in the south, from Shanghai and Nanking in the east to Chungking and Chengtu in the west.

38. By the first week of June, the student movement was threatening to break out into a popular uprising of the Hungarian type. On the evening of 6 June, a few university professors and "democratic" politicians met and talked over the situation, and their general impression was that the students in Peking and Shanghai -- the two most important and largest centres of student population -- were on the verge of declaring a strike and going into the streets to demonstrate against the communist régime. One of the professors said: "This situation resembles the eve of the Hungarian revolution."

39. But the communist régime, realizing the gravity of the situation, took repressive measures in all the large centres of student population to isolate the student groups, arrest the ringleaders and prevent all street demonstrations.

40. The most serious case of student rioting took place in the industrial city of Hanyang in central China. Nearly a thousand students of the first middle school of Hanyang went on strike on 12 June 1957 and demonstrated in the streets, shouting anti-communist slogans and hoisting anti-communist banners. The student procession marched on to the county headquarters of the Communist Party and beat up the Party officers there. In the evening, the students broke into the local military conscription centre, apparently with the intention of obtaining arms. The rioting continued the next day when security police arrived in full force and opened fire on the students. A large number of arrests were made, including the vice-principal of the school and a number of teachers who had led or participated in the demonstrations.

41. News of the Hanyang student riots was not made public until nearly two months later. And, just ten days before the opening of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, on 7 September, Reuters reported that "three ringleaders of student riots in Hanyang last June were executed yesterday at a mass meeting of 10,000 spectators" and that "other leaders were sentenced to prison terms of from five to fifteen years".

42. The official communist report said -- and this is interesting to us here -- that the instigators of the Hanyang student riots had called them "the Hungarian uprising in miniature".

43. The student unrest, protest and riot formed one

of the two great manifestations of the anti-communist feelings of my people in the mainland. The other great manifestation was the one full month of outspoken and scathing criticism of the Communist Party by Chinese intellectuals. That holiday of one month of freedom began with 8 May and abruptly ended on 7 June 1957. It was a month of free speech specially granted by "instruction of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party".

44. To have exactly one month of specially granted freedom of speech throughout eight long years of communist rule -- that in itself constitutes a sufficient commentary on the barbarity of the communist régime.

45. Now, why was that one month of free speech granted at all? Was it granted because otherwise these non-communist intellectuals and politicians would have remained silent? No. For, under the communist tyranny, the people have no freedom of silence -- which is often more important than freedom of speech. In the old days, as long as a man remained silent, he would not be molested. But, under the communist tyranny, there is no freedom to remain silent. You are called to the microphone to broadcast a speech prepared for you, or you are required to sign your name to an article written for you.

46. There is no freedom of silence. And, because they have no freedom of silence, the Chinese intellectuals have been compelled to speak insincerely or untruthfully, to pay compliment when compliment is undeserved, or to condemn friends or teachers whom they could not possibly have the heart to condemn. In short, the absence of the freedom of silence has forced many Chinese intellectuals to tell political lies, which is the only possible escape from this new tyranny and which, by the way, is also the only effective weapon to defeat the purposes of that tyranny.

47. For instance, when the communist régime, some years ago, ordered a nation-wide purge of the poisonous effects of the thoughts of Hu Shin -- the reference is to me -- every friend or student of mine had to speak his piece in refutation and condemnation of me, knowing very well that I would surely understand that he or she had no freedom of silence.

48. So, in the same manner, when the communist dictators announced a year ago that, from now on, the communist régime would carry out a policy of liberalism in dealing with science, literature and art, a policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" -- when that announcement was made, everybody smiled and applauded and said aloud: "How wonderful!".

49. So, in the same manner, when the dictators announced last year that the régime's new policy in dealing with the "democratic parties" was to be a policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" -- when that announcement was made, again everybody smiled and applauded and said aloud: "How wonderful! How generous of you!"

50. But the stirring events in Hungary last October and the great unrest among the Chinese students brought about a great change in all this. The intellectuals and politicians were now prepared to speak out, prepared to say for the first time what they really wanted to say in plain and honest language. And the communist leadership, too, was conscious of the wide and deep repercussions of the Hungarian revolution in the thought and feelings of the Chinese people. The

Communists also wanted to find out the real feelings of the people, the intellectuals and the democratic politicians. The communist leadership was so confident of its own power that it thought it could afford a little freedom for the intellectuals to speak up. In his 27 February speech, Mao Tse-tung made this savage brag:

"Since those Hungarian events, some of our intellectuals did lose their balance, but they did not stir up any storm in the country. Why? One reason, it must be said, was that we had succeeded in suppressing counter-revolution quite thoroughly."

51. Mao Tse-tung was so confident of his thoroughness in suppressing the counter-revolution that he was now ready to invite the intellectuals and politicians of the "democratic parties" to assist the Communist Party in the coming campaign of "rectification" within the Party. The non-communist politicians and intellectuals were invited to speak out frankly about what they had observed as the defects and mistakes of the communist régime. And, it is reported, in the original version of Mao's speech of 27 February there were explicit assurances of complete freedom of speech.

52. So the great experiment of free speech began in early May. For a full month, everybody was free to voice his criticism of the Party and the communist régime: the few newspapers of the "democratic parties" were temporarily freed from communist control and were able to print any news or opinion, however unfavourable to the communist régime. Even the official Press of the régime was instructed to print critical opinions without adverse comment.

53. But the tremendous volume of outspoken criticism against the régime and the great vehemence and bitterness of it all were far beyond the complacent expectations of the communist leadership.

54. The Communist Party was accused openly of believing and practising the notion that "the entire country belongs to the Party as its war booty". The dictatorship of the proletariat, for which Mao Tse-tung has coined the absurd name, "the people's democratic dictatorship", and which is no more and no less than the absolute dictatorship of the Communist Party over the people, was openly attacked as the root and the source of all the mistakes and evils of the communist régime.

55. These critics stated openly that 90 per cent of past and present cases of "suppression of counter-revolution" were the result of wrong judgement and miscarried justice. And the democratic parties proposed that a higher commission of appeal and redress be established to re-examine all cases of suppression of counter-revolution. Many phases of the so-called socialist construction were severely criticized, and some critics said frankly that bureaucracy was a far more dangerous enemy than capitalism itself.

56. The communist régime was attacked as a slavish imitation of the Soviet Union. The sincerity of Soviet friendship was questioned openly and the opinion was voiced that the Soviet Union should not be paid for the arms and ammunition which it had supplied to Red China in the Korean war.

57. And of course, the criticism most frequently voiced was that, under communist rule, there was neither freedom nor respect for human rights, and that there were no free elections.

58. All these were anti-communist, anti-régime, and even "counter-revolutionary" voices which it was difficult for the communist leadership to answer or to refute. And there was no doubt, during the whole month of outspoken criticism, that the Communist Party was greatly discredited in the eyes of the people.

