

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



760th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 26 September 1958,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Agenda item 9: General debate (<u>continued</u>)	
Speech by Mr. Jawad (Iraq)	179
Speech by Mr. Luns (Netherlands)	182
Speech by Mr. Mokaddem (Tunisia)	183
Speech by Mr. Dukuly (Liberia)	187

President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): The thirteenth session of the General Assembly opens against a background of grave international tension. The continuing disputes and conflicts among the Member States of this Organization are increasing the dangers to international peace and security.
2. The seriousness of the situation was emphasized by the convening of three emergency special sessions of the General Assembly in a period of less than two years. The inability of the Security Council to discharge its primary responsibility of maintaining peace and security has given the General Assembly a role and significance that was not entirely envisaged by the framers of the Charter. In view of this unforeseen development in its fortunes, the Assembly is confronted with a great challenge and greater opportunity to serve the cause of world peace and human welfare.
3. The new free Republic of Iraq, with a Government enjoying the support of its people, hopes to make its modest contribution in the service of the ideals of the United Nations. Having been freed from the shackles of oppression, Iraq can now be counted upon to play a more vigorous and constructive role in the work of this Organization. Besides our natural and, indeed, vital concern in the question of world peace as a whole, we are of necessity particularly aware of and sensitive to what goes on in our region and in the Arab world, of which Iraq forms an integral part.
4. The problems and difficulties in which the Arab peoples have found themselves in recent years stem primarily from one major source, that is, the inevitable clash between Arab nationalism—a movement aiming at the achievement of freedom and independence for the whole Arab nation—and the effort of some big Powers to maintain interests and conditions which contradict and often deny the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, and frustrate their just aspirations.
5. This struggle between Arab nationalism and foreign domination has been going on since the latter part of the last century in North Africa and since the end of the First World War in the Arab Near East. There

are two aspects of this struggle in which the United Nations has shown interest. The first and foremost problem, which is in reality the core of the instability and strife in the area, is the Palestine problem. The creation of Israel in the heart of the Arab world, at the expense of, and in violation of the rights of, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Palestine, constituted an act of unparalleled historical injustice.

6. Even now, after it has become abundantly clear that Israel is the main source of danger to the peace of the area, that country is being given military assistance. We have seen the use to which Israel has put the weapons supplied to it by its Western friends. Israel's repeated acts of aggression against its Arab neighbours have been condemned by the Security Council. However, we are now more than ever convinced that Israel was not created solely for the purpose of finding a home for the Jews, but primarily to make Israel an instrument that can be used whenever it becomes necessary to impose the will of some big Powers against the rising nations of the Arab East. This role of Israel as a willing tool of imperialism was amply demonstrated in the role it played as the spearhead of the tripartite aggression against Egypt and more recently by its ill-concealed threats to take over the western bank of the river Jordan.

7. The second issue between the Arab world and the old colonial Powers relates to the efforts of these Powers to perpetuate their privileged political, economic and military position in the area. These efforts have brought the world to the brink of war and have necessitated the convening of two emergency special sessions.

8. The first emergency special session was convened in an atmosphere of international crisis to deal with a tripartite aggression undertaken by two permanent members of the Security Council in conjunction with their willing and obedient tool against Egypt, sovereign State and Member of the United Nations. The action of the General Assembly in this respect centred around the termination of the aggression and the condemnation thereof, while it demonstrated the determination of the large majority of United Nations Members, as well as of world public opinion, to uphold the principles of the Charter and to endeavour to put an end to the use of force in relations and disputes between States. Action by the General Assembly further demonstrated the great importance attached by States, especially small States, to the observance of the rules of international law as the only means for safeguarding the future of humanity and civilization from destruction by modern war weapons.

9. The other emergency special session of the General Assembly concerning the Middle East was convened to deal with another type of aggression against the independence and the territorial integrity of two

Middle Eastern States. While in the first act of aggression destructive war methods were employed against the people and territory of Egypt, in the second the armed forces of the United States and the United Kingdom were landed in Lebanon and Jordan respectively as a preliminary measure for further action elsewhere in the region. Although it is of no interest at this stage to discuss the intentions behind the presence of foreign troops in the Middle East, it is nevertheless important to point out that the use of force, which was condemned by the first emergency special session of the General Assembly, remains an instrument for the implementation of policy by certain big Powers. It could therefore be said that the results of the tripartite aggression against Egypt and the stand taken by the General Assembly in this regard did not contribute to a change in the attitude of certain States regarding the use of force, nor did they lead to the formulation and the acceptance of new norms in international behaviour. Consequently, the reasons which led to the convening of the third emergency special session should receive most careful consideration from the point of view of international law and as a precedent in the relationship between large and small States.

10. By their action, the United States and the United Kingdom assumed for themselves the responsibility of preserving the territorial integrity and political independence of small States. Thus they take it upon themselves to act when they see fit and to use their armed forces for the execution of that self-imposed responsibility. On the one hand, they do not disclaim their membership in the United Nations, but on the other hand they do not abide by the rules of the Charter. In other words, they claim a responsibility, whatever its nature, without having the legal authority to do so. This responsibility and authority have in fact no bases either in international law or in the Charter of the United Nations.

11. How did these two conceptions originate? In the past, the colonial Powers had their armies and fleets in most parts of the world, and they controlled widely-spread colonial territories. It was then possible for them to use their armed forces either in territories under their own control or in others with a view to coercing the peoples of those countries and to maintaining certain political systems and situations. But that was a time when the rules of international law did not carry much weight and the United Nations and its Charter did not exist. In other words, that was at a time when the great Powers formulated and assumed responsibility in the way they considered appropriate for the maintenance of their own interests, and sought no authority from any quarter. Both the responsibility and the authority emanated from the self-interest of the colonial empires.

12. The present era of the United Nations is another matter. The United Nations is the international body which bears the responsibility for the protection of States and the preservation of peace and security. Thus, the United Nations is the sole authority from which any action for that purpose should stem.

13. The attempts of the colonial Powers to give their action the semblance of "legality" do not mislead those who are acquainted with the history of colonial policy and practice. World public opinion is fully aware that such unlawful action undermines the principles

of the Charter and the rules of international law, and constitutes a threat to the security of other States. It would be a novelty in international relations if such practices were condoned by the United Nations. In such case a new chapter in international law would have to be opened under the name of "aggression for peaceful purposes".

