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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Esin (Turkey),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

Statement by the representative of Japan

1. Mr. MATSUDAIRA (Japan): My delegation appreciated the kind expression of sympathy of the President yesterday [810th meeting] for the tragedy which struck my country recently.

2. According to official information the typhoon has exacted a terrible loss of life and property: 1,799 persons are dead, 8,073 wounded and 1,953 missing; 283,644 houses were destroyed; and 83,854 hectares of land under cultivation were ruined; the total property damage is estimated at \$100 million. Altogether 1,427,110 persons suffered. My Government is taking every possible action with all efficiency to cope with the situation.

3. May I also on this occasion express to the President my own personal gratitude to him for the warmth of the sympathy he expressed in the name of the Assembly. It is comforting indeed for us in this dark hour to be sustained by the sympathy of our friends. I feel that life has revealed its beauty to us in this particular moment. I wish simply that my country should emerge from this awful experience more vigorous, more vital and more human, and with a wider understanding for all human problems and human suffering.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

4. Mr. Jawad (Iraq): My delegation wishes to associate itself with other delegations in congratulating Mr. Belaunde on his election to the high position of President of the General Assembly, and to assure him of our confidence in his wise judgement. His election by a unanimous vote of the Assembly is no doubt a high tribute to his past services to the United Nations, and a recognition of his contribution to the cause of amity and understanding among nations.

5. Two months after our national revolution of 14 July 1958, when I had the privilege of addressing the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I stated:

"The new free republic of Iraq, with a Government enjoying the support of its people, hopes to make its modest contribution in the service of the ideals of the United Nations." [760th meeting, para.3.]

6. Now, a year later, I wish to avail myself of this occasion to explain briefly the position of my Government with regard to certain international problems, with a view to giving you some indications as to the nature of our foreign policy and the way we are endeavouring to contribute to the maintenance of peace and to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

7. Our national revolution, which freed Iraq from the shackles of internal and external oppression, opened the way widely for the people to re-emerge into freedom after centuries of feudal and colonial rule. The revolution, therefore ushered in an epoch of a newly-gained freedom, and the Government found itself faced with two sets of interrelated problems: internal and external. Internally the problem has been one of converting an economically and politically feudalistic society into a modern one. The other problem has been one of effecting a change in the external relations of Iraq in a way which is, on the one hand, consonant with the national and political aspirations of the people, and on the other, in harmony with the efforts of other nations to promote peace and security in the world.

8. In dealing with these problems and in order to ensure a peaceful change-over, my Government has been guided by a number of considerations. These considerations emanate from its keen desire to free our people from the material and political fetters which prevented them from assuming their rightful place in the march for progress and prosperity, and from playing a constructive role in promoting conditions favouring the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

9. Our efforts in tackling the internal problems have had a considerable impact on the formulation of our external policy; but I do not wish to burden the Assembly by elaborating this point. A brief reference to this matter, however, will be sufficient to indicate the nature of the internal change we endeavour to achieve, and its impact on our external relations. In this respect, our immediate national task was and remains twofold: the general elevation of material living standards and the expansion of political liberties, maintaining at the same time a balance between the two. Politics and standards of living are always closely interrelated, especially in the newly-emerging less-developed countries. In a new society which is taking shape by breaking with the past, the whole struggle for change assumes a political form. During a transitional period like this, however, there are bound to be differences and conflicts of a political, economic and ideological character.

10. The task of the Revolutionary Government has been and still is to effect this transition peacefully, and to lay down the foundations for a stable society,

in which stability is assured within a framework of freedom and democracy. This policy stems from the belief that only free people can genuinely act in support of the ideals of the United Nations and for the good of mankind.

11. Although the means of converting a feudal society into a free society are fairly clear and well known the world over, there has been, however, some misunderstanding as to the ultimate objectives we are seeking to attain. Our national revolution has, above all, been directed towards the abolition of the economic and social foundations of feudalism and the creation of a new relationship founded on justice and equal opportunities for all. Therefore, those who mourn the past and dream of its restoration are living in an illusion. The wheel of history normally moves forward in accordance with the laws of historical development of society.

12. In the external field, my Government declared a policy of positive neutrality. Again, this policy has been in conformity with the declared principle of our national revolution: that is, to liberate the people of Iraq from all systems and relationships which limited their freedom of action and jeopardized their progress and prosperity.

13. Since the end of the First World War, an international status was imposed upon Iraq which made it follow in its external relations a policy which was far from reflecting the true and genuine interests of its own people, as well as of other peoples with whom Iraq has close historical, geographical, and ethnic ties. Treaties, agreements and relationships with some Powers in the inter-war, as well as the post-war, period showed beyond any doubt that Iraq had pursued a policy of alignment which contradicted the interests of its people and diverted it from the true path of peace and security. The national revolution has come to emphasize the departure of Iraq from such policy and to lay down a new policy based on genuine belief in international peace and friendship in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter—a dynamic policy dictated by the requirements of the present stage of world historical development and in harmony with the changing world of today.

14. Thus the principles of positive neutrality in international affairs, as declared and implemented by certain States, have been accepted by our young Republic as basic in its approach to international problems and its relations with all States and nations. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the principles which constitute the fabric of positive neutrality. It is sufficient to state that such a policy aims at emphasizing in practice the desire for non-alignment and friendly relations among all nations.

15. In our opinion, the world is passing through a critical period in which the maintenance of a balance of power by the formation of military blocs does not constitute a safeguard for peace and security in the world. On the contrary, military blocs and alliances have greatly contributed to the weakening of peace and security and have increased world tension. Military alliances do not constitute bases for collective security as, in our opinion, security can only be achieved by solving world tensions and developing a pattern of universal peace within the framework of the United Nations. Furthermore, the policy of alliances does not promote mutual confidence among nations, as some people seem to believe. Experience has shown that

security is not a question of trust and confidence in one or another group of Powers, but a question of following a policy which is not only right in itself but which also makes it more difficult for other countries to break trust and confidence. Developments in recent years serve to show that the increase in the number and scope of military pacts and alliances, instead of resulting in more security, has augmented preparations for war and heightened international tensions. This is in no way to impugn the good faith of States joining blocs and alliances, but only to point out the negative effects of the policy which has led to further preparation for war.

