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Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Members will have observed that the report that the General Assembly invited the Secretary-General to submit in its resolution 1237 (ES-III) of 21 August 1958 was circulated this morning [A/3934/Rev.1]. Before calling on the first speaker in the general debate this morning, I should like to assure those representatives who have already participated in the general debate that, should they wish to comment on the Secretary-General's report, I should be glad to grant them the floor. Needless to say, Members who have yet to participate in the general debate may quite properly refer to the Secretary-General's report, if they so desire, in their own speeches.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

2. Mr. ORTIZ MANCÍA (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, permit me to convey to you my sincere congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly which brings together distinguished representatives of almost all the nations of the earth. Your qualities as a statesman, writer and philosopher, and your extensive experience and service in the United Nations, especially as Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, constitute a guarantee of the fulfilment of the functions deservedly entrusted to you.

3. The delegation of El Salvador is participating in the thirteenth session of the General Assembly in the same spirit of optimistic co-operation which the Government and people of El Salvador have always shown during the thirteen years of existence of the United Nations.

4. We belong to a regional group of countries which, since the closing years of the last century, has put into practice in international relations a system of rules and principles of which all Americans, whether of the north, centre or south of the hemisphere, are justly proud. The origin of the Organization of American States, which is composed of the twenty Latin-Ameri-

can republics and the United States, goes back to 1889 and 1890, when the statesmen of our countries took part in the First International Conference of American States in the city of Washington. It should be pointed out that although the purpose of that Conference was to establish a customs union and adopt uniform customs regulations for the promotion of trade relations among our countries, the first item for discussion which appeared at the head of the invitation to the Conference was to seek "measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American States". The invitation also mentioned another item of the agenda, "an agreement upon and recommendation for adoption of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented".

5. It is easy to see the similarity between those purposes and those which directed the work of the world statesmen at San Francisco thirteen years ago and are now embodied in the United Nations Charter. That explains the strong support of the American States for the establishment of this world Organization and the full and constant co-operation they have given and are continuing to give to the United Nations.

6. I am not afraid that I shall be accused of boasting when I repeat that we are proud of our regional inter-American system, which has enabled the twenty-one Foreign Ministers of the American States in times of grave world anxiety to meet in family council in order to reaffirm their solidarity and close economic co-operation, and to declare, in a communiqué issued in Washington on 24 September 1958:

"The present period of evolutionary change in the political, economic and social structure of society calls for a renewed dedication to the inter-American ideals of independence, political liberty and economic and cultural progress, and for a reaffirmation of the faith of the American nations in their capacity to proceed dynamically towards the realization of those high ideals."

7. There is also a similarity between the aims which the American statesmen sought to achieve when they met in Washington in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and those which, on a scale more modest but no less important for us, citizens of Central America, led our statesmen in 1951 to establish the Organization of Central American States, with headquarters in the capital of my country. The results during the few years of its existence have been by no means inconsiderable. Moreover, the Organization of Central American States represents the desire of five nations to restore their original unity, not only because their history, tradition and culture so dictate, but because the people of Central America are becoming more and more convinced that no one of the five small republics can

develop fully unless all of them again become part of a unified Central America.

8. I think it might be appropriate for me to refer to the programme of economic integration of the five member countries of the Organization of Central American States. For the past seven years they have been carrying out an enlightened system of joint co-ordinated action for purposes of their collective economic development, and I think it only fair publicly to acknowledge the excellent technical assistance given to their programme by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and other United Nations organs. Under the plan for the economic integration of Central America, the Higher Institute of Public Administration, with headquarters at San José, Costa Rica, and the Central American Institute of Research and Industrial Technology established in Guatemala City are already in operation. Of special significance is the recent conclusion of four multilateral conventions which lay the basis for a Central American common market. The door is open for Panama, which as one of the republics of the Isthmus forms part of Central America, to join our system whenever it likes. We are gratified to think that the Central American experiment, sponsored by the United Nations, may serve as an example and yield profitable experience for similar efforts among other groups of States of Latin America.

9. I referred earlier to the co-operation we are getting from ECLA, and I should also like to say how grateful we are to the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) and to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which are also co-operating with us consistently in the preparation and development of our programmes.

10. My Government believes it to be the duty of each and every Member of the United Nations to help strengthen and build up such organs as TAA, UNICEF and the regional economic commissions which perform such great service to humanity.

11. In this era when centripetal currents are drawing together peoples which have long remained separated, it is paradoxical that, contrary to the wishes of substantial sectors of their populations, such countries as Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam should continue to be artificially divided. It is further to be deplored that, owing to that division and to the opposition of one foreign Power, those countries have been unable to gain admission to the United Nations.

12. My Government, which maintains excellent diplomatic, cultural and commercial relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and has relations with the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam, would be gratified to see their efforts for reunification prove successful and to see them admitted to the United Nations, where their contribution to the Organization's efforts for peace and prosperity would be extremely useful.

13. It is no exaggeration to say that the peoples of Central America and the nations of Latin America, generally, consider themselves privileged to be among the fortunate ones that are not in the habit of presenting the General Assembly and other United Nations organs with complicated problems or political questions which are difficult or well-nigh impossible to solve. That is not only because of our regional organi-

zations and systems, but because it is not the will of Providence that such disputes and questions should frequently arise among us.

14. Hence many observers and commentators on the international life of our time have rightly pointed out that the Latin American States, small or medium though they may be, exercise equally with many other countries a healthy influence as a moderating element, and their suggestions and advice have not infrequently led to a solution which others did not or could not see on account of the very situation in which they were involved.

15. Obviously, however, it is not always possible to satisfy both sides in some matters. When opposing interests of great economic, political or military importance are involved, it is often difficult to take any steps in a parliament such as the United Nations without some slight feeling of displeasure among some of the parties involved. The sagacity and wisdom of thinking men teach them that it is impossible to avoid this, even when acting with the best of intentions. Faced with these conflicting interests, our peoples and Governments consistently maintain the principles of law and justice, in a constant desire that these noble values may come to prevail in human relations.

16. This session of the General Assembly has begun and is continuing in the midst of a particularly troubled world situation. There is as yet no end to the crisis in the Middle East, which led to the convening of the third emergency special session and which will be considered during the present session, and now the military conflict in the Formosa Strait is becoming more acute and even alarming and might well lead to a third world war unless the leaders of the great Powers maintain the calm and the sense of historic responsibility which are to be expected of men of their position. Though the question has not yet been placed on the agenda of the General Assembly, it is obvious that if the conversations taking place at Warsaw between the Ambassadors of the United States and of the People's Republic of China were to break down, and the same fate were to overtake any other endeavour at a peaceful settlement, the question would come before the Security Council or the General Assembly and would be a subject of deep concern for the representatives of all Member countries.

17. Such serious situations as those which now exist in the Far East and the Middle East render it extremely difficult to consider some of the important items on the agenda of the present Assembly, such as disarmament and the peaceful use of outer space. And if it is difficult, for lack of the necessary climate of moderation, understanding and tolerance, to consider those questions, how much more difficult is it to reach positive conclusions on such important issues upon the solution of which, even if only provisional, depends in large measure any easing of the international tension that is so acute at the present time.

18. I do not mean to say that the Government of El Salvador has lost all faith in the possibility of reaching effective and efficacious agreements in connexion with disarmament, a cessation of the testing and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and international co-operation in the study and use of outer space. What we have in mind is the obvious difficulty of making any progress on these subjects during the present session

in view of the troubled state of men's minds. It would be idle to think that in such circumstances the obstacles which in recent years have paralysed the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee can be overcome.

19. Once again I am happy to state that as in previous years the delegation of El Salvador will co-operate enthusiastically and sincerely in the study of the various items included in the agenda of the General Assembly and will always be ready to seek and support reasonable solutions, based on the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, on the preservation and strengthening of peace and on the necessity of making the best possible use, for the benefit and happiness of humanity and not for its ruin or annihilation, of the great conquests made by the human intellect in recent years.

20. The agenda includes items of all kinds ranging from vital political and military questions which are bound up with the very existence of our species and efforts to accelerate the progress of the less developed countries by means of international co-operation, to the economic, political, social and cultural progress and betterment of human groups which have not yet reached a stage of advancement entitling them to self-government and independence.

21. It is a platitude to say that all these subjects have ceased to concern certain countries exclusively and have become questions of universal interest, and that the United Nations and the specialized agencies are a centre through which all countries co-operate in the common task and obtain assistance for the benefit of their peoples. It is clear that the fact of having reached so advanced a stage in international relations creates an obligation to preserve, perfect and make use of our wonderful inheritance.

22. Unfortunately a terrible threat hangs over the human race in our time and minds are weighed down by anxiety, stamping them with a mark which we hope will not be characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century. We anxiously wonder to what degree the statesman of the more powerful nations understand their great responsibility—not only before history but also before the divine will that created the world—of being able to condemn innocent peoples to extermination by imposing on them the consequences of rivalries that should and must be overcome.