14. The history of modern times reveals only too clearly that what the colonial Powers are now trying in the international field is nothing but what they had previously practised in the colonial territories themselves. Imperialism always aligned itself with the privileged classes to suppress all progressive social forces in order to preserve a given social and economic status quo. The rise of new nations to independent status constituted a challenge to the interests of the imperialist system in two ways.

15. The political independence of the newly born States meant first a contraction of the possibilities of economic exploitation of these countries by the colonial vested interests, and secondly it constituted a barrier for employing the territories of these countries for military and strategic purposes. Under these circumstances, one cannot but come to the conclusion that all these acts of coercion and aggression against the newly born nations are carried out for the sole purpose of perpetuating the old economic, political and military domination by the colonial Powers. Thus, the tension which has dominated the international scene since the end of the Second World War appears to be the outcome of the struggle of the colonial system to prolong its existence.

16. When we look at the world today, we see some really frightening examples of this attitude. For three years, the most devastating war has been going on in Algeria—a war carried out by a great country, which has contributed so much to civilization and culture, against a people whose sole aim is to live freely and independently. Algerians are not Frenchmen, as Arabs cannot be transformed into Gauls, and it is sheer mockery to pretend that they are. So we appeal to the United Nations to act according to common sense and to save the millions of Algerians from the ravages of modern warfare.

17. The war in Algeria can only be called the butchery of a small and under-developed nation, carried out by the Government of a civilized nation. The United Nations has, for the past three years, been a witness to murder and destruction, but no action has been taken to prove that the conscience of the world is at least moved by such atrocities.

18. There are other atrocities committed in the region of the Middle East. The quiet but murderous strife which has been going on in Cyprus requires no comment. The world is certainly aware that there is on that island a nation which is denied its right to freedom by the force of arms. However, for a long period of time the two communities in Cyprus live and worked together in peace and amity. There is nothing more tragic than to see the life of those peaceful people wrecked by a strife which has brought nothing but destruction and enmity. The day when the two communities come together and decide their fortune will certainly be a triumph for peace and justice.

19. In the southern parts of the Arabian peninsula the fight goes on between British forces and the Arab

people who strive to achieve freedom and independence. In Oman and in the southern part of Yemen foreign troops are fighting the nationals of these two countries in order to perpetuate a state of subjugation contrary to the wishes of the people as well as to the principles of the Charter. The same kind of forces that are denying the Algerians their right to freedom and independence are acting in vain to arrest the advance of history in Arabia.

20. Another instance of imperialist rear-guard action at the expense of a peaceful change-over from the old to the new is the problem of West Irian which the General Assembly has not been able to resolve. We believe that West Irian is an integral part of Indonesia and that the sooner this fact is heeded by the Netherlands and other Western Powers, the better.

21. These examples illustrate how the area of conflict between certain big Powers and the rising nations is widening with the passage of time and in spite of the efforts of the United Nations. Whatever the nature of violence and aggression, the problem seems to remain without a solution, and thus the world continues to live in perpetual tension and under the threat of a general war.

22. Conceived broadly, the dynamics of the present world situation stem from a conflict between the new forces, which are struggling to assert themselves, and the old forces which are desperately trying to stop them. The new forces are represented by the rise of national movements seeking freedom and independence of a politico-economic character. The old forces, on the other hand, represent an old conception of the world order—an order based on the control and exploitation of the weak nations by the strong. The conflict which prevails on the international scene is therefore nothing but a struggle between the old order and the new. While the old order is represented by the systems of imperialist domination, the new order represents a nationalism striving for freedom from all forms of foreign control. The question is how to effect peacefully the change from the old to the new order without launching the world into a general war.

23. The Second World War gave birth to the United Nations, an idea and machinery to facilitate the transition from the old world order based on force and violence to the new order based on the rule of law and peaceful relations between nations.

24. One of the basic principles of the United Nations is that the approach of force and violence—on a large or small scale—cannot lead to the solution of conflicts and differences between nations. Fascism, for example, as an ideology and a practice of force and violence was able to solve neither the problem of the economy under which it grew nor the problems which brought it into conflict with the rest of the world. In fact, what was true twenty years ago is still obviously true in our present day. That is, force and violence cannot possibly lead to the solution of any major problem, especially when force and violence have become much too terrible and destructive.

25. Despite this, certain big Powers have been seeking to retain their economic and political privileges by practising various forms of violence. All these practices indicate that the transitional process from the old to the new world order, which is the objective of the United Nations, is being frustrated. And although

the new world order, which is an irreversible historical development, cannot be diverted from its natural course, the fact remains that the stabilization of the transition from the old to the new is not only being obstructed but also is becoming fraught with danger to international peace and security.

26. If the world is to be saved from a general catastrophe, the United Nations has no choice but to look at the world situation in its entirety in order to understand the propelling forces of crisis at work and to prevent them from leading us to annihilation.

27. At present, the world is faced with many grave problems. Even a consideration of these problems inevitably leads to a wide range of thought. Unless we have some clarity of vision or are clear as to the nature of the questions posed to us, we shall never get out of the confusion that afflicts the world today. Particular emphasis should be laid on the word "confusion", as it truly reflects the state in which the world finds itself.

28. We pride ourselves on our great achievements in the scientific field, yet the range of conflict in our internal and external relationships, as individuals and as nations, seems to get wider and more varied. Progress in science alone does not, therefore, seem to provide the answer to the problems of the day. On the contrary, it appears to constitute a menace to civilization, and this fact by itself indicates that perhaps Western civilization, with all its achievements, is inadequate to perpetuate the existence of the human race.

29. This is rather a dim and pessimistic outlook which should not be allowed to prevail in an organization striving to lay down the foundations of a new world order. But it should at least be tolerated, as it is coming from the representative of a small country which is struggling faithfully to catch up rapidly with the caravan of the advanced world. Many other representatives, I am sure, find themselves in the same situation.