16. It is against this background that Iraq has chosen the policy of positive neutrality. In the struggle between two great power blocs, Iraq's only role as a small State has been determined by considerations drawn from its position in the Middle East region, as well as from its keen desire not to be involved in the international game of power politics. On the other hand, by seeking to free itself from military alliances, Iraq has taken active steps to strengthen its friendly relations with all nations on the basis of equality and mutual interests, irrespective of their political and social systems. Thus we have brought to an end our membership in the Baghdad Pact and have terminated military and other agreements which bound Iraq to certain big Powers. In this way, we have not only freed the country from the numerous consequences of military and other alliances, but we have also contributed to the promotion of a more genuine understanding with our neighbours and other peace-loving nations.

17. Because we believe that no nation is an island entire to itself, we have been striving to enlarge the area of our co-operation with other nations in the various economic, social and cultural fields. The response of other nations has been extremely encouraging, especially since Iraq terminated its membership in the military and political alliances and agreements. In the political field, our policy of neutrality is founded upon a philosophy of promoting friendly relations with all Powers, irrespective of their ideology and social systems. In this way, therefore, positive neutrality is and remains a dynamic policy, objective in its approach to world problems and aimed at the gradual removal of the artificially-created barriers between nations. In our opinion, a neutral State can be more effective than it might appear at first sight if it deals equally with all other States and closely co-operates with other neutrals who are equally alive to the potent, though indirect, implications of their positive neutrality.

18. Countries following a policy of positive neutrality are often described as non-committed. This is an erroneous conception. As far as Iraq is concerned, we are committed to certain principles and policies provided in the Charter of the United Nations. We are committed to fight for freedom and justice in the world and to assist all subjugated peoples striving to achieve their national rights and liberties. We are committed to co-operate with all those who resist aggression, physically and morally.

19. The policy of positive neutrality which we have followed since July 1958 has been motivated by a general desire for the promotion of conditions favouring the establishment of peace and security in the Middle East region and the rapid achievement of the economic and political progress of its peoples. Such

progress cannot be adequately accomplished unless the rising national forces are freed from the vestiges of the colonial rule and backward economic systems. Thus, it is to be noted that, at its present phase, the policy of positive neutrality is one form of the national struggle for the realization of the national aspirations of the Arab world. We are, therefore, committed to stand together with our Arab brother in our common endeavour for the liberty and progress of all the Arab people wherever they are.

20. It will have been evident, in the light of these remarks, that the interest in world peace and security in general and in the rights and liberties of the Arab people in particular is bound to reflect itself in our great concern for conditions prevailing in the Arab Middle East. For these and other reasons, we feel it our duty to refer to three questions which ought to receive particular attention from the United Nations, namely, the questions of Palestine, Algeria, and Oman and southern Arabia. In these three areas, the imperialist forces are fighting a rearguard battle, and thus causing great human suffering, disturbing the peace and security in the region and retarding the development and progress of its people.

21. The question of Palestine is not new to this Assembly. The creation of Israel, which has since been considered by many States and peoples as one of the most tragic injustices ever committed in modern history, has been the major factor in disturbing the peace and obstructing the development of the Middle East. The existence of Israel was rendered more dangerous to the stability of our region by the fact that it has constantly been used by the colonial forces as a pretext for maintaining their position, and as a bridge-head for intervention in and aggression against the Arab countries, as clearly demonstrated by the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956.

22. The question of passage through the Suez Canal cannot be considered in isolation from the Palestine problem. Moreover, the existence of a state of war since 1948: the provisions of the 1888 Constantinople Convention; ^{1/} the inherent right of self-preservation and the recurrent acts of aggression, of which the 1956 attack was the most flagrant example, fully justify the stand taken by the United Arab Republic in relation to this question.

23. Israel has been and remains the Trojan horse of imperialism. Experience has shown that for more than ten years the existence of Israel, an alien body within the territories of the Arab nation, has been the breeding ground for conflict and aggression, not in the region alone, but also far beyond its boundaries. The regional and international tension generated through the presence of Israel could be related to the facts of the cold war in general and to the endeavours of the imperialist Powers to perpetuate their political, economic and military privileges in the Middle East region in particular.

24. These two aspects of the existence of Israel have been repeatedly confirmed by the numerous economic and military relationships established between certain Powers and Israel, by the various acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel and by the indifference or acquiescence of certain Powers in the defiance by Israel of the decisions of the United Nations. This clearly

shows that the creation of Israel and its maintenance by certain Powers falls within the general framework of imperialism in its present phase.

25. One of the most tragic consequences of the creation of Israel was the uprooting of one million Arabs from their homeland in Palestine.

26. The conditions surrounding the refugee problem, which brought the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [UNRWA] into being, are still with us and therefore the continuation of this Agency is an inescapable international responsibility. It will be remembered that the problem of the Arab refugees was the direct outcome of the partition of Palestine. The United Nations is responsible for the continuation of UNRWA because it has failed to enforce its decision concerning the right of the refugees to return to their homes. It is natural, therefore, that the United Nations should view the fate of these refugees with a full sense of responsibility, and that the Secretary-General should recommend the continuation of UNRWA.

27. We believe that the maintenance of the Agency's services is the minimum due to the Palestine refugees. This, however, should not be used as a means to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of their right of choice, already endorsed by this Assembly, to return to their homes. This right to choose is based on the most elementary principles of law and justice. We earnestly believe that references in the Secretary-General's annual report [A/4132] to the economic development in the Middle East should in no way be taken as an attempt to resettle these refugees against their will in lands other than their own. Any attempt in this direction would be an outrageous violation of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and is therefore doomed to failure.

28. Under the impact of the heroic national revolution of Algeria and the influence of world public opinion which has endorsed Algeria's right to freedom and independence, the President of France, General de Gaulle, has recognized what is already a fact, namely, Algeria's distinct personality and its right to self-determination. Thus, the myth of Algeria being part of France is now shattered by its own exponents. President de Gaulle's recognition of Algeria's right to self-determination would have been truly laudable, indeed worthy of the highest traditions of the French Revolution, and more indicative of a fundamental change of heart, were it not hedged with reservations and conditions which detract from its substance.