23. May I ask God to impart His goodness and infinite wisdom to all the representatives to this Assembly so that we will have the capacity, the courage and the will to adopt the best resolutions; may He also help to bring about an era of confidence in which true brotherhood among all peoples will become a reality.

24. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): As one surveys the world scene, one sees momentous events of great importance succeed each other with almost kaleidoscopic rapidity—events which are bound up with human happiness or misery, with peace or war. We also see great scientific and technical advances. Man has extracted from nature her secrets and has harnessed prodigious power which can be used for constructive or destructive purposes. What matters now is how we use these great advances in science and technology, how we deal with changing events, ever mindful that it is the human factor that is important. Our responsibility is great and specially so as Members of this Assembly.

25. It is therefore our earnest hope that under the able and wise guidance of the President, this session of the General Assembly will be able to make some positive contribution to making good use of those opportunities and to the lessening of international tension and the creation of better understanding and goodwill between nations, so that the advances we have made may be used for the good of humanity. The United Nations stands as a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of man in his quest for a life of peace and plenty. The delegation of Ceylon has consistently felt and fervently believes that in a world troubled by various clashes of ideologies and interests an organization of this kind is necessary, indeed essential, for the maintenance of peace and understanding among nations. No longer can countries be isolated and peoples be kept apart. Communications have improved and the world has shrunk to so great an extent as to make any important development in one part of the world of considerable interest in every corner of the globe. The struggles of peoples for independence and self-government are now better known and elicit friendly responses from many quarters. Economic problems of under-developed countries affect even those regions which are industrially advanced and well developed. The world of today is therefore in many respects interdependent, and the problems of one country affect the rest of us. Militarily, weapons of destruction have been perfected by the ingenuity of man to such an extent that in future a major war would bring about the total annihilation of mankind. It is against this background that we have to view the important part which an organization like the United Nations could and should play in bringing about better understanding among peoples of the world. From the day of its establishment thirteen years ago, this Organization has grown from strength to strength and contributed in no small measure to promoting the purposes and principles for which it was created.

26. In the political, economic, social and legal spheres, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have done a great deal for the betterment of mankind. No doubt an organization of this nature has its limitations, and there is still much room for improvement. But the contributions it has made in helping to resolve some national and international problems are indeed noteworthy. The path of peace and prosperity lies in improving and strengthening this Organization so that it can meet the demands of the times. After all, we are only thirteen years old, and thirteen years in the long history of mankind is but a short period. If in the difficult days of the post-war period we have so much success to our credit, we can look forward to the future with much confidence, provided we continue to remain faithful to the fundamental principles enshrined in our Charter.

27. The delegation of Ceylon feels that one of the ways in which we can strengthen this Organization is to implement the principle of universality of membership. Whatever political, economic or social systems may prevail in a country, every sovereign State should have the right of representation in this Organization. This is one of the reasons that motivated the delegation of Ceylon to support the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The admission of the People's Republic will not only uphold the principle of universality which an organization of this nature should scrupulously follow, but will also help in solving many an international problem and thereby

preserve peace—the main purpose for which this Organization was created.

28. Today, a dangerous situation full of explosive possibilities prevails in the Far East. There is a dispute between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Nationalist Chinese in Formosa. Each side is supported by great Powers, and any false move in the Strait of Taiwan may trigger a major conflagration which would bring death and destruction to all parts of the world. If the People's Republic of China were a Member of the United Nations, perhaps this problem would not have arisen in this form, and, even if it had, the solution would have been easier. The delegation of Ceylon, like other delegations, views with grave concern the situation in the Far East. It is our earnest hope that wisdom, restraint and good sense will prevail on the part of all concerned and that every effort will be made to resolve this problem by peaceful measures. We therefore welcome the negotiations that are now taking place in Warsaw between the Government of the United States and that of the People's Republic of China. Every Government has a great responsibility for maintaining peace and promoting international understanding. No effort should therefore be spared to bring about a just and reasonable settlement of this question.

29. My delegation fervently believes and is confident that such a settlement, acceptable to all, will soon be found. We cannot fail. We must not fail. Quite apart from the universal destruction that would follow in the wake of a major conflict, which we all must strain every nerve to prevent, there is the fact that all countries, great and small, want peace. The People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopt as their policy the doctrine of peaceful coexistence; that is also the policy adopted by the Powers that participated in the Bandung Conference. Clothed in different language, that is also the policy of the United States and of the United Kingdom and of all European and Latin American countries. The observance of good neighbourly relations is synonymous with peaceful coexistence. In fact, to the Christian world at any rate, "good neighbourly relations" may indeed be a stronger expression. That expression, which implies love of neighbour, is the rock on which Christendom is built. The whole world is therefore one in its faith, hope and belief. What is needed always, and certainly is most imperative in times of crisis, is the translation of the same belief, expressed in different words, to the facts of life and the situations of conflict that may arise from time to time. Surely, therefore, all men of goodwill must be agreed that it is necessary to see that practice and precept are in accord.

30. We have noted with satisfaction that countries immediately concerned have agreed generally that the use of force is not the way to settle disputes. They have agreed that such settlement must be achieved by means of peaceful negotiation. We are in entire agreement that force must be eschewed. There is only a narrow gulf that now separates the contending parties. We urge the great Powers to take steps to bridge this gulf by the use of restraint and goodwill and by their wish to exist together peacefully as good neighbours in this ever contracting world of today. It is needless to say that in this endeavour the great Powers and all countries concerned will have the fullest support of the smaller Powers represented in the Assembly.

31. It was only last month that we met in an emergency special session to discuss ways and means by which this Organization could settle the immediate problems of the Middle East, heightened by the landing of United States and United Kingdom troops in Lebanon and Jordan, respectively. It was indeed a happy sign that, in a spirit of compromise and understanding, a resolution jointly sponsored by all Arab States [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly as a preliminary step towards a solution of these problems. Tension in that part of the world has been greatly reduced by the action taken by the United Nations on that occasion, and we are pleased that Member States directly concerned with this question have agreed to work together. We have watched with interest the customary skill and zeal with which the Secretary-General has pursued the mission entrusted to him by the General Assembly. Our appreciation and thanks are due him. His report [A/3934/Rev.1] has just been released and will no doubt be discussed shortly. Although I speak after its release, I would crave the indulgence of the President if I find it necessary to comment on the report later in the course of the general debate.

32. I must point out that the third emergency special session which made this result possible will go down in the history of our Organization as an example of the steadfast adherence of Member States to the practical and successful application of the principle of peaceful coexistence or good-neighbour relations in the settlement of disputes. May that spirit shine ever brightly as the lodestar that guides us to the haven of world peace.

33. We have stated on earlier occasions that one of the major causes of tension in the world is the existence of power blocs. Unfortunately, this state of affairs continues unabated, thereby causing mutual suspicion and fear. This state of mind increases international tension and in turn accelerates the race for armaments. Today, we are witnessing the spectacle of mighty Powers allied with many other countries and armed with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, ready for any eventuality. The delegation of Ceylon feels that if this vicious circle of suspicion, fear and preparations for war is to be arrested then steps should be taken to remove mutual suspicion and fear and to build up faith and confidence between nations. There is a lot of truth in the saying that "the seeds of war are sown in the minds of men". One of the ways we can arrest this downward trend towards destruction is to abandon military blocs and to enter into treaties of non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of each country. The principles of peaceful coexistence to which I have already referred, if faithfully followed by all Powers and particularly by the big Powers, will greatly facilitate the taking of a step forward in creating an atmosphere of confidence and trust. The creation of this atmosphere will help considerably in the solution of all other problems that confront us. It will help also in dealing with the problem of disarmament. And if we succeed, large sums of money that we now waste in the manufacture of dreadful weapons of destruction could be usefully channelled in the economic development of countries, particularly the under-developed ones which are badly in need of capital and technical know-how.

34. We feel that in the present state of world tension uncommitted countries such as Ceylon and other

smaller countries could play a vital part in bringing about better understanding between the two power blocs. This attitude of non-involvement in power bloc conflicts will not only enable us to judge issues that come up before this Assembly on their merits, but will also enable us to make positive suggestions, unhampered by any military bloc loyalties. It is our belief that this policy will help in the reduction of international tension and increase the area of peace.

35. We welcome the success of the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, which was recently held in Geneva, and note with satisfaction that the big Powers now are ready to negotiate about the suspension of these nuclear tests. We welcome also the proposal for a meeting of experts to discuss measures to prevent surprise attacks. It is our fervent wish that these negotiations will be a prelude to a comprehensive agreement on disarmament.

36. May I make a brief reference to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which is a great achievement of the United Nations and which I am glad to say has been ratified by no fewer than fifty-eight nations, including Ceylon. It is a pleasure to refer to it as this year marks its tenth anniversary. The Convention safeguards human beings against the danger of being wiped out of existence, as has happened in the past. The adoption by the United Nations of this Convention has helped to increase the Organization's stature in the world because of its great moral significance. My delegation hopes that those who have still failed to ratify it will delay their ratification no longer.