30. Nothing is more tragically paradoxical for a small nation than to find itself subjected to continuous pressure and threats of violence from the big Powers, while its sole endeavour is and will remain to live freely and democratically in the same way as the advanced nations do. This situation is, of course, contrary to the principles, objectives and spirit of the United Nations.

31. This Organization was created to act as a medium for settling disputes and conflicts and for promoting a new and better world order out of conflicting and contradictory interests. Since its inception the United Nations has been meeting in an atmosphere of tension. Although it has been instrumental in settling certain problems and averting open conflicts in certain cases, the fact remains that the world continues to exist on the verge of war. Unless we all realize in time that the causes of the present international tensions are primarily found in imperialist ambitions and practices, the world might suddenly find itself in total war.

32. The United Nations has at the present juncture an extremely heavy duty to perform towards humanity and civilization. The world stands now more than ever at the cross-roads, and it is for this assembly of nations to decide whether to promote a new world order or to face atomic destruction.

33. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): Mr. President, allow me to preface my observations on the world situation by saying that my delegation rejoices in the circumstance that the generous gesture you made last year in withdrawing from competition with our able and honoured past President, Sir Leslie Munro, has been rewarded by your election to your present high and important office. We know that you will prove yourself a worthy successor to him and that you will continue to conduct our proceedings with dignity, competence and impartiality.

34. In some respects, the task of speaking in our annual general debate is not an enviable one. He who endeavours to report on the progress made towards the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations has no good tidings to bring but only a tale of thwarted hopes to tell. This is the seventh time that, at this rostrum, I have tried to take stock of the world around us, and I would be less than honest if I were to say that during those seven years threats to the peace have been removed, the principles of justice and international law upheld, friendly relations among nations improved, and the obligations assumed by the Members of our Organization fulfilled in good faith by all of them.

35. And yet the aims set forth in our Charter are not just idle words, invented by cunning politicians to beguile the gullible crowd. The objects of the United Nations are ideas that live in the minds of many people, and the conviction of their rightness is so strongly held that—in my country, at any rate—there are few who would not be willing to make serious sacrifices for their attainment.

36. Is it the Organization, then, that is at fault? To say so would be to seek the easy excuse of the bad workman who blames his tools for the unsatisfactory results of his labours. If the principles of the United Nations were honestly, consistently and sincerely applied, international peace and justice would be secured. The fact that they are at present so often in jeopardy is not primarily due to any shortcomings in our machinery but rather to the acts of men and of peoples who disregard the rules and who for selfish reasons endanger the security of mankind. It is they who eschew the ways of peaceful development and who do not shy away from the use and threat of power, violence and aggression to impose their will on others; it is they who cause the troubled state of our world.

37. The months that have passed since the twelfth session have unfortunately brought several instances of transgression and violation of the precepts of good neighbourliness. Some of those instances are well known to all of us; others have created less of a stir in the world at large. One of them it is my duty, as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, to recall to your special attention.

38. The Republic of Indonesia has taken a number of measures against the Netherlands and against Netherlands subjects that have made it impossible for my countrymen to continue to live and work in Indonesia. Businesses, enterprises, large and small, and property of Netherlanders have been seized and taken over without payment—or promise of payment—of any compensation whatsoever. All treaties and agreements have been unilaterally rescinded, and obligations—even those arising from credits granted and agreements entered into after the transfer of sovereignty—have

been repudiated. During the past year nearly 40,000 Netherlanders have been obliged to leave their houses and homes in Indonesia and property of private Dutch firms and individuals amounting to approximately \$1,250 million has been taken away from them. These spoliation have, naturally, caused serious economic and financial damage to my country. But that is not the main reason why I mentioned them here. Since 1945 the people of the Netherlands have been able to recover quickly from the destruction and plundering inflicted on them by five years of occupation, and we know that we have enough vitality equally to overcome the harm that Indonesia desires to cause us. The nearly 40,000 men, women and children who have been forced, during the past few months, to leave that country, where most of them had lived all their lives, will eventually be integrated in the Netherlands. The economic and technical potential repudiated by Indonesia will find new means of performing useful service. And there are also other reasons why I have felt obliged to bring to the attention of the United Nations the injustice perpetrated by Indonesia against my country. One of those reasons is that injustice committed in the community of nations, apart from destroying the fabric of international law, undermines peace and security, for which, under the terms of the Charter, we all are jointly responsible.

39. But there is a more specific reason why my Government is perturbed by the unlawful actions in which the Government of Indonesia has seen fit to indulge with regard to my country. That reason is that we are convinced that such actions may have repercussions for other under-developed countries. It is sufficiently known in this Assembly what the attitude of the Netherlands Government is in respect of the problem of economic development of under-developed countries. We have made a perhaps not altogether insignificant contribution to the establishment of the Special Fund, which we hope will commence its operations in the beginning of the coming year. The wrongs we have suffered at the hands of Indonesia have not caused us to change our attitude towards the need for extending aid to under-developed countries. But I submit, it is clear that, in the international as well as in the national sphere, no economic co-operation can be lasting without a minimum of well-founded confidence, politically and economically. If countries in need of aid break down on one side what has been built up on the other, then such behaviour endangers the concept of collective prosperity for which, in the past, the Netherlands has so repeatedly and strongly argued—and we will continue to do so. It is also for this reason that I am deeply concerned over the ill effects that may ensue for the cause of international aid which my Government so warmly supports. In order that this cause should prosper it is necessary that the individual States should mind their obligations as well as their rights, their interdependence as much as their independence. To give appropriate form and expression to this interdependence may even be said to be one of the principal aims of the United Nations. That aim can be achieved only if the consequences of interdependence are loyally accepted and carried out.

40. I do not wish to limit my intervention to this note of caution and criticism. My delegation has come to this Assembly with the instruction and the will to take a constructive part in the debates.

41. For the Netherlands our membership in the United Nations means, first, that on the political plane of this Assembly we are in favour of establishing a United Nations peace force. We are heartened by the thought that progress is being made towards the organization of such a force. Its existence might prevent the carrying out of plans of would-be aggressors. In this connexion I feel impelled—as did my Australian colleague, Mr. Casey, at the previous meeting—to quote with full approval the memorable words of Mr. Dulles:

"When one régime attempts by force to take additional territory which has long been under the authority of another Government, recognized as such by a respectable part of the world community, that is a use of force which endangers world peace." [749th meeting, para. 28.]