29. Self-determination is not a novel concept in our time, it is indeed a fundamental and acknowledged principle in international relations with well-defined characteristics and clear implications. When self-determination is adopted as a basis for a solution of such an international problem, as indeed it is the only valid basis, it should be applied according to a generally accepted procedure, with all the safeguards which ensure the process through which subject peoples may determine their destiny. Without such safeguards the exercise of the right of self-determination loses its meaning and is completely nullified.

30. It is clear, therefore, that the international community recognizes and applauds the right of self-determination, which the heroic and long-suffering people of Algeria gained with great sacrifices. But the international community cannot accept the onerous

^{1/} Convention respecting the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, signed at Constantinople on 29 October 1888.

conditions and reservations introduced by President de Gaulle regarding the time and the manner of exercising the right of self-determination. Let it be remembered that it is the Algerian people who have the right to determine their destiny, and not France.

31. President de Gaulle has likened the position of France in Algeria with that of the Ottoman Empire and other conquerors who had come before it. Just as the Ottomans and others left Algeria, France must also leave Algerian territory.

32. No one can deny that Algeria is a separate entity possessing all the prerequisites of an independent national State. The fact that France had conquered and occupied Algeria for a period of time does not detract from its unmistakable personality and does not obliterate its separate status from France.

33. Many Member States here represented were at one time or another deprived of their sovereignty and occupied by a foreign Power against their will, such as Algeria has been, but these countries have won their independence, as Algeria most assuredly will, and became members of this great Organization. Algeria in due time will undoubtedly join our ranks, for the whole world is aware of the justice of the cause of the heroic Algerian people.

34. A cease-fire in Algeria can only be brought about through direct agreement between the two parties. The provisional government of Algeria issued yesterday, in response to President de Gaulle's recent proposals, a declaration which has long been awaited by the international community. In this statement the representatives of the Algerian people have again given proof of their high sense of responsibility, good faith, wisdom and maturity. The Algerian Government stated its readiness to enter into "pourparlers" with the French Government to discuss the political and military conditions of a cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees of the application of self-determination. It is our fervent hope that this approach, which the Assembly had recommended in 1957 [resolution 1184 (XII)] and this conciliatory attitude will be reciprocated by France and find a favourable echo in the United Nations.

35. Now I come to the third question, that of Oman and southern Arabia, which has not received adequate attention. In this part of the world, tragic events take place every day; people are being killed by modern armies and weapons. The United Kingdom has been carrying out regular military operations in Oman and the southern Yemen territories in order to perpetuate its dominance and to prevent the Arab people in these territories from making their voice heard in the world. The international community has been kept in ignorance of the facts of this colonial oppression.

36. We do not wish to elaborate on this tragic aspect of the situation in Oman and southern Arabia. We feel, however, that it is high time that the United Nations paid some attention to events taking place in that part of the world, and inquired as to the status and the activities of the United Kingdom therein. The perpetuation of colonial domination can in no way be justified by past occupation. Great Britain occupied these territories in the period of imperialist expansion, and continues to do so under the name of "protection". Is it not the duty of the United Nations to inquire as to the reasons for this situation, especially at a time when the United Nations has made wide strides in the march towards the liberation of subject peoples? Members of

the United Nations are entitled to know the realities of the situation, and the reasons for this exceptional status of "protection" which the United Kingdom is perpetuating in these territories.

37. We believe it imperative that the United Nations should initiate an inquiry into the existing conflict between the people of these territories and the United Kingdom, as well as into the legal bases for its presence there. Protectorates are mere relics of a colonial system which no longer exists, even in the vocabulary of present-day imperialism. In the era of the United Nations, the continuation of the protectorate system is nothing but an anomaly.

38. The situation in southern Arabia stands in glaring contrast with the recent developments in West Africa and the part played there by the United Nations.

39. Of all the activities of the United Nations, there is perhaps none more significant than the part played by this world Organization in guiding dependent peoples towards independence and full self-government. In this noble task of nation-building, the United Nations has achieved its most striking and lasting success.

40. Three Trust Territories in Africa will attain independence in 1960, while the people of a fourth Trust Territory, namely, the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, will be given an opportunity, early next year, to decide their own future in accordance with Article 76 b of the Charter. Three years ago the General Assembly terminated the Trusteeship Agreement concerning Togoland under British administration [resolution 1044 (XI)], which attained the objectives of the International Trusteeship System through its union with the young nation of Ghana. In all these momentous developments, Iraq has tried to play an active and constructive role. We have done so solely because of our abiding interest in the welfare of dependent peoples and our firm belief in the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

41. These principles, which recognize the right of every people to self-determination, have been and still are a source of inspiration and hope sustaining the subject peoples of the world in their continuing struggle for freedom. It has often been said that the emergence into statehood of so many countries in Asia and Africa has been one of the most stirring developments of our time. It is our view that the United Nations can and should play an important and constructive role in this world-wide movement for national liberation and independence.

42. To the newly independent nations, however, political freedom is but the beginning; it can only constitute a partial fulfilment of the national aspirations of formerly subject peoples. All these countries and a large number of other less-developed countries have come to realize that their economic and social reconstruction is a prerequisite for a proper exercise of genuine political independence. This trend reflects the general desire for a higher living standard and a realization of the fact that political independence is nothing but the superstructure of economic independence.

43. The economies of the newly independent and less-developed countries, on the other hand, are to a large extent, and in an unequal manner, related to those of the advanced countries.

44. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that in the world today there is a historical gap between

the advanced and the less-developed countries—a gap which leaves many possibilities of exploitation of the latter by the former. This historical gap, while causing anxiety to the new nations, has, however, been serving as an incentive for the adoption of certain modern economic methods and techniques and for paving the way to some collaboration with the advanced countries. In most cases the main problem facing the less-developed countries stems from a shortage of capital and a lack of sufficient technical knowledge and experience. The conversion of the economies of the less-developed countries, if not supported by national resources or potentialities and outside assistance, may lead to a certain amount of instability in the exercise of their newly-won freedom. Such instability is neither in the interest of the peoples themselves nor in the interest of the international community, especially at a time when international relations are dominated by power politics.