37. There are on the agenda of this Assembly several important problems to which I should like to refer, but as these are special problems which are likely to be closely examined in the First Committee, in the Special Political Committee and, indeed, in all the other committees, I shall refrain from discussing them here and reserve my comments until such time as they come up in those different committees. I refer particularly to the problems concerning South West Africa, Algeria and Cyprus and to the question of apartheid as practised in the Union of South Africa. The views of my delegation have, moreover, been expressed at previous meetings of the Assembly and are generally well known.

38. Regarding apartheid, the Colombo Powers, of which Ceylon is one, expressed at Colombo in 1954, and later on at Bogor, Indonesia, their great concern over this situation. In 1955, the Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and reaffirmed the determination of the Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism. The Government of Ceylon is, therefore, pledged to uphold this policy which is in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter. We regret, however, to note that there are certain delegations which still put forth the argument that the Assembly is not competent to deal with this question when, at every previous session, it has, by its resolutions, maintained that this was an item coming within the competence of the United Nations.

39. My delegation trusts that these questions will receive careful attention during the present session

and that satisfactory solutions will be found in keeping with the principles so clearly laid down in the Charter.

40. The subject of West Irian is not before the Assembly this year, but unfortunately it is still a matter of dispute between the parties immediately concerned. Although reference has already been made to it in the course of our general debate, I shall not deal with it except to say that it is our earnest hope that the question will be considered soberly and objectively in the first instance between the Indonesian Government and the Government of the Netherlands in a spirit of mutual trust and goodwill, and that a fair and reasonable settlement will be reached. The United Nations should, however, closely follow the discussions that take place outside the Organization on this important matter.

41. I would now like briefly to turn my attention to some vital economic problems affecting more than half the human race. These were recognized as early as 1945 when the founding fathers of the United Nations wrote into the Charter the obligations of Member States in the following words: "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". I would like to emphasize the words "international machinery". And, proceeding further, it was stated that: "conditions of stability and well-being ... are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. ...". And to that end they enjoined the United Nations to work towards: "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development".

42. Thus it was that at the sixth session of the General Assembly a resolution was passed [resolution 520 A (VI)] requesting the Economic and Social Council to submit to the General Assembly at its seventh session a detailed plan for establishing, as soon as circumstances permitted, a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries for the purpose of helping them to accelerate their economic development.

43. My delegation regrets that a fund for such assistance on any considerable scale is yet to be established. Meanwhile, the less developed countries have been put under considerable economic and financial strain. It is, however, a fact that some effort has been made both in the United Nations and by some of the more advanced and industrially great countries to act in fulfilment of their Charter obligations. My delegation wishes to give expression to our appreciation, and indeed our gratitude, to these countries for the help they have so far given. We would like also to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General in this direction. Unfortunately, he is unable to act on his own. He can put forward suggestions and proposals but it is for Member States to act on such proposals, and it is our unfortunate experience that his initiative has been dampened and even thwarted by lack of enthusiasm and even opposition from those countries which alone can supply the essential financial aid necessary. However, one can see a great realization on the part of strong countries of the need for economic development. I would refer to the great and generous step taken by the United States soon after the end of the Second World War when Marshall Plan aid was given to the war-ravaged countries of Europe. This statesmanlike action saved Europe from total economic collapse. The

need in Europe at that time was great and the help most opportune. The United States will always be remembered with gratitude by millions of people in Europe.

44. No such large-scale economic operation took place in other parts of the world. The under-developed countries of the world, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, have as much, if not greater, need of help. We are well aware of the existence of hunger and want, of illiteracy and disease, of abnormally low standards of living in these areas where more than half of the human race lives. As a result, there is growing discontent and dissatisfaction among these peoples, many of whom have adopted the democratic way of life. The peoples of Asia are in an economic ferment. There is a revolution—fortunately, still a revolution of expectancy. The people are still looking upward and forward and are stretching forth their hands in expectancy that the good things of life to which they know they are entitled will soon be forthcoming.

45. In this connexion we cannot delay much longer the help that they need and it is up to us in the United Nations to do everything possible to help. The under-developed countries have many handicaps, but the most important of them is the lack of adequate technical skill and financial resources. A great deal has already been done through the United Nations technical assistance scheme, the Colombo Plan and the technical aid programmes of the United States, the USSR and other countries. Regarding the former—that is, technical skill—grants and loans by many countries under bilateral arrangements, loans by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the limited financial resources of under-developed countries themselves have been of some help, but the sum total of all these efforts has been far below the need. Some good has been done, but a great deal more remains to be done. Recognizing this need, the United Nations attempted two years ago to obtain the support of Member States for a fairly comprehensive scheme of economic assistance which came to be described and known as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). This move lacked adequate support from those whose support was necessary. We are sorry that this miniature Marshall Plan idea for assistance to under-developed countries therefore had to be abandoned. My delegation is, however, glad that a scheme is now before this Assembly, even though it is much more limited. On the principle that we must be thankful for small mercies, my delegation welcomes this proposal and hopes that it will be adopted and that its execution will be made free of political manoeuvres. In the Governing Council which will administer the aid scheme, representation should be such as will ensure its activities on a purely economic and non-political basis.

46. My delegation is glad that the Economic Commission for Africa has been established. Asia already has such a commission, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. These two organizations will be of great benefit to the people of these two under-developed continents. But they will fail if their work is not fully supported by financial aid to enable beneficial schemes of development to be undertaken.

47. It is with great pleasure that my delegation has seen a new trend developing. I refer to the recognition by the United States and other countries of the abso-

lute need for large-scale financial assistance. My delegation would like to say that it was with the keenest appreciation that we heard the President of the United States [733rd meeting], speaking to the third emergency special session, advocate the creation of a financial institution for the benefit of the Middle East countries, to which he pledged American support. We note with pleasure that the Soviet Union has likewise pledged its support. The other development in the same direction, which also was hailed with delight, is the information received recently that, at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the United States and Latin American countries, held in Washington, a decision was reached to set up a banking institution with United States support to help in the economic development of the Latin American countries. These are two great developments and we hope for the speedy establishment of these institutions and their unhampered success in the future. It is the hope of my delegation that similar action will be considered in regard to the great area of South and South-East Asia where poverty, hunger and want are rampant among a people who number a quarter of the whole human race.

48. The danger to peace and the challenge to democracy implicit in the low standards of living of Asian people must be a matter of serious concern to the United Nations and to all democratic countries, and I may extend the sense of what I have just said not only to Asian peoples, but also to the peoples of all the under-developed countries of the world. No effort should therefore be spared to deal effectively and speedily with this important matter.

49. I have tried to show how important is the aspect of financial assistance from advanced countries to less developed countries. There is, however, another aspect which is no less important. It is the aspect of self-help. Under-developed countries are now engaged in the utilization of all their resources to build for themselves a better world in their own countries through their own efforts. They would prefer to do this to the utmost limit within their means and to look for help from outside only when their limited resources are exhausted. In this endeavour, help not involving immediate financial grants or loans is still necessary. Most of the under-developed countries are agricultural, raw material producers. They depend on the sale of their products in the world markets. The frequent and oft-times sudden price fluctuations affect seriously and adversely the economies of these countries. The lack of price stability is one of the dangers to which they are exposed. Moreover, a fair and reasonable price for their products is also important. It is imperative, therefore, that measures should be taken to prevent such sharp fluctuations and to ensure that world market prices are fair and reasonable both to producer and consumer. It is possible to take suitable measures towards this end. Indeed, this aspect of the question has been discussed frequently in the Economic and Social Council, in the Commission on International Commodity Trade and by the parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); in fact, measures have been taken with good results in respect of some commodities such as wheat, sugar and tin and, more recently, coffee. In the view of my delegation, commodity arrangements are essential for economic development, and I would urge at this time the immediate need to press forward in this direction.

50. Economic development can also be helped without financial aid if international trade can be expanded. Such expansion, however, is retarded by the non-liberal trade policies which some countries adopt. This becomes more serious when such policies are followed by the larger importing countries. Protective measures, high tariffs and quotas are inimical to the expansion of world trade and certainly have a deleterious effect on the economies of smaller and less developed countries. Thus, the latter are prevented by action over which they have no control from helping themselves through their own resources to build a better standard of living. Such measures also have harmful effects even on the more advanced countries because of the reduction of purchasing power among the millions who live in the under-developed countries.

51. The other matter I wish to touch upon before I conclude is the need for private investment capital in under-developed countries. There is very little flow of such capital at the present time. This matter, however, has been discussed so often in so many places that I do not wish to take up time to examine the reasons for this situation—they are only too well known, what is lacking is action—but I do wish to urge that something be done to facilitate the flow of such capital to those areas which are completely 'dry of investment possibilities and are in urgent need of a quick flow of financial aid.