Indeed they are memorable words.

42. We shall do what we can to assist in creating possibilities for disarmament and declare that we will support cessation of atomic tests with proper supervision of compliance.

43. We trust that the situation in the Near East will improve, and in Europe we hope that, with relaxation of tension, one of the most serious political evils—that of the division of Germany into two parts—will be remedied. Some 20 million Germans in the eastern part of that country should be allowed to exert their right of expressing their opinion on the reunification of Germany by means of free supervised elections.

44. With grave misgivings we notice on our agenda such subjects as Cyprus and Algeria. We fervently hope that the parties concerned—friends of my country—will themselves find solutions to their problems.

45. In the second place, our membership in the United Nations signifies that we shall continue to co-operate in rendering effective, where necessary, the exercise of fundamental human rights. My delegation is a firm supporter of the principle of self-determination. We welcome the fact that the barren concept that the fundamental human rights should be fortified only by conventions is now increasingly being complemented by practical action and advisory services in this field.

46. Thirdly, our membership in the United Nations implies for us that we shall continue to urge a much more extensive and comprehensive activity of the United Nations family in the economic and social sector. The recent resolutions^{1/} aimed at obtaining in 1960 an appraisal of the integrated programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies for a period of five years in advance are, in our view, of inestimable value. My delegation hopes to see the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance gradually grow to a ceiling of \$40 million.

47. The Special Fund will, if it succeeds financially, ring in an era of transition to the much greater concept that once received the name of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) and which would provide for a flow of money to the under-developed areas for the financing of their economic infra-structure. For 1959 the Netherlands Government has decided on a contribution of 14 million

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 665 C (XXIV), and *ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 693 D (XXVI).

guilders (about \$3.7 million) in convertible currency. With great interest I noted last week in the speech of the Secretary of State of the United States [749th meeting] a growing inclination of his Government to co-operate in large-scale multilateral financing programmes.

48. My delegation holds that the United Nations has a far more important task than the one so far performed in the field of stabilization of the prices of primary materials. Maybe the coming session of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, of which the United States and the United Kingdom have now also become members, will be able to do pioneering work in this field.

49. Perhaps it is time to investigate, during the coming years, whether the Economic and Social Council does actually function in such a manner as to live up to the responsibilities placed upon it by our Charter. To increase its membership to twenty-four would be one step in the right direction that could be initiated during this session. In any case, my delegation hopes that the countries with strong economies will increasingly make use of the United Nations as a channel for their economic policies. Allow me to repeat here what I said on this subject in Geneva this summer:

"The use of target figures and time-tables may improve our methods of dealing with the world economy.

"In striving towards this aim the Economic and Social Council might do worse than to take a leaf out of the book of the political organs of the United Nations. It is a generally accepted custom, when political controversies are dealt with in the political organs of our Organization, for these organs to make recommendations directed at the parties and sometimes to send observers and even, in special cases, an emergency force. Is there any reason why the economic organs of the United Nations should not gradually evolve similar methods and practices: recommendations in concrete cases, collective action in emergency situations?"^{2/}

50. These are in brief the intentions, hopes and expectations that animate the Netherlands delegation to this session of the General Assembly. May God grant that its work will redound to the benefit of mankind.

51. Mr. MOKANDEM (Tunisia) (translated from French): I should like first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the token of confidence and esteem bestowed upon you by the Assembly. At this crucial stage in the history of our Organization, we can rest assured that you will direct our discussions with calm and dignity, thus making it possible for the United Nations to respond to the hopes of all mankind.

52. This September meeting of the United Nations offers those responsible for conducting the foreign affairs of Member States what is in effect a yearly seminar at which they can exchange their various views on the problems of peace and international co-operation and on all those questions which affect the destinies of mankind. This periodic exercise, after the

^{2/} This statement was made on 7 July 1958 at the 1024th meeting of the Economic and Social Council (twenty-sixth session), the official record of which is published only in summary form.

meditations and reflections inspired by the actions undertaken during the previous twelve months, undoubtedly assists them in their approach to outstanding problems and contributes slowly but surely to the settlement of those problems by peaceful means.

53. The Government of the Republic of Tunisia wishes to reaffirm its unflinching attachment to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, which, as it has solemnly declared, will constitute the basis of its policy in its relations with all other States. It is in accordance with this policy that my Government has persistently vindicated the principle of free co-operation, founded upon mutual respect for the sovereignty and dignity of States and free of any taint of hegemony or exploitation. Tunisia, a young country, which recovered its sovereignty and independence less than three years ago, has made a sustained effort to reshape its relations with other States, to "decolonize" them, if I may use that expression, and to bring them into an international context in keeping with the spirit of the Charter. Yet, the proclamation of Tunisia's independence and its recognition by all Powers has not eliminated all our problems and difficulties. My Government is making patient and continuing efforts to seek, jointly with the former protecting Power, a solution to all the questions over which we are still at odds, a solution which recognizes Tunisia's new status as a sovereign and independent State and which is in keeping with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

54. The reason for my Government's untiring search for such a settlement in the case I have just referred to is that Tunisia, faithful to the policies it has adopted from the outset, is whole-heartedly in favour of settling disputes between States by means of negotiations or other peaceful methods, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Charter and according to the procedures laid down or referred to in the Charter. My Government is not content merely to advocate the settlement of disputes by peaceful means; it has had occasion to put the principle into practice by itself having recourse to that procedure in its serious dispute with the French Government, following the bombing of Sakiet-sidi-Youssef in February 1958 by French military aircraft operating from Algerian territory.

55. After taking the case to the Security Council, my Government accepted the good offices of two friendly Powers, the United States and the United Kingdom. Since it proved possible in this case to come to a settlement, albeit a partial one, which did bring about some relaxation of the tension in Franco-Tunisian relations, my Government feels itself the more justified in recommending such peaceful procedures for the settlement of all international disputes which set nations at odds, disturb the harmony of their relations and threaten international peace and security.