45. It can therefore be said that, unless the United Nations takes more substantial action in helping the less-developed countries in their economic and social reconstruction, competition among the advanced countries to assist the less-developed ones will become a new ground for friction and will thus increase the tension in the world. If the United Nations were to be made the main vehicle for capital assistance to less-developed countries, the stigma of charity and the anxiety over political interference would be removed from foreign assistance.

46. It is encouraging to observe that the advanced nations have in some measure come to use the channels of this Organization for assistance to less-developed countries. The reaction to the Special Fund is a case in point. But the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in their present form fall far short of meeting the requirements of the economic development of less-developed countries and the acute scarcity of necessary capital for their development.

47. The political implications of bilateral assistance not only breed suspicion and resistance in the recipient countries, but also create international anxieties bound up with the cold war. The vision of world development and the eradication of poverty, starvation, ignorance and disease can only be effectively achieved if such international assistance is channelled through the United Nations.

48. During the past few weeks the world has witnessed the first sign of a possible major break in the cold war, which has dominated the international scene ever since the end of the Second World War. The world-wide impact of the visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, to the United States and the forthcoming return visit of the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, to the Soviet Union is a clear indication that the peoples of the world will not and cannot bear the heavy burdens of the cold war any longer.

49. This historic turn in international events is especially heartening to the advocates and followers of the policy of peace and positive neutrality. It is our fervent hope and desire that these visits and the subsequent projected steps will culminate in positive agreements covering the major outstanding problems among the great Powers. In the forefront of these problems we place the major question of our time—disarmament.

Preceding speakers, including the representatives of the three "nuclear Powers", have voiced the universal recognition that the present armaments race cannot continue much longer without dire consequences affecting the very foundations of our civilization. The choice before us is quite clear—effective disarmament or eventual collective destruction. Faced with these two alternatives, we have no doubt that man's ingenuity will meet the challenge to his civilization and survival.

50. Mr. TSIANG (China): Since the Second World War, 700 million people in Asia and in Africa have risen from colonial or dependent status to independent nationhood. The world has good reason to rejoice over this momentous development. Although much of it has taken place outside of the United Nations the principles championed by this Organization have added to the impetus of the movement. More directly, our Trusteeship Council has laboured hard and well in this field. Right now, more than 7 million people can look forward with pride and confidence to their imminent emergence from trusteeship. The Cameroons and Togoland under French administration and Somaliland under Italian administration will all attain independence in 1960. Likewise the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration will soon decide its own future through United Nations plebiscites. Western Samoa is also within sight of achieving the trusteeship objectives.

51. Although there are still remnants of colonial rule in the world, we can truly say that colonialism as a system is dead. This is a great credit to the peoples who have achieved, or are about to achieve, national independence. It is also a great credit to the colonial or administering Powers. In this respect, the world has witnessed a revolution, in most cases, a bloodless revolution. My delegation is glad to pay this tribute to all the parties concerned.

52. My country, having suffered from colonialism and imperialism, naturally sympathizes with the dependent peoples struggling for freedom. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic of China, in his teachings repeatedly urged the Chinese people to give aid to the oppressed peoples of the world. My delegation has scrupulously followed the teachings of Dr. Sun in all our deliberations on colonial questions, and we shall continue to do so. The United Nations is, in my judgement, required to promote the freedom of the peoples and the sovereign equality of the nations. In this task, the United Nations must always bear in mind two guiding principles.

53. In the first place, all relationships of domination or exploitation of one people by another must be replaced with the relationship of free co-operation on terms of equality. Co-operation between peoples, I may add, as it is obvious, can take many forms. What is important is not the form of co-operation; what is important is that such co-operation should be free and equal. With this as our major premise, we understand that separation or independence is not the only road, or necessarily the best road, to national freedom.

54. The second guiding principle we should ever bear in mind, I submit, is that the change from the old relationship of domination or exploitation to the new relationship of friendship and co-operation should be made peacefully. The United Nations should try to prevent the use of force in this type of conflict as in international disputes.

55. In spite of some remnants of colonialism in the world, I am optimistic in this matter, except in one regard. This exception is as important as the general trend towards freedom.

56. Unfortunately, after the last World War, a counter-trend set in. While on the one hand, we have this development of 700 million people from colonial or dependent status to independence, we have also witnessed the subjection of peoples bordering the Soviet Union, with the resulting loss of freedom. Asian as well as European neighbours of the Soviet Union have suffered from this reactionary movement. The United Nations can never forget, and should never forget, the situation and fate of the captive peoples of the world.

57. The general debate has already proceeded far. I note that the problem of the economic development of the under-developed countries has been emphasized by many speakers. The representative of Brazil, opening the general debate this year, devoted almost his entire speech [797th meeting] to this problem. He urged the United Nations to engage itself in a concentrated fight against under-development. The same theme has been incorporated in many of the other speeches. My delegation has listened to such pleas with deep sympathy and understanding. We likewise urge the United Nations, and particularly the industrialized nations, to give special attention to this problem.

58. The Secretary-General in his introduction to the annual report included a paragraph which we regard as very important. For this reason, may I be permitted to quote a part of that paragraph:

"The most important United Nations activity in South-East Asia is related to the development of the lower basin of the Mekong River. Assistance to the co-operation among four riparian countries, Laos, Cambodia, the Republic of Viet-Nam (South Viet-Nam) and Thailand, which has been established with a view to furthering this development, is being given through the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as on a bilateral basis. The work has been making good progress and it is to be hoped that results may be achieved fairly soon regarding some tributaries of the river, while research and planning activities are continuing regarding the river basin as a whole. The whole project is one of great promise where regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others." [A/4132/Add.1, p.4.]

59. The Mekong River project is of great strategic importance in the economic development of South-East Asia. We are therefore grateful to the Secretary-General for putting his prestige behind it. The last sentence I quoted states a philosophy which we think is applicable to the whole problem of economic development in under-developed countries. Because of its importance, I would like to repeat the last part:

"... regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others."