52. I have attempted briefly to refer to some of the political and economic problems that face us at this time. Important decisions will have to be taken which will have far-reaching effects on the future history of the world. In all these matters, I repeat in conclusion, it is the human factor that has to be taken into account. We cannot deal adequately with these problems unless we fully appreciate that it is the fate of man with which we are concerned. Whether it be to win liberty and independence from foreign domination, whether it be to secure freedom from hunger and want, whether it be to exercise freely fundamental human rights, whether it be to achieve maximum human happiness, or whether it be to bring about goodwill and good understanding among nations, or whether it is to be peace on earth or war—all these things depend on the relationships we establish between man and man and on how we act here and now in this Assembly. Should our actions proceed from fear and suspicion, hatred and enmity, and the insane desire to destroy, then there is no hope for man. If on the other hand we proceed with charity towards all, affection and goodwill, and with the desire to build and develop friendly relations, then there is still hope for us all. There can be no doubt what our choice will be. We can then look forward to the unfolding of a new era of peace and plenty throughout the world.

53. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the Foreign Minister of the Sudan on a point of order.

54. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): The Secretary-General's report on the situation in the Middle East [A/3934/Rev.1] has just been distributed to the Members. You, Mr. President, have ruled that all Members who wish to do so are free to speak on the report, and that all those who have already spoken in the general debate can also take the floor to speak again on the report. It is not my intention to challenge your ruling, but I wish to point out that for certain reasons we wish to reserve the right that at any given moment, if we deem it

it, we can ask for the inclusion of the report as an item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. My reasons for this are that many of the representatives here would like to obtain the views of their Governments on the report before they allude to it or comment upon it.

55. Moreover, the story in the report is incomplete because in paragraph 2 of annex I we find that: "... the United States Government has informed the Secretary-General that it is discussing with the Government of Lebanon a schedule for the completion of the withdrawal of United States Forces". The report goes on to say that: "The Governments of the United States and Lebanon plan to announce their decision shortly". Until this decision is announced, the story is incomplete.

56. Again, in paragraph 3 of annex II we read that:

"The United Kingdom Government have accordingly informed the Secretary-General that... they are discussing with the Government of Jordan the fixing of dates for the beginning and completion of the withdrawal of British forces. It is the intention of the United Kingdom and Jordanian Governments that, provided satisfactory progress is being made on the lines set out in paragraphs 1 and 2 above, the withdrawal shall begin during the month of October..."

Therefore, until we know exactly what are the decisions of the Governments of the United States and Lebanon and the Governments of the United Kingdom and Jordan, it will not be possible for us properly to debate the report. Therefore, I beg that we be given the right at any given moment to ask for the inscription of the report as an item for discussion.

57. The PRESIDENT: It is quite understood that, according to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, any Member State can request the inclusion of any item on the agenda during the session of the General Assembly. Consequently, the representative of the Sudan and any other representative has the full right at any time to submit any item he wishes to be included in the agenda of the General Assembly. When such a submission is made, the item then has to be considered by the General Committee and the recommendation of the General Committee will come before the General Assembly for its consideration.

58. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): At the outset of my statement today I wish, on behalf of the delegation of Jordan, to express to you, Mr. President, our heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. The official and personal intimate friendship which exists between Your Excellency, as a prominent Arab diplomat, and the members and representatives of the Jordanian Government gives my delegation a feeling of satisfaction and pride that you enjoy the confidence of this Assembly. The Jordanian delegation has much pleasure in taking this opportunity to pay tribute to the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Sudan whose friendship to Jordan is highly regarded and whose valuable contribution to the cause of Arab solidarity will never be forgotten.

59. My delegation takes the floor today after the general debate has gone far enough in exposing the views of various delegations on major international issues and matters of concern to all States, big and small alike.

60. Jordan, as a Member of this world Organization,

has its own view on each of these issues, and will present it when they are tabled for discussion. Needless to say that, as an Arab country with a long record of true Arabism, Jordan feels that every problem in any Arabland is its own. Jordan, therefore, always seeks joint efforts with its sister States for dealing with Arab problems in its endeavour to fulfil Arab aspirations and defend Arab interests. In pursuing this policy of true nationalism, my country follows a course of political conduct in line with our best Arab traditions of self-respect and silent effort, discounting the need for propaganda in this field.

61. The problems of Palestine and Algeria will always constitute basic issues of our national policy in any international development, until the legitimate rights of the Arabs in these two countries are restored. The plight of the Palestine Arab refugees will remain the tragic expression of the failure of the United Nations in redressing the wrong suffered by them.

62. While the question of Palestine has not, unfortunately, advanced the slightest in the direction of peace and justice, the Algerian question moved forward towards expressing the true will of the people of Algeria when an Algerian National Government was established on Arab soil. We hope that this natural courageous step will help to end the present tragic war in Algeria and bring about peace to that part of the Arab homeland.

63. There are other disputes in the Arabian peninsula which cause tension in Arab foreign relations. It is the view of the Jordanian Government that, in order to maintain peace and security in the region, these disputes should be settled peacefully in a manner that would satisfy legitimate Arab rights. In its efforts to serve the cause of peace and regional solidarity, the Kingdom of Jordan will endeavour to work in close co-operation with the Asian and African countries, with whom we form a greater entity.

64. The attention of the world is directed at present to the serious situation in the Far East. We hope that the joint efforts of the free world will continue to be a stabilizing factor in that important and strategic area and defend the cause of freedom and peace.

65. The problem of West Irian is one of the foremost problems in Asia. Although it is not on the agenda of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, it continues to be a threat to international peace. The Government of Jordan hopes that a peaceful settlement can be reached between the two disputing parties in such a way that it will fulfil Indonesian national rights in that area.

66. Just before events in the Far East began to occupy the headlines, the attention of the world had been focused on the Near East. Troubles and bloodshed broke out in Cyprus. It is the hope of my country to see that a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus question is reached by agreement of the parties concerned, with due regard to the principle of self-determination.

67. In Lebanon, disturbances destroyed the pleasant and progressive life which our brethren there had been enjoying for decades. Peace in Lebanon is a major concern to my countrymen, as our relations with Lebanon are not only those of kinship but are also based on daily business life and on the fact that Jordan's main air and sea outlets lie in Lebanon.

68. As troubles broke out in other parts of our region, Jordan was close to them, but fortunately stayed out of them, thanks to the courage of our gallant young King, to the solidarity of the Jordanians and to their duly-established Government.

69. The Jordanian delegation is mainly concerned at this particular time with its own case, which was considered by the General Assembly at its third emergency special session. Since the report of the Secretary-General requested in the resolution adopted on 21 August 1958 [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] has just been circulated [A/3934/Rev.1], my delegation takes this opportunity to present the views of the Jordanian Government on this report, and we are in a position to do so.

70. On 14 August 1958, the Jordanian delegation to the third emergency special session of the General Assembly presented its case [735th meeting]. Following the presentation of the Jordanian case, consultations and discussions among the representatives of the Arab Governments were conducted with a view to achieving a settlement of this internal Arab dispute. The discussions resulted in a resolution which was drafted by all the Arab delegations to the United Nations and accepted by their respective Governments. It subsequently was adopted by the unanimous vote of the General Assembly. This resolution was an impressive expression of the will of the Arab States to settle their domestic affairs among themselves. Jordan, as a complainant, was happy to have achieved that satisfactory result.

71. The resolution in its preamble reiterated the Charter's aim of a good neighbour policy, an aim to which my country has adhered throughout its record at the United Nations. The resolution, moreover, specified in particular that the Arab States had agreed in the Pact of their League to strengthen the close ties and relations that exist among them, and to stabilize these ties on a basis of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty.

72. In section I of the operative part, which contains the foundations of the whole resolution, the Arab States renewed their assurances that each member State of the Arab League shall respect the systems of government established in the other member States and regard them as exclusive concerns of these States, and that each of them shall abstain from any action calculated to change the established systems of government.

73. The resolution went even much further along that line and called upon all States Members of the United Nations to act strictly in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and to ensure that their conduct by word and deed conformed to these principles. Inasmuch as these principles, which were embodied in the United Nations Charter and in the Pact of the Arab League, are renewed assurances given by the Arab States, co-sponsors of the resolution, they carry the weight of new pledges for pursuing a new policy of mutual benefit, co-operation and good neighbourliness amongst all Arab States.

74. Thus the intent of the resolution could not have been merely to reaffirm the already established principles and assurances, but to translate these into realities and deeds. The General Assembly demon-

strated this aim when, in its resolution, it requested the Secretary-General to make forthwith, in consultation with the Governments concerned, such practical arrangements as would help in upholding the Purposes and Principles of the Charter in relation to Jordan in the present circumstances.