59. So the communist leadership became very angry and regretted the whole affair as having given aid and comfort to the enemies of the socialist revolution. On 7 June the "freedom holiday" came to an abrupt end. The People's Daily now declared that there had been a political conspiracy on the part of the leaders of the democratic parties to extend their own spheres of influence and to overthrow the power of the Communist Party. It further declared that the wise leadership of the Communist Party had foreseen all this and had actually planned this period of one month of open airing of grievances, complaints and criticisms as a method of sifting the fragrant flowers from the poisonous weeds. An editorial in the People's Daily of 1 July contained these interesting revelations:

"Carrying out the instructions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Daily and all other papers of the Party published little or no opinion from the positive side during the period between May 8 and June 7. The purpose was to let all the ghosts and evil spirits 'bloom and contend' to their utmost, to let the poisonous weeds grow as tall as they could. This is to say that the Communist Party, realizing that a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was inevitable, let the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals initiate this battle.

"Some people said this was a secret trap. We say this is an open strategy. For we told our enemies beforehand that we would hoe the poisonous weeds only after letting them grow out of the earth."

60. Thus, the movement of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" suddenly turned into a campaign to persecute and purge the "rightists" -- a campaign which is still going on on the Chinese mainland, with a dozen leading intellectuals selected to be the targets of public interrogation, persecution, humiliation and degradation.

61. To these victims of the new communist persecution, and to the hundreds and thousands of my people who dared to speak out and fight against the tyrannical rule of communism -- to all these, we of the Chinese delegation wish to express our heartfelt sympathy and profound respect.

62. Such are the manifestations of the great repercussions which the Hungarian revolution has had in the minds and hearts of my people still living and suffering under communist tyranny.

63. I have made this report primarily to pay a tribute to the Hungarian fighters for freedom. But those popular manifestations which I have summarized are also clear and unmistakable evidence to prove that the Chinese communist régime, which has had eight years of military and political control of the Chinese mainland, is as unstable and as shaky as was the Hungarian régime under Rakosi and Gero.

64. Like the Hungarian régime of last October, the Chinese régime also found itself in 1957 deserted by the youth of the nation and opposed and condemned by

the intelligentsia. And, above all, it is hated by the hundreds of millions of the inarticulate but teeth-gnashing farmers and workers.

65. More than 80 per cent of my people are farmers. The communist programme of forced industrialization has imposed on the farming class a burden much bigger than they can possibly bear. Collectivization of agriculture and government monopoly of trade in all foodstuffs have introduced inefficiency, bureaucratism and corruption into the management of the main livelihood of the Chinese people. Throughout the hinterland of China, million of my people are actually dying for lack of food. This man-made famine has driven my people to desperation and starvation. That is why the communist régime has long been hated and detested by the vast majority of the people.

66. I was a representative at the founding meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco. This time I return to the United Nations after an absence of twelve years. I must confess that it pains me to see this Assembly waste so many precious hours on the question of so-called "Chinese representation".

67. In the preamble to the Charter, the founding nations declared that one of the ends of the Charter was "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person". To that end, nine years ago, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed to the world the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)]. But this monstrosity of communist tyranny as it is practised in China is the very negation of the Charter and the very negation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

68. There, on the mainland of China today, men and women who dared to be independent are being arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned, executed or otherwise disposed of. There, many millions of farmers have been dispossessed and are being subjected to a most brutal form of human slavery. There, many millions of innocent citizens are sent to camps of slave labour -- a procedure which is dubbed "reform through labour". There, on the Chinese mainland, sons and daughters are required to inform against their own parents. The home has no more privacy, and no more recognition of the "dignity and worth of the human person". The individual has none of the fundamental human rights, not even the freedom of silence.

69. If such a barbaric régime be worthy of membership in the United Nations then the United Nations is not worthy of its Charter and not worthy of its Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

70. Mr. MAURER (Romania) (translated from French): At the opening meeting of our present session, we welcomed to our midst yet another State which has won its national independence, the Federation of Malaya. My Government attaches great importance to the fact that the growing number of small and medium-sized States now taking their rightful places in the United Nations is increasingly consolidating the principle of universality on which this Organization is founded, and has necessarily enhanced both our chances of settling the problems before us and the authority of any decisions we may make in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

71. While the presence among us of States that have entered on a new stage of their national existence gives

reality to one of the major principles of the United Nations, it also makes the absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China more strikingly obvious. Day by day international events show with increasing clarity how completely anomalous this situation is, and how necessary and indeed imperative it is that the legitimate representatives of China should play a part in solving the fundamental problems that face mankind.

72. The Romanian delegation is in complete agreement with the view that disarmament is a central problem at the present session. The implications of the problem are social and economic as well as political and military, and of such vital concern to men and women everywhere and so multilateral in character that the Organization's ability to undertake a constructive examination of the problem has become the touchstone by which the peoples of the world judge its functions, its effectiveness and its *raison d'être*.

73. The armaments race imposes a burden on the peoples which has become intolerable in many States. The economic and financial effects are so damaging that even in developed countries the position has become critical, while the underdeveloped countries are unable to concentrate their main effort on economic advancement and better standards of life for their people. The efforts of modern technology are directed towards destructive military aims at the expense of progress, civilization and the prosperity of mankind.

74. Tests of modern weapons in themselves create unavoidable biological hazards whose effects are already being felt. The stockpiling of increasing numbers of nuclear bombs, the race to develop more advanced types of weapon with atomic warheads, and the build-up of stocks of weapons of this kind in more and more parts of the world are creating a highly dangerous situation which may, if corrective action is not taken in time, lead to catastrophe on an unimaginable scale. It is time that the United Nations intervened with all the strength and authority at its command to halt this dangerous trend.

75. My delegation considers that the disarmament problem should be fully debated in the General Assembly. We believe that the discussion should cover the practical aspects as well as the question of the general approaches to disarmament and the principles involved, so that we can both clarify the problem and make practical decisions with a view to its solution.

76. Let me begin by making clear my delegation's position with regard to the two approaches to the problem of nuclear weapons which have developed and which have been put forward in this debate.

77. The first approach is based on the absolute premise that, in the atomic age international relations, the balance of power in the world arena, must necessarily be founded on atomic and hydrogen weapons. It follows that armaments policy, military strategy and tactics and foreign policy must be adjusted accordingly. This approach naturally determines the stand taken with regard to disarmament.

78. This approach is expounded in some detail in *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, a book recently published in the United States summing up the views of such influential Americans as John McCloy, David

Rockefeller, Allen Dulles, General Walter Bedell Smith and other members of the Council on Foreign Relations. This approach is not purely academic; it is being more and more plainly reflected in the arms policy, strategy and foreign policy of the United States and in its stand on disarmament.