56. Threatened by the accumulation of means of destruction, so-called conventional armaments as well as atomic weapons, mankind lives in fear and anguish. This is the most poignant tragedy of our times, and we cannot help wondering whether it may not be the price we must pay for the scientific and technical progress which the mind of man has been able to achieve. Nevertheless, faith in man's destiny, a common attachment to spiritual principles and values inherited from our different civilizations and our profound devotion to the Purposes and Principles of the

Charter should encourage us to pursue untiringly our work for general and controlled disarmament. The resources and energies thus set free could be used for peaceful purposes and could help to improve the economic and social welfare of mankind.

57. In this connexion, my delegation must regret that it has not been possible to put resolutions 1148 (XII), 1149 (XII) and 1150 (XII), adopted by the General Assembly at its twelfth session, into effect. My delegation also regrets that because of the opposition of certain Member States directly concerned, the twenty-five member Commission found it impossible to sit and carry out the task assigned to it by the Assembly. Nevertheless, the work done at the Geneva Conference^{3/} and the agreement reached recently by the experts who participated in it would seem to open encouraging prospects. All mankind is following this work with hope mingled with anxiety and earnestly desires to see it come to a successful conclusion. The eminent speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have told us of the concern felt by their Governments and peoples in this connexion, and have put before us a number of suggestions which merit the closest attention and the most profound study. My Government shares that concern and will give its fullest support to any effort made to bring about the reduction and control of stocks of atomic weapons and the cessation of nuclear tests. In this connexion, my Government feels it to be its duty to proclaim solemnly from this rostrum its complete opposition to the nuclear weapons tests proposed to be held in the Sahara. In this respect let me recall that Tunisia took part in the drafting of resolution No. XII, on international peace and security, adopted at the first Conference of Independent African States held at Accra in April 1958. Operative paragraph 2 of this resolution says:

"The Conference of Independent African States... views with grave alarm and strongly condemns all atomic tests in any part of the world and in particular the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara."

58. However, the legitimate anxiety aroused by nuclear weapons should not make us lose sight of the considerable ravages which may be caused by "conventional" weapons. In order to safeguard peace and security in our tormented world we must restrict the use of these weapons, ensure their limitation and control, and replace the use of force in the settlement of disputes by recourse to the peaceful means of negotiation or mediation or to the machinery envisaged in the Charter.

59. Quite recently, the guns have begun to rumble in the Far East, bringing fire and bloodshed to one of the most inflammable parts of the world, and constituting a serious threat to peace. In another part of the world, in Algeria, on the very borders of my country, an implacable conflict has been going on for nearly four years, between a proud and valiant people who are dying where they stand in order to regain their dignity and their right to independence, and another people who, while rich in liberal traditions, are nevertheless pursuing a rear-guard action merely in order

^{3/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held in Geneva from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

to prolong an outworn and doomed régime which flies in the face of historical evolution. Considerable forces have been brought into play and are bringing death to tens and tens of thousands of young people on both sides, quite apart from the woe of the civilian population condemned to flight or exile. Waves of refugees, mainly old people, women and children, driven out of their ruined, burned and ravaged homes, are flooding into neighbouring countries, Tunisia in particular.

60. My Government, knowing the repercussions which the continuance of this inhuman war must have upon the peace and stability of North Africa, a particularly sensitive part of the world, and moved by a deep desire to bring about a just settlement by peaceful means, in a spirit of friendly co-operation with France, has worked unceasingly to create favourable conditions for such a settlement, and this despite the serious tension which has from time to time arisen in the relations between France and Tunisia.

61. At the most recent sessions of the General Assembly, the Tunisian delegation has done its best to make an effective and constructive contribution to the study of the Algerian problem and to the effort to find a solution based on the freedom and independence of the Algerian people with due safeguards for the legitimate interests of the parties involved. Moreover, Mr. Bourguiba, the President of the Republic of Tunisia, being intensely anxious to put an end to this extremely serious dispute and to strengthen the position of the United Nations and support its work, proposed in November 1957, with the full agreement of His Majesty Mohammed V, King of Morocco, that the Moroccan and Tunisian Governments should extend their good offices to the opposing parties with a view to seeking, at a Franco-North African conference, a just and peaceful solution, which will allow the Algerian people to realize their legitimate aspirations. Although the National Liberation Front accepted the Tunisian-Moroccan proposal at that time, the French Government unfortunately felt unable to approve it. However, the Moroccan and Tunisian Governments refuse to be discouraged; they regard their proposal as still in effect, and hope, in a spirit of friendship and co-operation, that they may be able to make some contribution towards a solution of the Franco-Algerian conflict.

62. But meanwhile, events pursue their course: military forays and systematic combing-out operations are continuing relentlessly. The French Government continues to regard Algeria as an integral part of its national territory, unjustifiably citing Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, and intends to impose by fire and sword on the Algerian people fighting to preserve their national existence and their own identity, a referendum on a draft constitution which concerns the people of France, and the people of France alone.

63. Much could be said about the propriety and validity of a referendum held under conditions such as those now prevailing in Algeria. Can we accept the view that a ballot of this type can be held in a country ravaged and tortured by nearly four years of war, that voting can go on under the pressure of a foreign army of 800,000 men, particularly when that army is responsible for preparing the electoral lists and the conduct of the ballot? No; we cannot accept such an outrage to the conscience of a people and the most elementary principles of law and democracy. More-

over, the problem is of a quite different order. The Algerian people are fighting for their freedom and are interested, not in deciding on the constitutional system under which the French people will live, but in freeing their country from a colonial system instituted 128 years ago by force of arms and by virtue of an alleged "right of conquest". Despite reverses, the Algerian people have never consented to abandon their sovereignty and have always sought to recover their independence.

64. Disregarding the lessons of history, and the spirit and the letter of the Charter, which proclaims the inviolability and universality of the right of self-determination of peoples endeavouring to turn the inexorable tide of history, the French Government clings to its intransigent position and goes so far as to say that discussion of the Franco-Algerian question by the United Nations would be mischievous and harmful. It is a matter for profound regret that the French delegation utterly refuses to co-operate with our Organization in the search for a peaceful, democratic and just settlement of the dispute which is now bathing Algeria in blood. It is deeply saddening to friends of France, like ourselves, to see the futility and failure of our unwearying efforts to help France and to help the Algerian people to break free from the deadlock in which they have become involved.