75. When the representatives of the Arab Governments placed their resolution before the General Assembly, they were fully aware how great the responsibility was which they agreed to undertake in respect of their inter-Arab relations and their international obligations. Their intentions, when drafting the resolution, were assumed to be real and genuine. They envisaged the serious setback in their national and international prestige if they were to violate their pledge or break their word; for if they were to do so, they would be sinning against Arab nationalism for all generations to come. They would indeed be destroying their own national growth and impairing Arab unity. My country has thus viewed the resolution not only as an Arab national document but also as a favourable response to its complaint.

76. Jordan and its Government and people suffered considerably from the pressure and unfair treatment directed against them by one of their closest Arab neighbours. While Jordan was trying to overcome its internal problems of economic hardship, financial difficulties, drought, lack of a convenient outlet to the sea, the misery and misfortune of the bulk of the Palestine Arab refugees, and domestic disorder resulting from the subversive events of 1957, it was confronted with additional difficulties initiated from a bordering Arab territory.

77. It is not my intention to review this unpleasant recent history, but I should say that the resolution of the Arab States which we and all our Arab brethren hailed and celebrated has up to now failed, I am afraid, to enjoy implementation by all the parties co-sponsoring it.

78. On the part of Jordan, we have never failed to take up the challenge when we had to do so. In this particular instance, however, we did not hesitate to respond fervently and immediately to the call of our Arab brethren to reopen a new page in our relations and work together as members of one family. The moment the resolution of the Arab States was adopted, we immediately complied with its terms. My Government's instructions were issued to Jordanian broadcasting stations to stop all counter-propaganda or commentaries that could have been considered against the spirit and letter of the resolution, or that might even annoy any Arab Government. We appealed to the Jordanian Press to follow the same policy. We exchanged messages expressing congratulations and good hopes with the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and we declared that we were ready to forgive and forget.

79. My Government, under the directives of His Majesty King Hussein, followed that policy not only because we had to fulfil our international obligations and honour our pledge, but because we whole-heartedly wanted to pursue a national policy in which all the Arab peoples and Governments could join, hand in hand, in order to lead the way towards progress, happiness and peace.

80. But as we willingly followed this honest policy

and expressed our sincere intentions, our attention was drawn, by our own people, to the fact that we alone were following the declared policy of the resolution. People in Jordan and outside Jordan were astonished to see the implementation of the resolution being carried out by Jordan, the party which made the complaint, but not by the United Arab Republic, against whom the complaint was made.

81. We complied with the terms of the resolution in every respect and from the very moment it was adopted. The United Arab Republic, unfortunately, did not follow the same line. My delegation feels that we have to present some proof of this statement. In doing so, we submit a brief sketch of these infringements.

82. The first infringement is through the blockade. Jordan's commercial and transport lines of communication are cut off by the United Arab Republic through its northern and southern territories. Jordanian aeroplanes are prevented from flying over Syria and Egypt. Shipment of petroleum fuels to Jordan is not yet permitted through Syria, and overland transportation for commercial and civil purposes is interrupted by Syrian frontier authorities. The fact that the Government of the United Arab Republic takes an unfavourable attitude towards my Government should not be allowed to result in this unfair treatment of the people of Jordan and to make them suffer this kind of blockade. This is a measure which neither international law and agreements, humanitarian and national sentiments, nor the terms of the resolution in question would permit.

83. The second infringement is through radio incitement. The three official broadcasting stations in the United Arab Republic, namely, the Cairo Radio, the Voice of the Arabs in Cairo, and the Damascus Broadcasting Station, with a fourth covert station operating from a roving jeep, somewhere near the Jordanian borders in Syrian territory, have not stopped their agitation and incitement, attempting day and night to inflame the Jordanian public. However, during the last few days, there was a noticeable improvement in the tone and expressions of the Cairo radio, but not that of Damascus nor of the secret station operating from Syria.

84. The third infringement is through the Press. It is most regrettable that of all the daily and weekly newspapers of the United Arab Republic, both Egyptian and Syrian, not a single newspaper has stopped attacking Jordan since the resolution was adopted. The Jordanian delegation is in possession of a long record of the inflammatory propaganda of the Press.

85. The fourth infringement is through infiltration and the smuggling of arms. These activities have continued from across the Jordanian frontiers. Jordan's security patrols checked several incidents on the northern and southern borders during the month of September. A list of these incidents is in the possession of the Jordanian delegation.

86. In addition to these instances there are other forms of violations which my delegation prefers not to make public unless the course of the discussion requires us to do so.

87. In view of the failure of the Government of the United Arab Republic to translate the terms of the resolution into deeds, the question arises as to why

the United Arab Republic was not able to carry out its obligations. We do not like to assume that the higher wishes expressed in Cairo do not echo far enough in all departments and provinces of the Republic. Nor do we wish to learn that certain destructive elements in the United Arab Republic are enabled to ruin whatever could be mended in the structure of Arab unity. Those who claim that they serve Arab nationalism through trouble and destruction are serving only their own selfish interests at the expense of the welfare of their countrymen. Those outsiders who claim that they defend the Arab cause by inciting one Arab State against another and by kindling inter-Arab hostilities are those who do not harbour sincere intentions towards the Arabs.

88. However—and no matter what the reason was for the non-compliance by the United Arab Republic with the resolution—Jordan has decided to continue to demonstrate its good intentions and live up to its national and international responsibilities. This conduct on the part of Jordan is a further expression of its strength and internal solidarity, as self-restraint on such occasions is not a sign of weakness but an expression of courage and self-confidence. Yet, we in Jordan could swiftly adjust ourselves to any situation which we may be called upon to meet.

89. My Government was therefore very happy indeed and honoured to receive the Secretary-General, on 27 August and again on 8 September 1958. Mr. Hammarskjöld held several audiences with His Majesty the King and his Prime Minister, attended also by other members of the Jordanian Government. Jordan's views at these meetings were expressed to him very frankly and very clearly. The Secretary-General has always been known as a man of outstanding ability and sincerity. Representatives of the Jordan Government, therefore, followed a constructive method of discussion with him. The main objectives of our discussion with the Secretary-General were to reach with him a correct understanding of the purposes of the resolution, and to try and find with him adequate arrangements for fulfilling these purposes.

90. The Government of Jordan did not find that the Secretary-General's interpretation of the purposes of the resolution was different from its own understanding. The Secretary-General says in paragraph 27 of his report:

"The spirit and direction of the consultations in Jordan thus corresponded fully to the interpretation of the resolution which I have given in this report."

91. We met with the Secretary-General on all essential points. The Members of the Assembly do recall that during the debate of the third emergency special session Jordan held the view [735th meeting] that neither a United Nations force nor a United Nations observers' team would be an answer to its case. My Government was, therefore, glad to find that the Secretary-General shared these views.

92. In the joint communiqué that was issued in Amman at the end of the Secretary-General's first visit on 26 August 1958 it was stated:

"The policy of the Government of Jordan as represented in the debate at the emergency special session of the General Assembly by the representative of Jordan is that neither a United Nations force, nor a border observation group, would ade-

quately serve the purpose which the General Assembly had in mind. This view is shared by the Secretary-General."

Again in paragraph 27 of his report, the Secretary-General repeats the same views by saying:

"As from the beginning it had been, also my view that neither a United Nations force nor a border observation group would adequately serve the purposes of the resolution in relation to Jordan, I accepted this stand of the Government of Jordan."

93. But when Jordan declared its opposition to the employment of United Nations forces or observers on its territory, certain Members of this Assembly tried to make a point of that and to accuse Jordan of having taken this stand as an excuse for keeping the British forces on its soil. No sooner had their accusations faded when the Secretary-General himself declared that he shared Jordan's views on this matter.

94. Jordan, therefore, in consultation with the Secretary-General, considered some other form of a presence of the United Nations in Jordan. My Government and the Secretary-General have agreed that the organization in Jordan of a "representative office" of the United Nations, properly staffed, and the designation thereto of a special representative of the Secretary-General would serve to assist in the implementation of the resolution with a view to upholding the principles of the Charter in relation to Jordan in the present circumstances.

95. The principles of the Charter which are laid down in the resolution in relation to Jordan are those of good neighbourliness, non-aggression, non-interference in its internal affairs, respect for its territorial integrity and sovereignty, and equal and mutual benefit. Added to this are the renewed assurances made in section I of the resolution, to which the practical arrangements refer. These assurances are that each Arab State shall respect the systems of government established in the other Arab States, and so on, as set forth in the remainder of paragraph 1 of section I.

96. These are the principles embodied in the resolution for setting up practical arrangements in relation to Jordan in its present circumstances. The present circumstances involving Jordan were illustrated in its complaint. They include: first, indirect and subversive aggression from without, aiming at forcing the overthrow of the lawful and constitutional régime; secondly, armed infiltration of persons and smuggling of arms across the borders; thirdly, radio and press incitement and use of covert radio stations operating from without; fourthly, commercial and transport blockade; and lastly, acts of violence and unjust treatment against Jordanian citizens and damage to their personal property.