79. The United States memorandum on disarmament submitted to the General Assembly at its eleventh session [A/C.1/783], the proposals of the Western Powers at the London meetings of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission [DC/113, annex 5], and the statements of the Secretary of State of the United States at this session of the General Assembly [630th meeting], have this in common; not one of them accepts, even as a distant goal, the idea of the outright prohibition of atomic weapons and the condemnation of nuclear warfare.

80. Any such prohibition or condemnation must necessarily be absolute, since any exception would merely provide a loophole for the use of atomic weapons and an incentive to those planning to launch an atomic war.

81. The Western proposal which sanctions the use of atomic weapons for defensive purposes opens just such a loophole. The proposal does not bear examination. In the first place, any aggressor can claim that he acts in self-defence. Even Hitler, who took very little trouble to cover up his aggressive plans, justified his attack on Poland by alleged "Polish aggression" at the German border. Secondly, in the absence of a universally accepted definition of aggression, there are radical differences of opinion in this connexion. Some States claim that their security interests are involved in areas 8,000 or 10,000 miles from their frontiers, and assert that the military bases for their strategic bomber forces in foreign territory in those areas are defensive in character. In these circumstances, an aggressor can obviously always claim to be acting in self-defence and use atomic weapons.

82. Those who adopt this approach consider the atomic weapon the key factor in strategy and foreign policy and are consequently unalterably opposed to the prohibition of atomic weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of States.

83. The proponents of this view make great efforts to accustom the public to the appalling prospect of atomic war, and to play down its catastrophic character. There is talk, for example, in United States official circles, of "clean" bombs or bombs with limited "yield", and of the effort that is being made to devise means of intercepting intercontinental ballistic missiles with atomic warheads.

84. But the world knows the destructive power of nuclear weapons. According to data from United States sources, in the case of the bombs dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the area of total destruction where 75 per cent of the population was killed was 3 miles in diameter. Blast and heat destroyed or burnt buildings within a radius of a further nearly 4 1/2 miles at Hiroshima and 2 miles at Nagasaki. The explosion killed 70,000 to 80,000 people at Hiroshima and 35,000 people at Nagasaki. In the two towns, as many as 250,000 people were injured.

85. It should be remembered that the bombs dropped on Japan were small in comparison with present-day bombs, particularly thermonuclear bombs. A single 20-megaton bomb can devastate an area 16 miles

across. In other words, it can annihilate any large town in the world. The explosive power of such a bomb is ten times greater than that of all the bombs dropped on Germany during the four years of war, and 200 times greater than that of the bombs dropped on Japan.

86. Even if the United States discovered a so-called "clean" bomb, or a bomb with limited "yield" the problem would be unaltered. Are we to suppose that if the United States discovered a way of making such bombs, it would share the secret with the other interested States? Even if it did, what guarantee is there that only such bombs would be used in the event of nuclear war, in view of the known fact that various types of atomic and hydrogen bombs are now in existence? What would prevent the belligerents from using the most destructive bombs available if there was no agreement outlawing their use?

87. It is clear that so-called "clean" bombs or bombs with limited "yield" have no bearing on the grave problem confronting the world - how to avoid the danger of a devastating atomic war.

88. It has been argued here that the atomic weapon is the weapon on which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization relies, and that it is because it is a "guarantee of the security of the NATO countries" and cannot be given up that the leaders of the countries concerned have taken a negative stand on the prohibition of atomic weapons.

89. Apart from the fact that, in our view, the possession of atomic weapons is not a "guarantee of security", and that the accumulation of nuclear weapons of all types and the feverish concentration on their development and production are pushing the world to the brink of another war, what are the logical consequences of this argument?

90. Those consequences are that the vital interests of mankind as a whole, including the peoples of the NATO countries, are being subordinated to the interests of a single group. The interests of a group are preventing the United Nations from taking the necessary steps to avert the danger of an atomic war. Surely the United Nations cannot tolerate a situation in which the entire human race is brought to the brink of an abyss by such short-sighted policies?

91. There is a second approach, based on the view that nuclear war and the destruction and incalculable human suffering that accompany it must be condemned outright and that action must be taken to eliminate it entirely. This approach also determines a corresponding stand with regard to disarmament.

92. Although all the available information suggests that the Soviet Union has at least the same nuclear capability as any other great Power, the Soviet Government has repeatedly proposed - and it has reaffirmed its position in this Assembly - the prohibition of atomic weapons and the condemnation of nuclear warfare. The Romanian delegation unconditionally supports this approach.

93. The Romanian Government's position with regard to other disarmament problems is equally clear. We are for the reduction of armed forces and armaments, the effective international control of disarmament, the liquidation of all military bases on foreign territory, the withdrawal of the troops of all States to their own countries, and the cessation of war propaganda.

94. The humanitarian principles on which the Charter is based demand that the United Nations should exert every effort to advance progressively to the outlawing of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, their elimination from the arsenals of States, and general disarmament. It is essential, however, to find ways and means of putting an end to sterile discussion and of achieving practical measures of disarmament.

95. Unfortunately, the Western Powers' proposals are vitiated by the fundamental defect that they make each of the measures advocated conditional upon other measures on which it is extremely difficult to obtain agreement at the present time. Thus, the proposals include such measures as the reduction of armed forces, international control, the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and even the discontinuance of nuclear tests, all of which are obviously desirable. But to each of these measures there is attached at least one condition which has the effect of making the proposed measure impracticable. It is as though angels of peace were trying to take wing but were prevented from leaving the ground by a millstone tied round their necks.

96. It is therefore clear that the simultaneous solution of all disarmament problems is impossible in the present situation; that partial measures should be taken; that, if this is to be done, a start must be made; and that, in order to make a start we should select a measure or measures that can be separated from the whole and adopted immediately. There is no other effective and feasible method of achieving effective measures of disarmament.

97. All the conditions are present for a first practical step towards disarmament: the immediate discontinuance of nuclear tests for a period of two or three years. Agreement on this point could obviously be reached immediately, because it is not linked to the prior solution of any other problem. We believe that the Assembly could make an important contribution to the cause of disarmament by adopting a measure of this kind.

98. I have said that the stand taken by the United Nations on the question of disarmament is a serious test of its effectiveness. The position it takes with regard to the aspirations of peoples to shape their own national life, in freedom and independence, is also a test of its loyalty to the principles of the Charter. This is the issue which so clearly exposes the contradiction between the principles of the Charter and the policies of certain States which seek to seize the economic resources and interfere in the domestic affairs of countries which have cast off the colonial yoke and intend to shape their own destinies freely.