65. In view of the intransigence and the regrettable obduracy of the French Government, in view of this deadlock, the leaders of the National Liberation Front, who are the representatives and guardians of the interests of the Algerian people in its struggle for freedom, have been forced by circumstances to take precautionary measures. They have recently decided to set up a provisional government of the Algerian Republic.

66. On 19 September 1958 my Government recognized the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic under the presidency of Mr. Ferhat Abbas. This recognition is in conformity with the solidarity between the North African countries and their determination to work in a constructive spirit for the restoration of peace in this area. It implies no change in the traditional policy of the Government of the Tunisian Republic, based on mutual respect and free co-operation between the Arab Maghreb and France. On the contrary, my Government—I make this as a solemn declaration from this platform—intends to respect its obligations towards France and to reinforce the ties of friendship and free co-operation with that country.

67. Tunisia firmly believes that the establishment of an Algerian Government will help to inspire a fuller awareness of the responsibilities incumbent upon the Algerian people and their leaders and will subsequently promote mutual understanding. That is why my Government greeted the emergence of a provisional Government of the Algerian Republic as a decisive step towards the early settlement of the Franco-Algerian conflict and the inauguration of an era of peace and free co-operation between the Arab Maghreb and France. My Government continues to be prepared to play its part in any constructive and realistic initiative and to seek by all peaceful means a just settlement of the Franco-Algerian conflict.

68. The few ideas I have outlined in connexion with the Franco-Algerian dispute are, in my delegation's

view, applicable to the settlement of all disputes and conflicts of the same nature. My Government solemnly declares its unswerving devotion to the principle of self-determination and intends to make an effective contribution to the triumph and fulfilment of that principle throughout the world, whatever the colour of the skin or religious beliefs of the peoples who are demanding it and whichever may be the colonial power involved.

69. The situation in the Middle East has not been a matter of close concern to my Government, which was gratified by the Tunisian delegation's contribution to the work of the third emergency special session and awaits with keen interest the Secretary-General's report on the mission entrusted to him by the General Assembly.^{4/} My Government believes that only a settlement worked out by the States concerned or in close liaison and full co-operation with them is likely to produce the necessary relaxation of tension and to restore stability in that area. The Tunisian Government expresses its most sincere wishes for the success of the continued and devoted efforts of the Secretary-General to whose unwearied enthusiasm I should like to pay tribute.

70. At another level, my Government has maintained a constant and unwavering interest in the formation of a permanent international United Nations police force. In this connexion I should like to remind you of the words spoken two years ago here by President Bourguiba:

"We shall work to strengthen the United Nations so that it may be not only a moral force but a genuine supranational tribunal which lays down the law and has the ability to enforce it." [590th meeting, para. 192.]

71. This step, which has been the subject of much discussion and lengthy debates, as yet shows no sign of being put into practical effect. In this connexion, it might be useful to consider the appointment of a committee to draft a constitution for this international force in collaboration with the Secretary-General and the Military Staff Committee.

72. It is not my intention to review all the items on the Assembly's agenda. At the appropriate time my delegation will state its views on the questions under discussion. I wish only to draw attention to the items which my delegation considers most urgent and most critical.

73. As a young African and Arab country aware of its responsibilities and the moral obligations which ensue from independence, Tunisia is following developments in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories with constant attention and vigilant concern. The Charter plainly states that those Territories are to develop towards self-determination and independence. In deference to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, the Administering Authorities should guide the peoples of those Territories to a stage of development where they are capable of self-government and freely deciding on their future as soon as possible. In the meanwhile, our Organization must be kept informed of the progress achieved in this field.

74. These islands of slavery, the colonies and dependent territories, must disappear from the face of the world and give place to nations united by ties of brotherhood in dignity and mutual respect. In 1956 President Bourguiba said in this very hall:

"The United Nations cannot be content merely to welcome those who have won their freedom, it should hold out its hand to all the peoples fighting to achieve their national aspirations so that they can acquire the dignity of free nations." [Ibid., para. 181.]

75. This year has seen a specific demonstration of the "young and newly-awakened African conscience". On the initiative of President Bourguiba and Prime Minister Nkrumah, representatives of eight independent African States met in conference at Accra in April 1958 and decided to unite their efforts to strengthen peace, promote wider international co-operation, strengthen the prestige and moral authority of the United Nations and hasten the dawn of an age of justice, freedom, and prosperity. Throughout the African continent 15 April will be celebrated as a day of hope and faith in a happier future for mankind. My Government will do everything in its power to help on the burgeoning of this African renaissance and is already taking steps to give effect to the resolutions of the Accra conference. This action will lay the foundations of an "Africanism" firmly determined to keep in contact with the outside world, anxious to promote free and honest co-operation with all States in dignity and mutual respect and will, I am convinced, contribute to the coming of a better age for mankind, free from fear, poverty, ignorance and disease.

76. I should like finally to make some reference to my delegation's consistent position on the question of assistance to countries in the process of development. Political independence would be incomplete if it was not accompanied by development of national resources and the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the people. In a world where technical progress to a large extent determines the relations between peoples and States, and the maintenance of peace is dependent upon a more equitable distribution of wealth, it is of the highest importance to unite all efforts and co-ordinate all energies to promote the economic development of countries and increase the well-being of their peoples. There is no body better qualified than the United Nations to provide that assistance in the purest and most disinterested form; no other body can give it this quality of true human solidarity. It is in this spirit that the Tunisian delegation has consistently supported the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development and continues to hope that all obstacles in the way of the Fund's establishment will eventually be overcome and that it will bring both comfort and hope to mankind, now so cruelly beset by uncertainty and need.

77. My delegation also welcomes the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa and hopes great things from the technical assistance which that Commission will provide to African countries.

78. I wish in conclusion to affirm the faith of the Tunisian Government and people in an age of peace, justice and concord between peoples and nations, achieved through the harmonious operation of the United Nations and its agencies. Our Organization is

^{4/} Subsequently distributed as document A/3934/Rev.1.

the depository of a great hope, and it is its duty to live up to the expectations of all mankind that an age of happiness, prosperity, justice and freedom is about to dawn. In order to achieve this supreme goal, it must consolidate peace, ensure stability and promote free and honest co-operation, so true is it that true peace is inseparable from justice, freedom and progress.