60. The United Nations, the under-developed countries themselves and the industrialized nations of the world have done much along this line. Economic development of the under-developed countries has begun and in many cases has made substantial progress. At the same time, we must recognize that much more remains to be done. To call your attention to the glaring needs yet to be met, let me refer briefly to a very simple and earthy animal—the water buffalo. From the Yellow Sea on the east coast of Asia to the Persian Gulf, millions of farmers rely on the water buffalo as the chief source of power on their farms. The day may come when the farmers in Asia, like the farmers in many other parts of the world, will use machines; but that day is far off. In the next few decades, most of the Asian farmers will continue to rely on the water buffalo for the heavy work on the farm. Up to the present moment there has been no large-scale systematic effort to improve the breed of this animal. Science has given the world better horses, better cattle, better hogs, better chickens and even better dogs, but the water buffalo remains without benefit of modern science. With the development of artificial insemination, a co-operative enterprise under the auspices of the United Nations to improve the breed of the water buffalo may contribute greatly to the economic progress of many Asian countries.

61. In communist countries, priority has always been given to heavy industry. In the free countries of the world, economic development usually begins with the improvement of agriculture and the establishment of light industries. I do not wish at this point to discuss which order of development is the more desirable. What I wish to point out now is that in all the under-developed countries, even before the work in the improvement of agriculture and the development of light industries has been completed, the need and the desire for heavy industry become more and more manifest. It would be wasting time if the United Nations, in its efforts to assist the under-developed countries, should concentrate all its attention on agriculture and light industry. We must foresee and plan accordingly for the next step, namely, the march from light to heavy industry.

62. Now, the development of heavy industry in the under-developed countries meets with two serious difficulties. First, heavy industry usually requires large capital funds. The problem of finance in relation to heavy industry is much more serious than in connexion with light industry, simply because much larger sums of capital are required. In the second place, an under-developed country, establishing some branch of heavy industry—let us say an automobile factory or a farm-machine factory—finds itself faced with the paradoxical situation of a very limited domestic market in the initial period. The products of light industry find in the large populations in the under-developed countries a natural and ready market. The products of heavy industry, because of their cost and the limited purchasing power of the peoples in the under-developed countries, may have only a very limited market at the beginning. This is a field in which—and I again fall back on the wise words of the Secretary-General—"regional co-operation and assistance from or through the United Nations creates possibilities unattainable for any of the countries concerned if they work in isolation or in a more limited co-operation with others".

63. It is clear that factories in the field of heavy industry should, at least in the beginning, be co-operative enterprises of a number of countries in the same region. Or, to take another method, the countries in the same region might agree on a division of labour, each specializing in some line of production and each providing a free and open market for the products of the heavy industry of other countries. In my part of the world, a common market for light industries is not of great importance, but a common market for the products of heavy industry is essential. I recommend this thought to the attention of the Economic and Social Council, as well as to the attention of the Secretary-General and his able assistants in the economic field, at least for purposes of exploration and preliminary survey.

64. At the thirteenth session, in my speech in the general debate [764th meeting], I reported in some detail the economic progress which Taiwan had made. I shall not repeat that story. Progress has been continued. Formerly, we suffered considerably from the disproportionate reliance on the export of one article, sugar. Although the total volume of exports from my country has increased, the percentage of sugar in the total trade has declined from over 70 per cent to a little over 50 per cent. Now we are working hard to increase the export of industrial goods and we have had some modest success.

65. We hear much about economic progress in the communist countries. In their world-wide propaganda, they stress the so-called "leaps forward" in their industrialization. There is a vast difference between progress under conditions of freedom and progress under conditions of dictatorship. The enslavement of a people in order to industrialize, even if successful, should be condemned. But as a matter of fact, much of the trumpeted progress is simply untrue. The economic conditions on the mainland of my country have become so desperate that the Communists have been forced to revise their propaganda figures.

66. At the beginning of this year, the Communists claimed that in 1958 their grain crop reached 375 million metric tons, or almost double the crop of 1957. And they wanted the world to believe in that communist miracle. But in a communiqué issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on 26 August of this year, they confessed that the figure was totally and grossly untrue. Now they claim that the crop of 1958 only reached 250 million metric tons, or a reduction in the earlier claim by 125 million tons. The figures in regard to some particular crops are also very revealing. In cotton they claimed a crop of 3,320,000 tons; now they say that the crop was only 1.2 million tons. The claim for ground-nut production has been reduced from 4 million tons to 1.2 million tons. On the basis of earlier claims, they called for a 1959 goal of 525 million tons of food. Now they retreat to the figure of 275 million tons, a reduction by almost 50 per cent. These reductions make the statistics of the Communists simply ridiculous. I would not take their figures for the past or the present or the future too seriously.

67. In the industrial field, let me cite one figure: that of steel. The Communists previously announced that the steel production of 1958 reached 11,020,000 tons. Now they say that, of that figure, only 8 million tons are found to be suitable for industrial use. The 1959 goal of 18 million tons of steel is now scaled down to 12 million tons.

68. The year 1958 was hailed by the Communists on the mainland as the beginning of the "great leap forward." An important part of the "leap" was to be achieved by the primitive furnaces in the backyards. The Communists mobilized 60 million people—this is their own figure—to produce iron in these primitive furnaces, which, so far as quantity is considered, did contribute three-fourths of the pig-iron production on the mainland last year. Japanese steel experts who visited the mainland at the height of the drive reported that in those furnaces between five and ten tons of coal were used to produce one ton of pig-iron, compared with the 0.8 ton of coal normally required in a modern blast-furnace. Much of the pig-iron produced in these backyard furnaces had such a high content of phosphorus and sulphur that it was useless for either casting or steel-making. And now the decision has been made by the Communists that the production in the backyard furnaces is no longer figuring in the State's economic plan. In other words, the adventure is to be abandoned.

69. Another important part in the "great leap forward" movement is the organization of "people's communes". The first people's commune was established in April 1958 in the Province of Honan in North China. It was an amalgamation of twenty-seven agricultural productive co-operatives, embracing 9,300 families, or a total of 43,000 persons. It was named the "Sputnik Commune". On 29 August 1958, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party passed a resolution to establish people's communes in all the rural areas of the mainland. Within less than two months, on 20 October 1958, Peiping announced that 26,578 communes had already been organized, embracing 127 million families, or 95 per cent of the total rural population.

70. The "commune" completes the process of the collectivization of property, including land, tools, animals and houses. In addition, by forcing the farmers to live in dormitories, to eat in common mess halls and to leave their children in common nurseries, the Communists intend by this device of the commune to abolish the family. The commune militarizes the labour force. The people are no longer members of families; they are members of a labour brigade, company or platoon. They start and quit work at the bugle call. One of the theorists of the Communists, writing in their chief theoretical magazine, called The Red Flag, on 16 September 1958, figured out that under the commune, by this device of military discipline, 25 to 30 per cent of labour time could be saved.