99. Only eleven months ago, the armed aggression against Egypt brought the world within a hair's breadth of general war. The flames of war had hardly been extinguished and the peoples of the region were waiting a favourable opportunity to carry out a programme which help them to solve their real problems, when the "Eisenhower doctrine" reintroduced, throughout the Near and Middle East, on a greater scale and with far more diversified resources to support it, the disastrous policy which has brought the region to the brink of war.

100. I should like to discuss an incident recently reported in the world Press. After Mr. Henderson

had returned to Washington on the completion of his special mission, the State Department made a great fuss about the allegedly dangerous situation which had developed in Syria. Who was endangered? According to official statements from Washington, Syria's neighbours, including Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq, were alarmed, and on this basis a variety of American arms was immediately flown to them in military aircraft. But shortly afterwards official spokesmen of Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq announced that their countries considered that the developments in Syria were a purely domestic matter and said that the arms received would in no circumstances be used in a fratricidal war.

101. It may well be asked whether the time has not come to let the Arab countries decide for themselves their security is in jeopardy. If this latitude is not given to them, the stability, progress and peaceful development of which the people of the region have dreamed for so long will continue to be threatened; indeed, the threat will be aggravated. Uncertainty about the future, anxiety, fear, conspiracies, the ever growing burden of military expenditure, incitement to fratricidal war and, ultimately, the danger of a global war: those are the implications of the "Eisenhower doctrine" for the Arab peoples and for people everywhere.

102. No one can view such a prospect without concern, least of all a country situated close to this potential hotbed of war. In the past, Romania was linked to the Orient by numerous economic and social ties and those ties subsist today. A glance at the map suffices to show that Romania has every reason to be interested in the maintenance of peace in the area lying between the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea; it is in its interest that these countries should assert their sovereignty, consolidate their independence and settle their disputes by negotiation.

103. For that reason, we listened carefully to what the United States representative had to say [680th meeting] about the situation in the Middle and Near East. But what struck us most was the omission of any reference to the most important political phenomena in that area, the existence of a powerful popular movement among the Arabs for freedom and independence, and the elimination of colonialism. The important thing to realize is that the States in that part of the world have ceased to be mere pawns on a chess board, which can be shifted in accordance with the plans of the great Powers.

104. Persistence in that position will maintain a permanent state of unrest, involving numerous risks, some of them incalculable. It is therefore the duty of the United Nations to make a dispassionate examination of the danger which overshadows the Near and Middle East and to take immediate action to prevent a train of events which could seriously threaten the peace of the world.

105. In considering the disarmament question, and the problems of the Near and Middle East, it is impossible not to be aware of the two paths between which mankind must choose: the recognition of force as the instrument of the foreign policy of States, or peaceful coexistence between States with different socio-political systems and the settlement of all international problems by peaceful means on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

106. By reason of its social and political structure, the Romanian People's Republic is a resolute and consistent supporter of the policy of peaceful co-existence.

107. Moreover, the principles of peaceful coexistence are no longer merely an abstract theory about international relations. They have been adopted by ever-widening circles of public opinion in all the countries of the world and are guiding the foreign policy of a growing number of States, whose population accounts for more than half of the globe. The gratifying expansion of co-operative relations among a number of European and Asian countries has proved the practical value of these principles. The positive influence resulting from their adoption by the Bandung Conference of Asian and African States is well known.

108. The principles of peaceful coexistence now have the force and value of a law governing the peaceful development of mankind.

109. Unfortunately, they are not yet being properly applied in all spheres of international life. In point of fact, the principles of peaceful coexistence are rejected by those States which base their foreign policy on methods which tend to promote rather than to lessen international tension, and which, instead of restoring normal multilateral relations among States, poison the international atmosphere still more, to a point at which it becomes completely unbearable. The partisans of a policy of force based upon the existence of military blocs and economic and cultural barriers, the practitioners of the strategy and tactics of the "cold war", persistently disregard the interests of peace and security of all peoples, even those on whose behalf they claim to speak.

110. The United Nations was conceived as the chief instrument of peaceful coexistence, as the noblest means of securing the coexistence of peoples with differing political systems. The Member States were to achieve this goal by mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, by non-aggression, by non-interference of any kind - political, economic or ideological - in the domestic affairs of any other country, by equality and policies of mutual benefit, in a world, by the fostering of a spirit of peaceful and creative emulation.

111. That is why the Romanian Government believes that the international arena is the right place for the efforts and endeavours of each Member State to put the spirit of peaceful coexistence into effect, and that the United Nations should smooth the way for, facilitate and encourage, action designed to attain the common goals set forth in the Charter. With what profit, for example, a small or medium-sized State could copy the peaceful emulation, in the economic field, of two great Powers with differing social systems! What a stimulating effect such competition would have on mankind as a whole, and what a high example of international ethics it might set!

112. The policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes the only creative climate for all peoples, the only crystal through which they can regard the future with confidence.

113. In order to bring about such a policy, all States, large or small, have a duty, in accordance with their own circumstances, to take steps and to engage in useful action which would help to safeguard their own

security, to protect their own interests, and at the same time to promote international peace and co-operation.

114. I am thinking, primarily, of the duty incumbent upon each State to develop relations of fruitful co-operation with its neighbours, on the basis of common traditions and interests, as determined by their geographical proximity.

115. It is with that aim in view that the Romanian Government has tried to develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all the countries in the Balkans and in South-East Europe, regardless of their social systems, and the results it has achieved in that respect have been good. However, the interests of peace and progress of all the Balkan peoples and the interests of peace throughout the world demand that these relations should be strengthened and developed multilaterally.

116. A realistic examination of the main geographical and historical facts can lead to only one conclusion: each State in the area stands only to gain from the development of mutual relations, from the patient search for and utilization of all that unites these States and these peoples, from all the political, economic and social advantages that might ensue from active co-operation, inspired by sincerity, goodwill and trust, and imbued with an urgent desire for peace.

117. Being firmly convinced that present circumstances are favourable, and that each Balkan State can make an important contribution, the Romanian Government has taken the initiative of convening a conference of the heads of Government of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Romania. The purpose of the conference would be to examine the possibilities of bringing about multilateral co-operation with a view to strengthening peace in the Balkans by the negotiated settlement of all outstanding problems, by the development of economic and cultural relations, by meetings between the leaders of the countries of South-East Europe, by exchanges of delegations, by exchanges of visits, and, in general, by any other means of contact and rapprochement between representatives of public opinion in the countries concerned.

118. If those countries were to make a solemn undertaking to abstain from all aggressive acts in their relations with each other, it would certainly constitute a guarantee of the security of their joint frontiers, and would create among them a climate of confidence.