79. Mr. DUKULY (Liberia): Mr. President, the Liberian delegation desires to associate itself with other delegations in congratulating you on your election as President of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. We are firmly of the opinion that, with your experience, you will bring to this body the benefit of your knowledge at this crucial period in international affairs. The Liberian delegation would also like to pay tribute to the retiring President, Sir Leslie Munro, on the splendid work he did during his term as President of the Assembly.

80. There is still no lessening of the tensions in international affairs as we meet at this thirteenth session of the General Assembly. Despite our wishes and desires, despite our hopes for peace, we stand on the brink of a world catastrophe and live in constant fear. Is it necessary that this should be? Or must it be our fate to pass our existence under the shadow of death? Should our happiness and very existence be forever haunted by the nightmare of ruin and destruction for us and our children?

81. These are questions that should obsess all peoples, whether they comprise small nations or great ones, whether they live in highly developed centres of the world or in the woods and jungles of some remote places. If we are all fearful of war and anxious for peace, the question arises: why do we allow ourselves to live under this sword of Damocles? To my thinking, the answer is to be found in ourselves. Our material progress has far outstripped our spiritual and moral development. Morally and spiritually, we are no further advanced than the ancient Romans, whilst in things material our comparison with them is like the pigmy and the giant.

82. We have been able to wrest from nature many of its secrets. We have made ourselves the masters of the sky. We have conquered the earth and made it subservient to our will. We have charted, explored and brought under our control the mighty seas, both above and beneath. We now seek with some success to explore unknown worlds set in outer space, which to our ancestors would have been tantamount to something sacrilegious. Man today is indeed the master of his own destiny. In him the future lives or perishes; in him, the splendid past revives or dies forever.

83. Despite these miraculous material achievements, man has not been able to establish a moral code which he is prepared to adhere to and honour in his dealings with his fellow man. The world has had many great teachers and philosophers such as Christ, Mohammed, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Buddha, Confucius and others who sought to lay down certain concepts of religion and moral conduct; but men, like nations, have generally interpreted such codes to meet their own designs and purposes based generally on location, nationality, expediency and sometimes even on the pigmentation of the skin.

84. In our age we regard ourselves more highly cultured and civilized than our ancestors, the savage

and the barbarian. We might be by far their superiors in things physical and material, but in things spiritual and moral the difference seems infinitesimal. The barbarian had no moral code, except that of "might makes right", which he felt bound to honour and respect. We in our age have adopted certain concepts such as "all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights", but how often have we failed to follow the provisions of such a code in point of fact when it has not suited our convenience? How often have we held and are even now holding peoples all over the earth in subjugation, exploiting them and denying them the rights and privileges of freedom, independence and nationhood?

85. The barbarian had no definite moral standard and therefore was bound by no particular code of moral ethics. His wars were limited in scope and the weapons that he used were equally limited in their extent of destruction. He made war with the prime purpose of winning, thereby increasing his natural wealth. If he failed, his entire fortune and even his liberty were lost; but there was no fear of total annihilation. He always indulged the hope that after every such conflict he could pick up the remnants and continue to make progress.

86. Unfortunately for us, with the discovery and manufacture of modern weapons, war in our age means mass destruction, mass suffering and obliteration. There can be no victor, only the vanquished. It therefore seems ironical when we speak of waging war in defence of the principles and justice of our cause, for there might be no one to record whether such a principle was right or such a cause was justified since the dead have never been known to speak. It should be in this context and with these views in our minds that we should here attempt to debate some of the problems that confront us in present-day international affairs.

87. To small countries like ours, situated in a world encompassed by great nations, we cannot but welcome and support the idea of the United Nations Emergency Force. We are not unaware, judging from the record of the Force in the Middle East, of the valuable assistance it has rendered to the peoples of those areas in maintaining peace and order.

88. The principle that has led to the formation of the Force cannot but appeal to us. Its troops have been drawn principally from small nations not directly entangled in the East-West conflict. As such those nations have been able to render inestimable service in the cause of peace by having been divorced from power politics. A United Nations Force like the one now on duty in the Middle East would be welcome by all small countries should they ever have the need to appeal to the United Nations for similar assistance. It is our belief that this is one of the few instances in which this world Organization has not only passed a resolution but has had the physical force with which to implement it.

89. Let us therefore hope that the nations will come to realize that with the establishment of a permanent force of this kind, supported and maintained by all nations, the question of world disarmament would present us with no formidable obstacle, as we would have a power of our own creation delegated to the United Nations. We could all be assured that the right and justice of our cause would be well defended.

90. May I be permitted to quote excerpts, which I think might be of interest to you, from a statement made to the people of Liberia and to the world by our President on the occasion of the one hundred and eleventh anniversary of our independence. He said:

"We have established one of the finest organizations in the world—the United Nations—designed to cope with any of the problems which may arise and we have had the vision, the wisdom and the patience to spell out in detail the rules and regulations by which we might obtain satisfactory solutions. But we ourselves have searched for and fostered ways and means of circumventing, flouting and even defeating those self-same rules and regulations. Because of this we are constantly bickering over issues which, with a little more tolerance and mutual understanding, could be resolved in a climate of equal respect and genuine friendship.

"We say that we are conscientiously and diligently seeking peace and endeavouring to pursue it so as to lessen the tension now extant in every quarter of the globe, and it cannot be doubted that in our century there have been and still are eminent leaders of church and state who have sincerely dedicated their noblest efforts to the cause of peace. But despite this almost universal search, these earnest endeavours continue to meet with stubborn resistance, and the international horizon is rife with the awful threat of destruction, devastation and hate. Mankind, it seems, is on the brink of self-extinction.

"What could be the cause for this prevailing unrest, this relentless struggle between nations? Can it be that man has lost confidence in himself or in his ability to discern clearly the difference between right and wrong, justice and injustice? Have we strayed away from fundamental principles of morality and religion? I do not think that this is the case. On the contrary, I am convinced that man is confident in himself and in his native abilities because, having delved deeper into the hidden mysteries of nature and having emerged with a greater knowledge of and control over these forces, he has armed himself with new inventions. With this new power he has tried to build a new world.