71. Aside from the inhuman and brutal features of the commune, it has been found to be an economic failure. Food conditions in city and country are worse this year than ever before, and exports of food have declined. The commune, simply on economic grounds, should be a warning to the under-developed countries when they plan economic development. Human beings subject to enslavement lose even a part of their economic, or more specifically productive, potentiality. Human freedom has even an economic value.

72. Professor Richard L. Walker, an eminent authority on China and the Far East, published in the 15 June 1959 issue (sect. two) of the weekly magazine The New Leader, a series of "Letters from the Communes". In these letters we find an intimate picture of misery and despair in the communes.

73. The Chinese Communist "great leap forward" movement cannot be an example to the other underdeveloped countries of the world. It should serve only a warning not to follow.

74. Now let me turn to the problem of disarmament. In the course of this session, the First Committee and later the Assembly itself will undoubtedly devote many hours and days to this vital problem. I will not go into details at this point. I wish only to present certain considerations of approach which, in my judgement, may be helpful in making the discussion this year efficient and fruitful.

75. The United Nations has discussed the problem of disarmament from the very beginning of this Organization. One of the difficulties we have encountered is the ever-present tendency to propagandize, which only beclouds and confuses the real issues involved. In the first place, I hope that this year the debate may be free of propaganda. In this respect, the delegations not so immediately and deeply involved might help to create an atmosphere of dispassionate and business-like discussion. We should avoid generalities and platitudes. We should concern ourselves with concrete issues, both in regard to the goals of disarmament and in regard to the procedures by which we can reach our goals.

76. In the second place, it seems to my delegation that it is well to remember that the armament race and political conflicts are inextricably linked. It is idle to speculate now whether political conflicts are the cause and the armament race the effect, or *vice versa*. Chronologically, it seems to me, political conflicts caused the armaments race. However, the armaments race, having reached the stage it has, becomes in its turn the cause of political conflict. Armaments and political conflicts seem to me to be as closely linked as a man's feet. One step by one foot must be followed by a step by the other foot. Any other view of the situation would be Utopian. Disarmament and the solution of political problems must be parallel.

77. In the third place, whether disarmament should be complete and general at one jump or accomplished stage by stage involves no question of principle. The test is practicality. I believe that the Assembly will find that disarmament by stages is by far the more practical procedure.

78. In the fourth place, disarmament by stages has the merit of dovetailing disarmament with control. It is now clear that there can be no disarmament without control. It is also clear that nobody desires control for the sake of control or for the sake of espionage. Disarmament and control must be parallel and closely dovetailed one into the other. If we disarm by stages, control can also be introduced by stages. If, at the first stage of disarmament, the nations should find the control to be relevant and effective, the later stages, and probably the more vital stages, would thereby be facilitated.

79. Guided by these considerations, my delegation will heartily join the others in promoting disarmament.

80. The problem of Korea requires and deserves the attention of the General Assembly. It is a problem because the United Nations has not finished its mission of unifying Korea through the democratic process of free elections. International communism has imposed

a veto on this democratic process, thereby frustrating the deep hopes of the Korean people. I believe the United Nations should not accept that veto as final.

81. My delegation hopes that the Republic of Korea, as well as the Republic of Viet-Nam, will soon be admitted into the United Nations.

82. Before I conclude, I should like to make some brief observations on the recent tragic events in Tibet. First, let me say a few words on the political status of Tibet.

83. The Constitution of the Republic of China, in article 120, provides, "The self-government system of Tibet shall be guaranteed". This Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly on 25 December 1946, with the participation of delegates from Tibet. It should be noted that the Constitution did not create any new system of government in Tibet. It accepted and thereby added sanction to the system of self-government prevailing up to that time.

84. Secondly, I would like to clarify the policy of my Government in regard to the future of Tibet. Shortly after the uprising this March, President Chiang Kai-shek sent a message to the Tibetans on 26 March 1959, in which, among other things, he declared:

"The Government of the Republic of China has always respected the traditional political and social structures of Tibet, and upheld the religious faith of its people, as well as their freedom to have their own way of life. Today I wish to affirm emphatically that, regarding Tibet's future political institutions and status, as soon as the puppet Communist régime on the mainland is overthrown and the people of Tibet are once again free to express their will, the Government will assist the Tibetan people to realize their own aspirations in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

85. Thirdly, I wish to express the feelings of all Free Chinese in regard to the use of force by the Communists and the atrocities committed by them in Tibet. In order to make my stand clear I will revert to a debate in the United Nations in 1950.

86. On 17 November 1950, the Chairman of the delegation of El Salvador addressed a letter to the President of the General Assembly requesting that the item "Invasion of Tibet by foreign forces" be added to the agenda of the General Assembly for that session.^{2/} While the proposal of El Salvador never reached the floor of the General Assembly, it was extensively discussed in the General Committee. On that occasion, my delegation in the General Committee stated:

"The sending of an army by the puppet régime of Peiping into Tibet is as shocking to the Chinese people as it is to the peace-loving peoples in other parts of the world. It cannot be justified on the ground of Chinese interest. Indeed, Mr. President, the use of force by the Chinese Communists in Tibet injures China's interests permanently in two respects. In the first place, the use of force will undoubtedly leave behind a heritage of hatred between the Tibetan branch and the other branches of the Chinese family. It starts a feud within the family. In the second place, the action of the Chinese Com-

^{2/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 8, document A/1534.

munists injures the friendly understanding between China and India." ^{3/}

That was how my Government regarded the sending of an army into Tibet in 1950. Our sentiments today in relation to this question remain exactly what they were in 1950.

87. In this matter, as in many others, the Free Chinese are guided by the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He taught the Chinese people to regard themselves as one big family with five branches: namely, the Han branch, the Manchu branch, the Mongol branch, the Moslem branch and the Tibetan branch. He proclaimed that all five branches enjoyed civil, political and religious equality. Dr. Sun also proclaimed that the five branches should never resort to the use of force in settling their disputes.