119. There might also be concluded economic agreements based on a sound approach to problems of trade, agreements which would raise the present volume of trade considerably and would satisfy a whole series of mutual interests by taking into account, in a constructive manner, the resources and needs of each Balkan State. All this would help to strengthen and develop the economy of those States and, from a more general point of view, would constitute a glowing example of what can be achieved by agreements concluded and put into effect in a spirit of complete equality by States with different social systems.

120. The stimulus to cultural exchanges necessarily afforded by such relations could not fail to be profitable

to peoples whose traditions, so different in the distant past, are nowadays growing even closer. A more detailed knowledge of the culture of each people would increase their mutual esteem and fruitful co-operation.

121. In order that such inter-Balkan co-operation should be of a lasting character, the Romanian Government has proposed the formation of a regional collective entente of Balkan States, based on the full equality of its member States, on mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs.

122. In my Government's view, a Balkan regional entente could not and should not become a group hostile to other States or an obstacle to the development of friendly relations between the States forming part of the entente and those which are outside it.

123. Such an entente could be a first step toward a wider international entente and, first of all, towards the organization of co-operation at the general European level, which would constitute a safeguard for the peace and security of all the States of the continent which has in the last fifty years been the breeding-place of two world wars.

124. As we have shown, the principles of peaceful coexistence are not yet being effectively applied in international life. The Romanian delegation therefore believes that it would be useful for the General Assembly to hold a full-scale debate on them, with a view to the adoption of appropriate measures. We therefore consider that the proposal of the Soviet delegation for the adoption of a declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States [A/3673] is of great value.

125. It has been rightly emphasized in the Assembly that the solution of the fundamental problems of the international situation would be greatly facilitated if the atmosphere of mistrust which subsists today in the relations between many States could be dissipated. The Romanian delegation believes that mistrust between States cannot be wiped out overnight, but only gradually, by innumerable efforts, large and small, in all those spheres of life in which the peoples are naturally in contact.

126. We must therefore persevere in seeking to overthrow those artificial barriers which prevent normal economic and cultural exchanges. That is why the People's Republic of Romania is striving for free economic relations among all States.

127. Knowledge of the scientific discoveries and of the artistic creations whereby each people expresses its own ideals and aspirations, and whereby it helps to enrich the store of universal culture, plays a no less important part in bringing the peoples together and eliminating mistrust. Here too there are great possibilities which have not as yet been properly utilized.

128. Unfortunately, cultural exchanges, which could be a means of bringing the peoples together, have also been contaminated by the "cold war" policy. It is well known that propaganda setting the peoples against each other is one of the most active means used to promote this policy. The Romanian delegation believes that one of the chief sources of mistrust might be eliminated if effective measures were taken to halt radio broadcasts urging the overthrow of law and order in certain sovereign States, and it will press the United Nations to take a stand in favour of such measures. The means which the human mind has

devised of spreading truth, popularizing scientific discovery and educating mankind, should not be used to spread hatred, mistrust and hostility between the States.

129. The Romanian delegation expects a great deal from the work of this General Assembly at which are gathered representatives of more than eighty States, large and small, with different social systems, from every corner of the world. We have come here in the hope that we shall be able, at this session, to resume and to develop the process of decreasing tension and consolidating peace. Let us spare no effort to achieve that goal.

130. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): I propose to take into account the fact that a great number of Members are taking part in this general debate and to limit myself, therefore, to a brief statement. It would be too brief, however, if I did not begin by giving expression to my Government's high appreciation of the great services rendered to our Organization by the President's predecessor, His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon; and to its joy at his own election, which I had the privilege to hail on a previous occasion.

131. Now that we are assembled for the twelfth time in the history of the United Nations, we may look with growing interest upon the expanding membership of this Organization. Today, our number is greater than ever before. So far, there has been no need to persuade nations to join us. Indeed, application for membership is invariably among the first acts of foreign policy of new countries, as soon as they have attained independence. The most recent instance is the Federation of Malaya, and my Government and delegation take this opportunity to extend to that nation a most cordial welcome to our community. I could think of no more fitting place than the United Nations for my country to express its gratification at the rebirth of the Malayan State, with which the Netherlands has had so many happy contacts in the past.

139. For Members old and new, membership of the United Nations should be a matter of constant attention, both constructive and critical. No matter how numerous we are -- and we have not yet reached the limit of our membership capacity, although we are rapidly approaching the limit of our accommodation facilities in this hall -- we must never forget that each of us bears his share of responsibility for making the United Nations work. For the United Nations is not an institution isolated from our own policy and political life. It is not a business enterprise of which one becomes a shareholder because of its attractive dividend propositions, leaving it to the board of directors to conduct the business. Nor is it an insurance company that covers risks or damages against annual payment of a premium or contribution. No, it is rather a joint undertaking that places commensurate burdens on each participant and the success of which is dependent on the efforts and contributions of each Member for its effective and smooth operation.

133. Therefore, whenever we speak of the United Nations we speak of nations, joined under one Charter, which should -- although often divided in political purpose or ideological outlook -- be united at least in the common pursuit of the ideals and aims of our Charter. As a community of independent States, we are an instrument of twentieth-century diplomacy,

organized to deal with a wide range of matters and to set out a new pattern of international behaviour from which future generations may benefit. They may, or they may not; that indeed depends on our labours and achievements.

134. Broadly speaking, I would say that there are two types of activity of the United Nations, each of them equally important, yet different in their impact on the future. The first type could be called the short-term activity, such as the search for equitable solutions to international conflicts or disputes. The second type is the long-term activity, in which this Organization is engaged in order to make this world a better and safer place to live in.

135. I wish first to say a few words about the first type, which is the handling of conflicts or disputes. Some of those conflicts or disputes properly belong to the business of this Organization; others do not. In some cases, a solution may be found outside the framework of the United Nations. And, occasionally, more harm than good is done by the repeated discussion and adoption of resolutions. It would be wrong for this Organization to be over-ambitious or to pretend to be the sole instrument for settlement and adjustment. The Assembly, like the world itself, has its own inherent defects, and we should therefore exercise continuous criticism and restraint in respect of our work.

136. We all know that, despite the alphabetical order in which we obediently sit, there is a certain division among the Members of the United Nations. Groupings have come into existence, mainly, but not solely, on a regional basis. I am not opposed to the emergence of such groups. Indeed, my country belongs to one of them, the European group -- although it is worthwhile to note that this group was constituted later than other groups and was, to a certain extent, an unavoidable consequence of the existence of other groups.

137. In many respects, such groups serve a useful purpose. By predigesting political issues and clearing and co-ordinating regional interests, the groups may help in speeding up the business of the Assembly. When these groups serve as a means of co-ordinating the views and policies of their members, their influence may be salutary. If, however, they are used to emphasize and intensify the differences and disputes between various parts of the world, the result may be an aggravation of antagonism. This is the case if a group places itself en bloc behind, let us say, the interest or claim of one member and supports his cause without going into the merits of the subject under discussion. That is the point where a group is transformed into a bloc. Such a development would be dangerous, and we should all try to avoid it.