97. On the basis of this understanding we envisaged that the practical arrangements which the Secretary-General was requested to establish would undertake to face the afore-mentioned aspects of our complaint.

98. Our discussions with the Secretary-General led to an agreement on several conclusions:

(1) It is agreed that the adherence of all to those principles in relation to Jordan should be under the purview of a United Nations special representative stationed in Amman because it is recognized that the resolution is addressed primarily to Jordan.

(2) It is recognized that the special representative in Amman would need to be supported by a certain number of assistants, to be determined in the light of the needs as experienced by his activities in consultation with the Jordanian Government.

(3) The Government of Jordan understands that the stationing of the United Nations representative in Amman should enable him to watch the deflection of any party involved in the dispute from the principles set out in section I of the resolution in relation to Jordan.

(4) In order to carry out his duties in Jordan, for the purposes mentioned, certain conditional arrangements were found to be required in regard to the United Arab Republic and Lebanon.

The Government of Jordan believes that the United Nations representative in Amman should be assisted by other United Nations organs in the United Arab Republic for the accomplishment of his tasks since the sources of Jordan's complaint lie in the territory of the United Arab Republic. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 30 of his report, says:

"The stationing in Jordan of a United Nations organ, for the purposes mentioned, gave rise to a practical problem because the new organ with this location would require an established and guaranteed line of communication. For practical reasons this would involve also the Governments of Lebanon and the United Arab Republic. However, as both these Governments have undertaken to grant all the facilities, including liaison offices in Beirut and in Damascus, needed in support of the establishment of a United Nations organ in Jordan, I have concluded that the practical problems can be resolved and that the new organ can be stationed in Amman."

(5) The Jordanian Government took the stand that similar arrangements like those to be established in Amman should be set up in Cairo. However, in view of the fact that a liaison officer is going to be stationed in Damascus and another one in Beirut, and that both will be directly subordinated to the representative stationed in Amman, and in view of a further arrangement of establishing another diplomatic representation of the Secretary-General to the area, my Government recognized the reasons for the conclusions of the Secretary-General.

99. I must read what the Secretary-General writes about this subject in paragraph 35 of his report:

"Were a local diplomatic representation to be established, it should obviously cover the whole area. It would, therefore, be impossible to reduce the weight of the objections mentioned by a compromise, limiting the representation to only some of the capitals concerned. In these circumstances the most satisfactory arrangement has seemed to me to be the assignment for the purpose of a special representative at Headquarters, who would proceed to the area and visit the various Governments on behalf of the Secretary-General, as need be. The Government of Jordan, recognizing the reasons for my conclusion, has accepted it while maintaining its stand that local diplomatic representation in all the capitals from its viewpoint would have been preferable. The other Governments concerned have assured me of their willingness to receive a diplomatic repre-

sentative of the Secretary-General from Headquarters, as I might find it necessary."

The report continues as follows in paragraphs 36 and 37:

"Under the planned practical arrangements there will thus be two officials assigned to assist the Secretary-General, for purposes of the resolution: one keeping within his purview the implementation of the principles of the resolution by all nations in relation to Jordan; one serving as a special representative of the Secretary-General in such direct contacts of a diplomatic nature with the Governments concerned as the Secretary-General may find called for in the light of the findings of the representative charged with the purview. The last mentioned representative would for practical reasons be stationed in Jordan, while the diplomatic spokesman would be at Headquarters.

"It follows from the principles reflected in the planned arrangements that the representative in Amman would be in contact with the Government of Jordan as host Government and with the Secretary-General, but not directly with any other Government in the area, while on the other hand the diplomatic representative would be entitled to take up discussions with those other Governments on behalf of the Secretary-General, but would not be in direct contact with the Government of Jordan. The liaison offices in Beirut and Damascus would be directly subordinated to the representative stationed in Amman, with the task of assisting him in questions relating to the line of communication to be established."

100. It is understood—as is clear and explicit in the resolution and in the report of the Secretary-General—that the afore-mentioned arrangements would be in support of a positive good neighbour policy among the Arab States. This policy would provide safeguards for the independence and integrity of each one of these States and respect for their systems of government. Talking about these arrangements, the Secretary-General says in paragraph 6 of his report:

"...they are not to be regarded as a substitute for a policy aiming at good neighbourly relations in accordance with part I, but as being made in order to support the general implementation of such a policy in relation to Lebanon and Jordan..."

101. In judging the adequacy of the practical arrangements for the implementation of a good neighbour policy among the Arab States, the Secretary-General, in paragraph 16 of his report, takes into account "especially the degree to which the pledges to a good neighbour policy seem to have already been translated into live reality". Then he goes on to say in the same paragraph:

"In the period of transition, when it is justified to hope that the Arab nations will succeed in their efforts to establish a good neighbour policy but while frictions and departures from the main line may still be feared, the practical arrangements must in the first instance aim at keeping under review the degree of implementation of the general policy line and provide for means to set straight what may seem to be going wrong."

102. The Government of Jordan would like to have seen

the brotherly relations and good neighbourliness among the Arab States brought about without the help of any outside arrangement and prompted only by a sincere sentiment of nationalism and a true feeling of brotherhood. Let us hope, therefore, that the crisis through which the Arab countries recently passed will be an effective reminder to them to avoid further tests.

103. At any rate, there are encouraging signs in the direction of an improvement in the relations of neighbouring Arab Governments with Jordan. The Secretary-General tells us in paragraph 21 of his report:

"From all the Governments contacted, I have heard from expressions of an intention to translate the terms of the resolution into a living reality."

In paragraph 22 the Secretary-General says:

"However, it seems reasonable to work on the assumption that the impact of the intention of all Governments to translate the words of the resolution into deeds will increasingly be felt and that, therefore, the implementation of the good neighbour policy will meet with growing success."

104. The Jordanian Government, moreover, earlier understood that the United Arab Republic Government had reaffirmed in clear terms its adherence to the principles of non-aggression and non-interference set out in the resolution; and that it undertook to provide all such facilities as the United Nations may need from it in order to maintain the intended "presence" of the United Nations in Jordan. We were pleased to learn also that it looked forward to such steps in the direction of a normalization of the relations with Jordan as the elimination of present restrictions on air traffic; and to know of its desire to work in the direction of mutual restraint in propaganda.

105. On the other hand, it is my Government's earnest hope that such relations will become normal. However, as stated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 23 of his report.

"For the present, practical arrangements made by the Secretary-General may be developed on the afore-mentioned assumption and with a view to strengthening the forces working in the desirable direction. Were the assumption later to prove unwarranted, a reconsideration of the practical arrangements would become necessary. In the ultimate case of a failure of the good neighbour policy they would have to be so developed as to present a more solid guarantee for the line of action which they are intended to support."

106. In any case, the representative stationed in Amman will report to the Secretary-General on the development of these relations. Paragraph 38 of the report reads as follows:

"The reports to the Secretary-General from the representative stationed in Amman would not be public documents unless the situation were found to call for their circulation as official documents of the United Nations. Such circulation, which might serve as a basis for action by the General Assembly or the Security Council, represents obviously an alternative line of action open to the Secretary-General in such cases as would seem to him to call for stronger measures than diplomatic *démarches*. Were the findings to be of a serious nature, they

may, under present circumstances, be regarded as indicating a threat to peace and security in the sense of Article 99 of the Charter. This fact, and the possibilities for action which it opens for the Secretary-General, lends added weight to the planned arrangements as a means to help in upholding the purposes of the Charter in relation to Jordan."

107. We now turn to the question of the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan. In our discussions with the Secretary-General in Amman, we came to the conclusion that the question of withdrawal of foreign troops should be seen in the context, not solely of the practical arrangements which may be agreed upon, but essentially in the context of the development of a good neighbour policy in the region, supported by such arrangements.

108. It was also the feeling of the Jordanian Government and of the Secretary-General, if I may say so, that the question of withdrawal is to be considered side by side with the question of the development of such a good neighbour policy. We in Jordan believe that a substitute for any foreign aid would be Arab co-operation. Very recently, Jordan proved this conviction on its part, and proved it in an actual and vital manner. Now, as relations of the Arab Governments are again heading towards normalization, we in our turn, will act swiftly and in consultation with the United Kingdom Government to expedite the early withdrawal of British troops from Jordan.

109. My delegation, in its statement on 25 September 1958 [758th meeting], declared that consultations were already taking place between the Governments of Jordan and the United Kingdom with the purpose of arranging for an early withdrawal and with the hope that satisfactory progress in the Arab neighbour policy with Jordan would be made.

110. Today the representatives will note from the Secretary-General's report that the Jordanian and British Governments have agreed, on the lines set out, that withdrawal will begin during the month of October. My Government is consulting with the Government of the United Kingdom on the announcement of the date withdrawal will commence. It is hoped that this announcement will be made tomorrow, 1 October.