88. The atrocities committed by the Communists in Tibet are even more abhorrent to the Chinese people than they are to the International Commission of Jurists, whose report ^{4/} I had the honour to quote to the Assembly a few days ago [801st meeting]. From this rostrum, as representative of China, I declare that Free China condemns the Communist atrocities in Tibet. My delegation welcomes any proposal to examine them at the present session of the Assembly.

89. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): My opening words are intended for our President, Mr. Belaúnde, and although he is not present, I would ask the Chair for permission to read them.

90. Mr. President, to you has fallen the great and well-deserved honour of presiding over the work and discussions of this General Assembly of the United Nations in circumstances which may well prove decisive for the destiny of mankind—at a dramatic moment when, thanks to the capacity for hope and faith which fortunately dwells in human hearts, a truce seems to have been called to the anxiety and anguish felt for so many years in the face of the prodigious advance of technology and the unprecedented growth in the power and the resources for destruction held by those States which are more highly developed in the economic, scientific, technological and industrial fields.

91. As an admirer of the virtues and excellences of your country, the Republic of Peru, and as an admirer also of your own distinguished qualities as statesman, diplomat, jurist, orator and writer, I am particularly glad to be able to express, before this world Assembly, the great pleasure felt by my country and my Government at your unanimous election to this high office, and my own personal pleasure at being able to wish you the best success—a success of which no one has the slightest doubt, for we are all familiar with your intellectual capacity, your thoughtfulness, tact and your long experience in the work of the United Nations, and that overflowing sympathy and nobility which are so characteristic of you.

92. Although I shall have to mention, in the course of my speech, the political problems and the important questions now before the United Nations, I should like

^{3/} This statement was made on 24 November 1950 at the 73rd meeting of the General Committee (Fifth Session), the official record of which is published only in summary form.

^{4/} The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law (Geneva International Commission of Jurists, 1959).

to begin with the subject which is most directly related to the general welfare of the countries represented here and of those which are not yet represented but must be in the future if our Organization is really to give proof of that universality which should be inseparable from its existence. I refer, of course, to the problem of the under-development of vast regions of the world, which not only is manifested in the ignorance, disease and poverty that afflict many of their populations, but also has external repercussions, being an obvious cause of uneasiness, friction and dispute between peoples, and even of international war.

93. Within limits which it has so far been impossible to overcome, the United Nations is fulfilling a praiseworthy task in the field of international co-operation, through such important bodies and institutions as the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations and the recently established Special Fund; and the delegation of El Salvador is pleased to recognize and welcome, on behalf of its Government, the co-operation received from both of these, as well as from the Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLA], particularly in connexion with the various projects in the programme of Central-American economic integration and with the first project for the Central American Institute for Research and Technology.

94. The programme of free trade and economic integration in Central America, which was started some years ago on the initiative of the Ministers of Economic Affairs of the five Central American republics—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua—within the framework of ECLA, is continuing to develop satisfactorily.

95. The eighth meeting of ECLA, which took place in the Middle of this year at Panama City, showed that the establishment of a Latin-American common market was regarded as a clear necessity for the development of the various countries in the region.

96. In connexion with the problem of under-development we Latin Americans attach the greatest importance to the initiative of the President of Brazil, Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, designed as it is to re-stimulate the unity and solidarity of our countries and their contribution to the cause of peace, through a policy—the so-called "Operation Pan-America"—intended to expedite the concerted development of our economies, as the most appropriate and effective weapon against poverty, ignorance and distress among our peoples and in order to prevent dissatisfaction and desperation from leading them towards foreign ideologies alien to their historical, religious and cultural background but undoubtedly attractive in their fallacious presentation of an imaginary world of happiness to the masses' astonished eyes.

97. My Government, like the governments of all the American Republics, welcomed the Brazilian President's proposal and at once gave it enthusiastic support—for it is certain that, as the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs said in his speech in the General Assembly last year [749th meeting], no one is entitled to wave the flag of a new hope who pays no heed to the afflictions and needs of his own people, and who, on the pretext of serving the remote ideals of all mankind, takes no interest in remedying the immediate domestic ills weighing upon his own nation.

98. One of the most serious economic problems, causing most distress to a large number of countries,

is the instability and low level of prices on the world markets for such basic commodities as coffee, a product that is crucial for the economic systems of many Latin-American States and various African territories linked with European countries. The disequilibrium between the production and the consumption of coffee, and the consequent fall in prices, forced the Latin-American producer-countries, three years ago, to start negotiations with a view to stabilization. The agreements reached covered only Latin American States until the happy conclusion in Washington, on 24 September 1959, of the International Coffee Agreement, signed not only by the Latin American producer-countries but also by the French Community on behalf of a number of territories and by Portugal on behalf of Angola. The United Kingdom and Belgium, on behalf of certain other territories, signed annexes giving grounds for hope that they, too, would co-operate in the development and execution of the agreement—the object is to adapt the supply of coffee to the demand, to ensure the proper placing of the product on international markets and to promote its consumption throughout the world, thus contributing to the expansion of trade between producer and consumer countries.

99. Although this international agreement is a transitional measure of relatively short duration, it does incorporate the possibility of arriving at a long-term agreement capable of normalizing the coffee trade in years to come, and there are good grounds for believing that its application will enable many States, including El Salvador, to enjoy an economic tranquillity which will help them to continue with their development programmes.

100. It is a source of satisfaction and pride to me to be able to speak, at this time, of the efforts now being made by the American States to strengthen democracy and the practical observance of human rights.

101. The charter of our regional organization, in complete accord with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, reaffirms that "the solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy", and proclaims "the fundamental rights of the individual without distinction as to race, nationality, creed or sex".

102. Similar or identical declarations have been made on many occasions at inter-American meetings; and recently, at the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, held in mid-August in the Chilean capital, the Foreign Ministers crowned their labours of several days with the splendid Declaration of Santiago de Chile, which is an expression of the profound democratic convictions of our peoples. The operative part of the Declaration reads as follows:

"1. The principle of the rule of law should be assured by the separation of powers, and by the control of the legality of governmental acts by competent organs of the State.

"2. The Governments of the American Republics should be derived from free elections.

"3. Perpetuation in power, or the exercise of power without a fixed term and with the manifest intent of perpetuation, is incompatible with the effective exercise of democracy.