138. The second type of activity of the United Nations is, as I have just said, the long-range effort to make this world a better and safer place to live in. Here, all Members, large and small, have a similar task before them, to which they should devote their undivided and unbiased energy. I am thinking of the global problems that face humanity, such as the security of the world we live in -- both the political and the economic security. The Charter spells out as one of the main purposes of the United Nations: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to create "conditions of stability and well-being

which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations".

139. One matter of extreme importance now before us is that of disarmament. Despite years of painstaking negotiations, we have not yet arrived at practical results. Yet in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission the West has been able to produce a specific and comprehensive proposal for a first-stage disarmament plan. The Netherlands supports this proposal.

140. Let me point out to those who may be tempted by Soviet counter-proposals that any disarmament plan should be so designed as to increase, not decrease, the security of the world, or vital parts of it. If we should single out for acceptance only one particular detail of such a plan, however spectacular or attractive it might seem, without proper guarantee for continued security, we would do harm to the cause of disarmament.

141. My country, for one, is only too well aware of the absolute need for collective security and protection against aggression or threats to the peace. Our geographical position and our political outlook carry the implication that we must be careful lest we give up vital protection without adequate safeguard. Let us not forget the lessons of recent history. The Baltic States were among the first victims of Soviet imperialism; other peripheral States followed, in Europe as well as in Asia. The tragic fate that befell the Hungarian nation has rightly caused the Assembly to give vent to its indignation and horror. All these dark deeds should teach us caution and suspicion with regard to any proposal on disarmament that might upset the present balance of armaments and collective defence organizations to the disadvantage of the free world.

142. There is a second, long-term exercise that demands attention and, indeed, action. To eliminate one of the deep-seated causes of strife and instability, we should once more, and with special vigour, tackle the problem posed by the increasing divergence between economic and social progress in the developed countries, on the one hand, and in the under-developed countries, on the other. Here again we have a field in which many nations should play a constructive and stimulating role.

143. My country, though not one of the big nations, considers it a duty to assist in bringing this problem nearer to a solution. We regard this matter as of equal importance with those of war and peace. We put it in these terms, not for selfish reasons of political or economic gain; on the contrary, we are fully aware that the developed countries eventually will have to make sacrifices. We maintain that this problem should have top priority because we sincerely feel that the United Nations would be shirking its responsibilities in respect of security, freedom and social justice if it failed to act and to act now.

144. During this session, there is a unique opportunity for action. By a great majority, the Economic and Social Council has recommended to the General Assembly the establishment of a fund for economic development^{1/}. I realize that such a basic decision

^{1/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 662 B (XXIV).

needs further elaboration -- the Second Committee will see to that. I urgently appeal to all Members to honour the Council's resolution. In particular, I appeal to those nations that have so far not been in a position to support the establishment of a fund. I well realize the difficulties which they have in this respect, and I do not think that any of the advocates of the fund would wish to ignore or neglect them. But I feel that, after the recommendation of the Council, a decision should be postponed no longer. I am convinced that, if the Assembly takes a positive decision this year, this twelfth session may be recorded in the history of the United Nations as one of significant achievement in the cause of peace and security.

145. Speaking of the Economic and Social Council, I wish to reaffirm my country's intention to devote a growing volume of energy and attention to the economic and social work of the United Nations. In the same spirit, my country plans to intensify its co-operation with other nations within the three regional commissions, of each of which we have the honour to be a member. In the Economic and Social Council and in the Economic Commission for Latin America, as in so many other economic or political bodies of the United Nations, we derive great satisfaction and benefit from co-operation with the countries of Latin America. Through its autonomous parts, situated in the Latin American region, the Kingdom of the Netherlands is a neighbour of the Latin American countries; and Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, as well as the Netherlands in Europe, are proud to have the most cordial historical, cultural and economic relations with that important part of the world.

146. Many other problems face the Assembly, but I shall do no more than mention a few of them. My Government continues to be disturbed by the absence of settlement and peace in the Middle East. Since the intensive interventions of the United Nations on the Middle East scene during the last session of the General Assembly, relative quiet and order have returned to the area around Israel. This in itself is a healthy development which should not be disturbed by renewed debates in the United Nations or renewed accusations. However, the political instability that still persists keeps the area open for political incitement or even penetration, from which in the end no one will profit. It is the earnest hope and desire of my Government that, step by step, the sources of unrest and agitation will be removed.

147. We are deeply concerned with the plight of the Palestine refugees, and we appeal to all concerned to renew and increase their efforts towards a fair and speedy solution. We must find ways and means of solving this problem which, for nearly ten years, has been one of the main obstacles on the road to progress and peace in the Middle East.

148. In another part of the world, near to us, we face a political problem unsolved so far: the continued partition of Germany, against the wishes of the German people and, indeed, against the interest of the world. No efforts should be spared to remedy this abnormal and potentially dangerous situation.

149. In spite of the awesome aspect of some of the dangers that menace our present-day international life, my delegation sees no reason for defeatism. With sincerity and conviction it will continue to share in

the tasks which our Organization is trying to master under the indispensable guidance of the Almighty.

150. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): This morning one of the representatives in this Assembly asked me whether my speech would deal mainly with the question of Cyprus. I was really pained by this, the more so as the representative in question is one I particularly respect and for whom I have great affection. It pained me because, while it is true that the Greek people feel such concern and even anguish over the question of Cyprus as they have rarely felt before, it is equally true that Greece takes a deep interest in the broader questions of international politics; I would even say that my Government's interest in the question of Cyprus is due in large part to its great interest in international issues.

151. The fact is that Cyprus raises a number of questions which reach far beyond its shores, questions such as the right of peoples to self-determination, which is being disregarded, the unfortunate effect of this issue on our relations with nations we respect and wish to have as friends, and the question of the continuation of colonialism and colonialist methods in the middle of the twentieth century. All this constitutes a serious international problem which will be discussed in the General Assembly, because we have again requested the Assembly's help in solving it and we shall have an opportunity to discuss the problem here.

152. Today I have come to the rostrum to speak on broader issues, those which should be dealt with in a general debate. To begin with, I should like to make some observations on the organization of the United Nations.

153. Sir Winston Churchill, a great statesman whose name will go down in history, recently criticized the principle of the equality of all States in the Assembly's voting system. This is not a new opinion, and I have often heard it expressed. But it is an opinion which might do the United Nations great harm if it came to be widely held and adopted, for I firmly believe that it is not well founded - I would even go so far as to say that it was not founded at all.