111. It might be useful at this juncture to recall that the request of the Jordan Government for British military aid was made by the decision of the Jordanian Council of Ministers, supported by the unanimous vote of the two Chambers of the Jordanian Parliament, with the approval of the King of Jordan and the general consent of the population. In view of this fact, the terms "aggression" and "occupation" which were used by certain representatives cannot apply to this legitimate action, exercised by a sovereign State as a temporary and defensive measure.

112. The Jordanian delegation is happy to mark the stages of success through which the case of Jordan has passed until it achieved these results. When the Jordanian complaint was submitted to the General Assembly at its third emergency special session, it was well received. It became the central issue of discussion. The great majority of the members of the Assembly recognized the validity of Jordan's argument. In addition, the complaint of Jordan won the sympathy and the support of Jordan's sister States. The renewed assurances given in resolution 1237 (ES-III) are formal

expressions of that sympathy and that support. The measures which Jordan had to take during the crisis proved to be sound and correct, as indicated by that resolution of eighty Members of this Organization to the effect that United Nations machinery should be provided for Jordan in the present circumstances to help in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter, and to make possible the early withdrawal of British troops from Jordan.

113. The progress of Jordan's case advanced even further when discussions with the Secretary-General proved that our interpretation of the resolution corresponded to his interpretation, and when our views were substantiated in his report. The manner in which Mr. Hammarskjöld is moving ahead in the setting up of "practical arrangements" is greatly appreciated. He has already asked Mr. P. P. Spinelli¹ to go to Amman to organize the new machinery. My Government was pleased to welcome Mr. Spinelli and his staff. The Jordanian delegation wishes, therefore, to express a sincere sentiment of gratification for the remarkable success which the Secretary-General achieved in his last visit to our region. I would remind him, if I may, of the words of the respectable old Bedouin tribal Sheikh who shook his hand warmly and said to him: "Come back to our country. Visit us again, not in an official capacity, but as a very dear friend".

114. Lastly, and before I leave this rostrum, I feel I should say one more thing. In the course of the debate certain representatives, none of them Arab, although professing that they advocated Arab views, took the floor to criticize my country and my Government. They charged that our national policy was pro-imperialistic and they tried to teach us our own nationalism. They described us and our régime as servile. They attempted to misrepresent the prestige and the popularity of our King. I should like to ask them what they have to do with our domestic affairs? What is more noteworthy, the Jordanian delegation has never discussed the internal conditions of the countries which these delegates represent, in spite of the gravity and seriousness of the events which have taken place in some of their countries. But as they sharply and unjustifiably criticized my people, I must tell them that those who subject nationalism to the rule of doctrine need not try to hurt the national sentiments of others. What is more noteworthy is that some of the attacks should emanate from the representative of such a Government as the present Hungarian régime which—as is a matter of common knowledge—has gone to the length of persecuting its own people to appease its master..

115. The popularity of the King in Jordan, the love which he enjoys among his people, and the prestige of his Government are striking features to everyone who lives in Jordan or who visits Jordan.

116. We, in Jordan, have passed through a period of continued difficulties and several crises, one after the other. But we were able to come out of them with a great deal of courage to spare and a great deal of self-confidence in reserve. Not a single drop of blood was shed, and not one bullet was fired. Not a single shop was closed nor any protest made. On the contrary, expressions of support and enthusiasm for the King and

the cause of his people were expressed in a very impressive manner.

117. My delegation, therefore, wishes to advise those representatives, in all frankness and in all honesty, not to build their judgements on false assumptions. This will be better for them and for the course of the debate. May I, in conclusion, reserve the right to speak again on the subject should the occasion arise.

118. Mr. TSIANG (China): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your great personal qualities, as well as your past services to the United Nations, entitle you to this great honour.

119. I should also like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the splendid and constructive guidance which Sir Leslie Munro gave to the twelfth session of this General Assembly. My delegation wishes him every success in all his future endeavours.

120. In the brief span of thirteen years the United Nations has grown enormously both in membership and in scope of service. The multitude of activities which the United Nations and its specialized and affiliated agencies undertake is simply astounding. My delegation rejoices in the growth of this Organization. Undoubtedly in the years to come the United Nations will assume more tasks. This trend towards expansion is natural, inevitable and, on the whole, healthy.

121. In spite of all our multitudinous occupations and preoccupations the problem of world peace remains our central concern. This year, because of the crisis in the Middle East in the early summer, and because of the serious situation in the Taiwan Strait since 23 August 1958, our thoughts turn more than ever to this big problem of peace. Although Communist guns are pounding the territory of free China every hour, perhaps at this very hour, I am not a pessimist, and I refuse to be a defeatist.

122. If we survey the world as a whole, we still find some bright regions. The Western Hemisphere is one. Here we have twenty-two independent nations living together truly as good neighbours. Here we have not only the absence of war but the profound and universal conviction that war among the American States is impossible. The relations between the American States exemplify the type of world which the United Nations was created to bring about. Here we have peace as the Charter visualizes peace. This is all the more remarkable because in the Western Hemisphere the disparity in size and power among the States is as great as in any other part of the world.

123. Across the Atlantic we have another such peaceful region in western Europe. There from the northern tip of Scandinavia to the southern tip of Italy, the States enjoy profoundly peaceful and friendly relations among themselves. There, too, it is not only the absence of war that is remarkable; it is the universal conviction that no State in this region, however big or powerful, has any thought of aggression against its neighbours.

124. In Asia we have not yet developed a recognized pattern of international relations for the simple reason that most of the Asian States have become independent only in recent years. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the new States of Asia desire peace. Now that they are independent, many of them for the first time, they wish

¹ Under-Secretary in charge of the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva.

to be let alone to taste both the sweetness and perhaps a little bit of the bitterness of the new life. They want to have time to solve their problems, which are many and complicated.

125. In Asia and Africa, there remain certain countries where Western colonialism still casts dark shadows. However, an objective survey, keeping in mind both what has been achieved and what remains to be done, discloses a picture which is on the whole hopeful. My country, having in the past suffered from some forms of colonialism, naturally sympathizes with any people struggling for freedom. My delegation stands ready to co-operate with other delegations in working for peaceful and constructive solutions of such colonial problems as remain.

126. When we survey the world as a whole, we find that in regions where free Governments predominate, there is no threat of war or international tension; instead, we find peaceful and friendly relations among the States. Today there is really only one major cause for worry so far as the preservation of world peace is concerned. It is the menace of international communism.

127. International communism is menacing in two respects. In the first place, it denies the dignity and worth of the human being and tramples upon fundamental human rights. In this respect, communism is much worse than the old colonialism of the nineteenth century. In the second place, communism is menacing because it is the instrument of Soviet imperialism. When communism expands, Soviet power expands. Where Soviet power is in control, there communism is imposed. Present-day international communism is inseparable from Soviet imperialism. We can call this menace imperialist-communism or communist-imperialism. The world has never before seen the like of this kind of menace.

128. Let us look at the fate of Hungary. In the nineteenth century it was a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Today it is a part of the Soviet empire. Hungary has tasted and tested both the old and the new imperialism! Unsatisfactory as Austrian domination of Hungary was, we have every reason to believe that the people of Hungary would prefer the former Austrian to the present-day Soviet domination. Whether in rebellion or in submission, Hungary has found its new masters more brutal than the old. It is indeed tragic that Hungary, having emancipated itself from the old imperialism, should have been enslaved by the new Communist imperialism. The tragedy of Hungary is a warning to all the newly independent States of Asia and Africa.

129. Unfortunately, we in China have been a target of Soviet imperialism more intensely and for a longer period of time than most of the other countries represented here. Unfortunately, China is situated next to the Soviet Union with the longest common frontier between nations. Force of circumstance has placed us in the position of frontier guard against international communism. The same force of circumstance has made our leader, President Chiang Kai-shek, take a strong anti-Communist stand during the last thirty years. For this reason, international communism has singled him out for propagandistic smearing and political and military attacks.

130. We Chinese are anti-Communists. How do we

view the problem of communism? How have we proceeded to combat communism? As we have had more than thirty years of experience in this matter, our answers to these questions may deserve the consideration of the Assembly. Furthermore, since these questions have a bearing on the entire world situation, I will take a few minutes of the time of the General Assembly to answer them.

131. President Chiang Kai-shek has stated again and again that the menace of communism can be and should be met 70 per cent by political measures and 30 per cent by military measures. That has been his message to the Chinese people during all these years. It is more than a message; it is a programme of action. We have practised what we have preached.

132. An important political measure against communism is economic development. The Chinese people, like many other people in that part of the world, desire more and better food, clothing and housing. This is what we have striven to do on the Island of Taiwan. When we first took over the island in the winter of 1945, the rice crop of that year was below 700,000 tons. Now the annual crop is 1,700,000 tons. We have obtained this result by helping the farmer to use better seeds and to fertilize and irrigate his land better than he usually does. We have given him, through land reform, more incentive to produce. Today we have not only enough rice for ourselves; we export considerable quantities abroad.