"But regrettably this new world is mainly synthetic rather than analytical. Man's whole concept seems to be based upon the synthetic approach and he is endeavouring to live by over-worked formulas which were used in the old world.

"In that old world of conventional weapons of war we observed the formulas and niceties of international law to break diplomatic contacts, and when and if there was violent disagreement, there was a formal declaration of war and armies met in the fields and fought. Women, children, the aged, the infirm were spared the horrors and destruction of war, being protected by treaties and conventions which were not lightly violated. Today we disregard every principle of international law and attack scores of cities without regard to women and children or churches, infirmaries, sanitoriums or hospitals. Never before in history has mankind evinced so much wickedness.

"Men and nations must get out of this deep-rooted attitude and obsession of selfish ambition and must change the symbols representing their national

aspirations from the lion, the bear, the eagle, the scythe, the dagger, the tiger, the leopard and the elephant, which are predatory and ravenous beasts of the forest and instruments of destruction. We cannot put new wine into old bottles or mend old garments with new patches and expect any reasonable degree of satisfaction. So long as we do this, the satisfaction, I believe, which we achieve will be momentary and our efforts will continue to be frustrated."

91. We deprecate present prevailing attitudes and means of approach to questions of differences arising between nations in our day and time. The niceties, polish, finesse and refinement of diplomacy and its parlance that obtained in the past do not prevail today. It is regrettable that the language employed—especially by some nations—on vital questions affecting the very existence of nations and peoples, is harsh, threatening and characterized by venom and hatred. To persist in this attitude will, in our opinion, sooner or later lead to a situation where events will get out of hand and no earthly power might be able to save the nations from running headlong into a global cataclysm that may well destroy all that man has been able to achieve through centuries of research and sacrifices of lives and money.

92. We would appeal to the great Powers and point out that some of them are young, strong and virile nations. There are others that have had three, four, five and even six centuries of national existence, and there are others of us which are still younger in nationhood but which are strenuously endeavouring to develop our natural resources so that we too might make more and more concrete contributions towards the peace and prosperity of the world.

93. Let us liken nations to men in their old age, young men in the prime of life and youths in adolescence. It is always considered a tragic thing for a person to die in his youth or even in manhood. It is bad enough for death to seize as its prey an old man; but in any case, death, whether it comes to old men, young men or to youths, is a disconsolate affair, especially if it comes as a consequence of their own deliberate and unreasonable attitude and action. That is suicide.

94. Because of the tense situation now prevailing and the dark clouds under which we are assembled, and as a means of creating a more favourable atmosphere in which to deliberate, the Liberian delegation recommends and suggests, first, that such items of the agenda for the present session as may generate greater tension and lead to further misunderstanding be temporarily suspended. The Liberian delegation feels that to debate such items of the present agenda on the floor of the United Nations might end in a stalemate. Decisions may be taken on a few or all of these issues which may be dictated less by a sense of fairness and justice than by expediency or individual or collective blocs and national honour. We are fully aware that the United Nations is not a juridical body but, in order to succeed, even political institutions must predicate their decisions upon principles of honour, justice and fair play.

95. Secondly, the Liberian delegation recommends that a United Nations special emergency commission composed of equal representation from the Western and Eastern blocs, excluding the great Powers, be constituted at any level deemed advisable, to study

the actual causes of bitterness and of the apparently irreconcilable gulf between East and West and to formulate plans and recommendations to be presented to the General Assembly, to be deliberated upon and disposed of with a view to bringing East and West together.

96. We realize that there already exist permanent committees to whom these matters should be referred; but because of the grave uniqueness of the situation, and the peculiar and dangerous state of world affairs, it is our feeling that a special body should be constituted for this purpose. The members of such a commission should be strictly charged to divorce themselves of their individual or national attachments, alignments or preferences to either side and act in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, based upon the principle of fighting for what is right and against what is wrong.

97. We submit this proposal because we feel that just as a physician diagnoses a patient's case before treatment so as to ascertain the cause and apply the correct remedy, so likewise is there urgent and immediate need for a thorough diagnosis of the present international situation to be made and recommendations submitted for its treatment so as to heal the wounds and rifts that have almost destroyed brotherhood and understanding among men.

98. The special commission should be empowered to make a complete study of the Algerian question, the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, the Formosa, Quemoy and Middle East situations, the Korean question, the reunification of Germany and all other matters which are contributory towards the present lack of understanding.

99. My Government considers that the above-mentioned questions are the underlying causes for the inability up to the present to reach agreement on disarmament and the cessation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

100. Our recommendation in this respect is predicated upon the feeling that perhaps the great Powers

themselves are gravely concerned at the consequences of the risks that are being taken but national honour and national prestige prevent them from introspecting and convicting themselves where they are wrong; for they must realize the wrong that is in themselves as well as the wrong that is in others. We cannot continue taking risks such as are being taken all over the world and be assured of any kind of long-term peace or security. One could say: "O judgement! Thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason".

101. Permit me to narrate a story about two he-goats that fought every time they met. Finally, one day, both of them met face to face in the middle of a log across a large river; the log was too small for either of them to turn back, so they stood up, looked each other squarely in the face, then looked down on both sides of the log and saw under them the swiftly moving current of this tremendous river. Quickly they exercised the animal instinct of self-preservation and concluded that, if they undertook a fight on that log, both of them would lose their lives. They decided that one would lie on the log while the other passed over him, and by so doing each would be able to cross safely over to the other side. Acting upon this common sense, both of them crossed the river on the log safely, and their lives were saved.

102. We need to exercise some such animal instinct so as to save ourselves and our posterity from any head-on collision which appears imminent; for it cannot be doubted that East and West have almost met, as it were, on a single log, over an abyss of hatred aflame with nuclear and thermo-nuclear flares. To engage in battle over this abyss would be fatal to all.

103. We hope to offer a draft resolution along the lines of our recommendation at a later date.

104. May I express the earnest hope that our deliberations at this session of the General Assembly will be productive of the better world order and peace for which humanity yearns.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.