154. I shall not maintain that the great Powers, which have responsibilities far larger than those of the small or medium-sized countries, should have de facto equality with them. The contrary is perfectly natural and that is the actual situation. Everyone knows this, but it can usefully bear repetition. In almost all fields, the great Powers occupy an eminently predominant position in the United Nations, either in virtue of their statutory rights or because of the influence each of them exercises in the Assembly.

155. What proposal - even the fairest, even the most justified - can command two-thirds of the votes in the Assembly if two or three great Powers oppose it? We know very well that it is not with their own two or three votes that these great Powers will obtain that result. In truth, I do not think that there is any cause for commiseration with the great Powers over their lot in the United Nations. But neither is there any cause to regret the juridical equality established among all Member States. It is more than justified.

156. In every human society, the weak or incapable man occupies, by the very force of circumstances, a position different from that of the strong and capable one. Nevertheless, they both have the same claims on

life, and the fundamental principles on which the social order is founded apply equally to both. In the same way, countries small and large must enjoy complete equality in certain areas of international life, and more particularly in the General Assembly.

157. This equality is guaranteed in the United Nations by the uniform application of the rules, by freedom of speech and by equality of vote in the Assembly. Equality of vote and equality in relation to certain fundamental rights make it possible for the small and medium-sized countries, through the United Nations, to take a stand and to bring their influence to bear, to a certain extent, upon great international issues. This is one of the chief and most useful functions of the United Nations.

158. I do not wish to discuss here whether the United Nations has fulfilled or disappointed the hopes placed in it, but I am obliged to declare that in any case it has accomplished great work. Need I mention the manifold activities which the United Nations and the specialized agencies are developing in a number of countries, for the benefit of their population? Or should I recall the grave international crises which could not have been settled without the moral force and effective action of the United Nations? And what of this world platform which each one of us, whether the countries we represent are great or small, is immensely privileged to be able to ascend in order to proclaim his ideas and argue his case?

159. Moreover, who can deny that the United Nations resolutions, which are not binding and are sometimes too colourless, for reasons of which we are all aware, exert great political and moral influence? Who can deny that these resolutions are receiving increasing attention, even from those who refuse to comply with their recommendations? This proves that the General Assembly has become the instrument par excellence by which world public opinion can express itself and exert pressures - strong or weak, according to circumstances - upon international policies. That is no small achievement. Obviously, much remains for us to do. We must continue to build, for the foundations are there and they are sound.

160. The development of technology enjoins upon us an international life in common. For our grandparents, the world, the globe, was a more or less abstract political concept. What they thought of in practice was the region. For our fathers, this same world was an emerging political concept - which grew, however, side by side with the all-powerful concept of the enlarged region, that is, the continent. In our day, the rapid development of technology has led to the predominance of the political concept of "world" over that of "region". The regional is increasingly determined by the universal. A grave crisis in a region - especially if that region is sensitive and important - can overnight become a grave crisis involving the whole world.

161. This is a new reality which calls for new political methods and concepts. In the United Nations, the world is no longer an abstraction: it has become a living reality. Henceforth even problems of an apparently regional nature will take on a universal aspect. Plans are made, projects are prepared, the point is reached at which action is about to be taken - yet more and more the question is asked: "What will the world say? What will the United Nations say?"

162. All this is highly encouraging, but it is not enough. We are in the midst of an evolving situation, and we ourselves must develop and constantly adapt ourselves in order to be able to meet the circumstances. We are therefore faced with the question of how we can make our Organization even more effective. I shall deal with that question very briefly. I shall not repeat that, above all, the principles of our Charter must be applied and respected and that it is not enough merely to praise them; nor shall I indulge in generalities. I shall confine myself to drawing your attention to one question which in my opinion is of great practical interest. I was very glad to see that its importance was brought out in the excellent introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report [A/3594/Add.1].

163. I take this opportunity to perform the pleasant duty of paying a tribute to Mr. Hammarskjöld for the incalculable services he has rendered the United Nations and the cause of world peace. We have only to recall his contribution during the great Suez crisis in order to understand fully how much we all owe him. Consequently I was happy to learn this morning that the Security Council will propose his reappointment as Secretary-General, and I offer him my warm congratulations. I am sure that the General Assembly will unanimously confirm that appointment.

164. It was Mr. Hammarskjöld who, at a very serious moment, contrived within less than forty-eight hours to put into effect the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force. The whole world knows the part that Force played in the peaceful settlement of the great Suez crisis. It made possible the withdrawal of the troops of the belligerents and the application of the recommendations of the General Assembly at a moment of dramatic importance for the future of international life.

165. The United Nations Emergency Force has no precedent in history. From now onwards we have a precedent; would it not be useful to turn it to account for the future and to consider the adoption, in a permanent form, of a procedure which has already proved its merit? I am convinced that it would be. I do not think that this is of interest only to the small countries, which naturally favour any reinforcement of international law; it is of equal importance to the great Powers, for the danger of an atomic war lies not so much in the possibility of premeditated atomic aggression as in the outbreak of a more or less limited conflict, which might spread and set the world ablaze. Only a spark is needed to ignite the powder-keg; and the spark is more easily produced by the sharpness of local conflicts than by ideological or other antagonisms which are expressed on a broader scale.

166. It is therefore natural that the United Nations should be furnished with adequate means to act at any danger point. The precedent of the creation of the emergency Force will henceforth take its place as one of the most effective weapons in the arsenal of the United Nations, under the Charter, for the preservation of peace. We consider that it would be extremely useful to make a detailed study of all the aspects of this precedent in order to make it easier of application in any similar circumstances in the future.

167. We think that this study should be made by the General Assembly itself. It is not a theoretical study that is required here; it is a matter of establishing practical formulae of application. Hence it is natural that the task should be undertaken under the supervision and responsibility of the General Assembly itself, in order that all the delegations may be able to contribute and to express their views.

168. I shall merely say that the juridical basis of such United Nations forces might remain as it is now, namely, that they could not be used except with the consent of the countries concerned and the General Assembly. But we could also consider broader possibilities for the use of an emergency force. The idea would be to provide the United Nations with a fire-brigade, if I may call it that, ready to extinguish a fire wherever it broke out.

169. To extinguish the fire is far more important for world peace than to seek out and to condemn the incendiary. The texture and sequence of events are sometimes so closely knit that it is not always possible objectively to establish responsibility; and even if it is possible, it is likely to be too late. What is important above all is to localize, stop and quench the fire; in a word, to avert a general catastrophe.

170. Moreover, I believe that the existence of a United Nations force would have a preventive effect. Situations are sometimes created for the sole purpose of turning them to advantage. Sometimes adventures are embarked upon in the hope that there will be time for the successful pursuit of some unavowed political objective. And sometimes undemocratic calculations related to internal politics - and who can claim never to have witnessed such things? - lead to dangerous trends, to provocation and even to ill-considered action. If the United Nations is in a position to deal effectively and promptly with all those who try to play with fire, this may well have a salutary preventive effect.