133. Thirteen years ago, there was no textile industry on Taiwan. All clothing was imported. In the past thirteen years we have built up a textile industry which makes the island today completely self-sufficient in clothing.

134. Before the war the island imported all its chemical fertilizers from Japan, about 600,000 tons a year. Today we make more than half of this quantity. We may achieve self-sufficiency in a few more years.

135. At the end of the Second World War, three-fourths of the electric generating capacity on Taiwan had been damaged as a result of the war. We have not only rehabilitated all the pre-war power stations; we have added new generators so as to double the pre-war capacity. Electric power is the key to industrialization on the island. Today Taiwan is one of the most electrified regions in all Asia.

136. On the island we grow huge quantities of bananas and pineapples, partly for domestic consumption and partly for export. We have made ourselves also a great sugar producer. In the world market Taiwan is the second largest sugar exporter, the first being Cuba. Last year we earned \$100 million through the export of sugar. We have established several new industries, such as cement, oil refining and aluminium. These industries not only satisfy the domestic demand; they are in a position to export.

137. It might be noted that, in the economic development of Taiwan, our emphasis has been on consumers' goods. The military value of the industries, it must be acknowledged, is small and indirect. We have not sacrificed rice to guns. To summarize: The economic programme of my Government has shown that we Chinese can raise the standard of living of our people under conditions of freedom better and faster than under the Communist system.

138. The Chinese people, like peoples in many other

countries, have suffered from social injustices. The problem of social justice in an agricultural country is generally related to the problem of landownership. The burden of land rent was heavy on the shoulders of the Chinese tenant farmer. My Government carried out an agrarian reform in two stages. The first stage was the reduction of rent from 50 per cent to 37 per cent of the main crop. The second stage was to help the farmer to buy and own the land he cultivated. My Government did this by giving the farmer credit so that he could pay for the land in a series of annual instalment payments. My Government also helped the farmer by enacting a law which compelled the large landowners to sell. Today the land reform is complete. Today the farmer in Taiwan owns the land he farms; he does not have to pay rent. The reform was carried out peacefully, by legal means. It did not liquidate any class. It did not confiscate any property. Now we have on the island prosperous and contented farmers.

139. Education is also an important measure in the fight against communism. When we recovered the island from Japan, we found a good elementary educational system, enabling about 70 per cent of the children of school age to go to school. We have built on the Japanese foundation. Today the percentage of children going to school is 82. In higher education the Japanese foundation was more meagre. There was on the island only one university, with a total student body of 800, half of whom were Japanese. Today Taiwan University has an enrolment of approximately 6,000. In addition, we have an engineering college, an agricultural college and a teachers' college, each of which has an enrolment of between 1,500 and 2,000.

140. These are some of the political measures which we have taken. In the realization of this programme the generous economic aid given to us by the United States has been an important factor. By intelligent planning and hard work on the part of my Government and my people, we have, I can confidently assert, made good use of United States economic aid. The benefits of economic development in Taiwan not only are substantial but are spread to all classes of the people.

141. These economic, social and educational programmes and other measures of a similar kind constitute 70 per cent of President Chiang Kai-shek's programme; the other 30 per cent is military. Let me say at once that we are realists. In the first place, we know we must defend every inch of our territory. We do not choose to live at the tender mercies of our enemy. In this respect we are not peculiar. We claim and exercise the same inherent right of self-defence as all the other States of the world.

142. In addition to defence, our programme calls for preparedness to give aid to our brethren on the mainland in their struggle for freedom. Let me say again that we are realists. We love peace as much as anybody else. We have our spark of common sense. It is not our thought that the 10 million people on Taiwan should be pitted against the 500 or 600 million on the mainland. We have no reason to fight against our brethren on the mainland. However, when our own people on the mainland rise in revolt, as the Hungarian people did two years ago, and call for our help, we will fight side by side with them for their freedom. This is our programme for the recovery of the mainland, no more and no less.

143. When our people on the mainland rise in revolt and call for our help, we cannot sit idly by and turn a

deaf ear to them. Under that circumstance we cannot entrust the fate of our people on the mainland to debates in the United Nations or to special committees or special representatives of the Assembly, as was done here two years ago with the fate of the Hungarian nation. Under that circumstance of a national uprising, we are morally bound to rush to the aid of our brethren with all that we have and are.

144. The Chinese people are generally law-abiding and long-suffering. However, when driven to desperation, they can and will fight bravely against oppression and tyranny. In the 3,000-year history of China, the people have overthrown many long-established dynasties, as well as some that were newly established and strong.

145. Under modern conditions, tyrants have more means of oppression than in earlier ages. The people on the mainland know this; we in Taiwan also know it. The Communists can brain-wash the people. They control everything on the mainland, from food and clothing to books, newspapers and public meetings. A popular revolt on the continent cannot be created artificially from the outside. When it comes, it will only be after the people have searched their hearts and their souls and have found that they have no alternative to armed revolt.

146. Last year, Dr. Hu Shih, speaking here on behalf of my Delegation in the general debate [689th meeting], portrayed the conditions on the mainland, particularly among the Chinese intellectuals and students, after the Hungarian uprising. One week ago, in the debate on the question of representation of China, I gave the Assembly [753rd meeting] some information on the general conditions on the mainland. I will not now cover the same ground again. I recommend highly to representatives a recent publication called Black Book on Red China written by the noted author, Mr. Edward Hunter. The Communists are piling man-made famine on top of nature-made famine. In addition, they are forcing the people to trample upon China's own spiritual heritage. Knowing our own people as well as we do, we believe that they will face that choice between death and freedom courageously as they have always done through the three thousand years of Chinese history. When their choice is made, we of free China will have no choice, for their choice must also be ours.

147. The present occasion for general concern is connected with the off-shore islands. I note that a number of speakers who have preceded me in this debate both condemn the use of force and appeal for restraint and moderation on the part of all parties directly concerned. I understand and appreciate the motives of those speakers; they are animated truly by charity towards all and malice towards none. My Government, true to Chinese tradition, has practised and will continue to practise the virtues which we admire, namely, love of peace, moderation and reasonableness. Indeed, we have been moderate even in self-defence. Large numbers of my fellow-countrymen criticize my Government for this moderation; they say that restraint in self-defence is a vice and not a virtue. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom and the Foreign Minister of the Philippines can get an estimate of Chinese public opinion by examining the Chinese papers published in Hong Kong and Manila respectively.

148. In connexion with the serious situation in the Taiwan Strait, I do not wish to say anything provocative because I do not wish to jeopardize the efforts being made by the United States in the interest of peace. I would, however, like to call the attention of the Assembly to certain simple facts. In the first place, we have always been in possession of these islands; we did not seize them by force from anybody. Secondly, these islands have considerable strategic value; they can be used to our great harm if they should be occupied by the Communists. Thirdly, the political meaning of these islands is of the utmost importance. They are to us what Berlin is to West Germany. Finally, these islands have been regarded by my Government as outposts, not as military bases. The garrisons on the islands have been increased through these long years. Every time the Communists bombarded them, we have found it necessary to increase the number of defenders. But it should be noted, and noted carefully, that no soldier of the garrisons on these islands ever attempted to land on the opposite shore. No gun mounted on these islands has ever been fired except to return the fire from the opposite side. Before 23 August 1958 the Taiwan Strait had been quiet. The bombardments that began on 23 August came to us as a complete surprise.

149. Some people say to us: "You had better give up the islands for the sake of peace". Four years ago in a similar crisis a similar suggestion was made to us. Then the islands at stake were the Tachen Islands. We did evacuate the Tachen Islands for the sake of peace. Today it is Quemoy, Matsu and Taiwan. We have found that the policy of yielding does not work. The enemy's appetite grows with eating. We will defend all territory under our jurisdiction.

150. International communism operates according to a concerted plan. When the Soviet Union demanded the withdrawal of United States troops from Lebanon and British troops from Jordan, the Chinese Communists strongly supported that demand. Today when the Chinese Communists demand the off-shore islands and Taiwan itself, the Soviet Union likewise supports that demand. Indeed, the unity of the Communists in relation to both the Near East and the Far East in recent years stands in clear contrast to the disunity among the free nations. The time has come when the free world should also manage to achieve some measure of unity. Let us heed the wise words of former President Harry S. Truman as reported in The New York Times of 14 September 1958:

"The situation in Quemoy and Matsu cannot be isolated into a local issue. It is part of a world crisis and should be treated as a major element in a global struggle for survival."

151. All free nations are prospective victims of international communism. The difference between us is only in relation to time. If free China is weakened; South-East Asia will be weakened, and the whole free world will be weakened to that extent. To buy peace at the expense of some other free country's territory is surely short-sighted. To buy peace at the expense of principle is also short-sighted. In this hour of trial my delegation appeals to the whole free world for support. The unity of the free world is the key to international peace.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.