171. In this connexion, I should like to say that I was very happy to hear the Canadian representative expressing similar views on this subject in his able address during this general debate [683rd meeting].

172. Speaking of the possible improvement of the United Nations, I should add that universality is indeed the aim that we should continue to pursue in the future.

173. It is for this reason that my country welcomes the recent creation of new States and the fact that they have become Members of the United Nations. Some days ago we expressed our pleasure at the admission of the Federation of Malaya and we have been happy to note that Ghana, which was admitted less than a year earlier, has already made a constructive and valuable contribution to the work of this Assembly. As the representative of a country that for the past four years has been upholding the cause of a civilized people seeking to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism, I am especially happy to congratulate these two valiant nations on the new-found independence.

174. As the two countries I have just referred to were until lately under the control of the Colonial Office in London, I find no difficulty in paying a tribute, as they themselves have done, to the United Kingdom for having satisfied the aspirations of their peoples. But in so

doing, I cannot but express our bitterness and astonishment that the United Kingdom should pursue a completely different policy in its dealings with Cyprus.

175. Although I have resolved not to talk about Cyprus today, I do not think I can ignore the situation in an area which is near to that lovely but unhappy island and near also to my own country: I refer to the Middle East.

176. It is entirely proper that in this general debate several speakers should have discussed the Middle East at some length. That area of the world is one whose internal stresses are causing profound concern far beyond its frontiers.

177. Because the Middle East is a meeting-place of the most diverse religions and ideologies, as well as a junction of three continents and world shipping lanes, it has always been one of the nerve-centres of the world. It has become even more important in recent years, especially since the time when it was recognized as a centre for the production and distribution of a large part of the oil consumed by the world in the development of its economic life. This explains why we all are and always have been deeply concerned in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

178. In the past, in order to safeguard the peace, the countries most immediately concerned, and particularly the great Powers, tried to occupy the Middle East by force or at least to impose themselves by winning the friendship of local potentates. Since the time of the Great King of Persia and Alexander the Great, this has occurred time and time again.

179. The relics of this mentality are at the root of the present uneasiness in that crucial area, for they provoke reactions locally and more widespread reactions elsewhere. Unfortunately, the importance of a basic psychological factor, on which all Middle East policies should be based, is not realized.

180. The geographic and human core of the area is the Arab world, and it should be realized that the Arab world is no longer what it was some decades ago. Some traces of the past are still to be found, but the basic characteristic of the area today is the birth, the full consciousness and the pride of its nationalism. This pan-Arab nationalism burns with a single flame from Casablanca to the Persian Gulf whenever questions of common concern to all Arabs arise. At least two of these questions are known to us here. And where the component parts of the nation are more closely knit and more homogeneous, the nationalism is more specific and hence much stronger.

181. At all events, we are confronted with a radical change in the attitude of these peoples. Although they are young nations, they know that at some time or another in history their ancestors occupied the place that other great nations have held in the moral and material leadership of the world. The élite among these young nations springs from the people and indeed often is the people; for this reason they will not suffer their brothers to live in worse conditions than do the peoples of other countries. These countries are young and economically under-developed, as are most of us in that area, and hence they aspire to economic development more earnestly than do the developed countries. Their national susceptibilities are more acute than those of peoples who have a long

established tradition of independence and sovereignty that is respected by all.

182. If we fail to take account of these changes and of the actual situation, we cannot deal with the problems of the Middle East realistically. These are no mere words. I believe that therein lies the very substance, the very conditions, of an entire policy.

183. The failure to recognize a single one of these factors in its true light would upset all political calculations in the area. To propose or to apply, for example, a policy materially useful and just, but to do so in a manner offensive to the pride of these fine peoples, would be tantamount to adopting a policy that was doomed to failure.

184. Let us take a more specific example, which in a somewhat different context concerns one of these countries. Whoever reflects upon the destiny of Egypt and its political situation, cannot fail to consider the problem of living standards in that country. Egypt is an essentially agricultural country, and while its arable area remains constant, the population has doubled in the last thirty years. What Egyptian Government, whether of the extreme right or the extreme left or of the best democratic type, could take action in other fields without relating it to the fearful problems raised by this determining factor, which affects the very existence of its people?

185. I do not propose to go into detail, but I must draw attention to some general considerations which it would really be too dangerous to ignore. Greece lies close to the Arab world. If it is true that the sea, the first and foremost means of communication, brings together the peoples that it divides, the Mediterranean has united us to the Arabs for the last 3,000 years. Some of the characteristics of the Greek people, that of the seafarer, the merchant, the emigrant who fraternizes with those among whom he lives - and there are some tens of thousands of them in those parts - have further strengthened our bonds with the Arab peoples. We therefore believe that we know them well.

186. We feel that experience has taught us that nothing of any lasting or beneficial effect can be done in the Middle East so long as the two basic aspects of the problem are not taken into consideration: First, co-operation to raise the low level of living, even if this entails certain sacrifices for the more developed countries; and, secondly, full respect for the independence and national dignity of the Arab peoples.

187. It should not be difficult to meet these conditions, which are in conformity with the principles of our Charter. Among those principles, which, we must admit, we are always proclaiming but we do not always apply, that of the self-determination of peoples in the master principle which should guide us along the road of justice and peace, to borrow the expression used by the Irish Foreign Minister in his brilliant speech during this debate [682nd meeting]. Now, more than ever, we must be faithful to our principles, for the rapid rate of technical progress opens to us two very different paths.

188. One is the path of destruction. It is hardly necessary to occupy a responsible position in the world to know that the wholesale destruction of towns and areas is now possible and that there are no real political safeguards to avert the danger. The only really valid safeguard would be sincere and complete respect for the principles of the Charter. If these principles were applied, the discussions on disarmament, which are followed with such anxiety by the whole human race, would be crowned with success. In the absence of the full application of those principles, the fears of the human race and the hopes of the smaller countries would not be enough to avert catastrophe. Destruction could still be brought about by selfish interests, miscalculations or unpredictable accidents.

189. There is, however, a second path opened up for us by the great advance in technical knowledge. In all fields, science has progressed to an extent undreamed of by previous generations. Each day more and more of the riches of nature are placed at man's disposal; each day they are employed more scientifically and usefully. As if that were not enough, for the first time in the history of mankind the vast energy inherent in inert matter has been liberated and harnessed to the will of man.

190. By paying complete respect to the rules of law and morality, we can block the road to destruction and follow the road to prosperity. The day may not be too far distant when that road will make all the riches of nature available to man, without distinction of colour, race and creed. But if we are to travel this road, we need the true and sincere safeguard of our principles. Let us therefore return to our principles; let us return to them not in word but in deed.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.