"4. The Governments of the American States should ensure a system of freedom for the individual and social justice based on respect for fundamental human rights.

"5. The human rights incorporated into the legislation of the various American States should be protected by effective judicial procedures.

"6. The systematic use of political proscription is contrary to American democratic order.

"7. Freedom of press, of radio and television and, in general, freedom of information and expression, are essential conditions for the existence of a democratic régime.

"8. The American States, in order to strengthen democratic institutions, should co-operate among themselves within the limits of their resources and the framework of their laws so as to strengthen and develop their economic structure, and achieve just and humane living conditions for their peoples".

103. In another equally important document, on "Economic under-development and the preservation of democracy", the Fifth Meeting of Foreign Ministers declared that "the stability of democracy, the safeguarding of human rights, the security of the hemisphere and its preservation from the dangers which threaten the freedom and independence of the American Republics demand increased economic co-operation among these republics with a view to raising the standard of living of their rapidly growing populations".

104. The meeting of the American Ministers of Foreign Affairs decided to set up an inter-American commission on human rights, with the task of promoting respect for human rights. This commission is to be organized by the Council of the Organization of American States, and its specific duties will be prescribed for it by the Council.

105. The Foreign Ministers decided to entrust the Inter-American Council of Jurists with the task of preparing draft conventions on human rights and on the establishment of an inter-American court of human rights and other suitable bodies for the safeguarding and observance of those rights.

106. The Inter-American Council of Jurists, whose fourth meeting was held at Santiago de Chile shortly after the meeting of Foreign Ministers, used great diligence in drawing up a draft convention on human rights; in accordance with the Foreign Ministers' decision, this draft will be sent to Governments for study and will in due course be submitted for the consideration of the Eleventh International Conference of American States, to commence at Quito, the capital of Ecuador, on 1 February 1960.

107. This draft convention sets forth, on the one hand, civil and political rights and, on the other, social, economic and cultural rights. It also proposes the establishment of two organs: an inter-American Court of human rights with juridical functions, and an inter-American commission for the protection of human rights, with protective functions.

108. All of us who had the privilege of taking part in the very important meetings at Santiago, Chile and of contributing actively to the preparation of the declarations and resolutions which I have mentioned and of the draft convention on human rights, cherish the hope that one day we shall see the principles and standards,

laid down in these instruments by the Foreign Ministers and later by the American jurists, become a reality in each and every one of the Republics in this hemisphere.

109. As regards the proposed inter-American commission for the protection of human rights, although we have not forgotten the existence of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the significant fact that this is the only subsidiary organ whose establishment is envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, we still feel some concern at the discouraging circumstance that the United Nations Commission, of its own free will, renounced from the outset the task of truly promoting human rights, as required by the Charter—which prompted the distinguished jurist and writer Lauterpacht to say of it:

"A Commission on Human Rights which by a self-denying ordinance is precluded from taking other than purely nominal action with regard to complaints of violations of human rights would not be fulfilling the object which according to the letter and the spirit of the Charter it is in a position to fulfil."^{5/}

110. In practice, the Commission on Human Rights devotes itself solely to the preparation of drafts relating to human rights: among other productions of undeniable merit, it is responsible for the draft on which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was based, and for two draft covenants on human rights which the Third Committee of the General Assembly has been studying, in a leisurely fashion, for several years. We are confident that the inter-American commission will follow a different course. Its very name—the inter-American commission for the protection of human rights—reflects the protective functions with which we wish to invest it.

111. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador Mr. Alfredo Ortiz Manófa, and his advisers at the Santiago Meeting (our Ambassadors in Washington and Lima, Mr. Héctor David Castro and Mr. Francisco Lino Osegueda), together with the present speaker and many other delegates, placed all their energies and faith in America's destiny in the service of co-operation in this important work, the results of which were fully reported by the international agencies.

112. We were fortunate in enjoying the enthusiastic support of the President of the Republic, Lieutenant-Colonel José María Lemus, who in his message of 14 September 1959 to the Legislative Assembly, reporting on the work done in the third year of his administration, used the following words, which it seems opportune to recall here, in connexion with democracy and respect for human rights:

"At the start of my period in office I proclaimed that my electoral victory implied no distinction between the winning and the losing side, and I was determined from the outset not to follow any traditional procedure whereby some come to power while others go to prison or into exile. So far, despite a certain lack of understanding for the Government's policy; no one can name any political prisoner or point to anyone who has been exiled, persecuted or tortured for his political ideas or personal opinions".

113. Of all the political problems on the agenda for this session of the General Assembly, the most important, without any doubt, is that of disarmament.

114. In addition to the item concerning the report of the Disarmament Commission [item 66], we find on the agenda so close a linking of certain items to the fundamental question that one of them—general and complete disarmament [item 70]—is evidently the question itself, albeit pressed to its logical conclusion. The prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons [item 67] and the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests [item 69] are also closely related to disarmament, since they are intended to limit or reduce the military power of States. The case is otherwise with the question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara [item 68], where the object is to prevent the conducting of such tests in that part of the world, without contesting France's right to carry them out elsewhere, or trying to curtail that country's opportunities of increasing its military power through the possession and perfecting of nuclear weapons.

115. Four of the permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union—recently made a curious approach to the problem of disarmament by setting up a disarmament committee consisting of themselves and of Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland and Romania.

116. According to the communiqué issued by them [DC/144], the four permanent members of the Security Council hope that the results achieved in these deliberations will provide a useful basis for the consideration of disarmament in the United Nations. They state that they will keep the Disarmament Commission and through it the General Assembly and the Security Council informed of the progress of the deliberations of the committee. The fact is, however, that this committee has been set up in an unusual manner, without the participation or the knowledge of the United Nations. At its last session, the General Assembly decided that the Disarmament Commission should be composed of all the Member States [resolution 1252 D (XIII)], and now we find that neither the Disarmament Commission nor the General Assembly nor the Security Council was consulted when a committee was set up with a view to exploring avenues of possible progress toward the limitation and reduction of all types of armaments and armed forces under effective international control. The only step taken was to ask that the Disarmament Commission should be convened in order that it might be informed of the decisions reached by the great Powers.

117. No other course is open to us but to express the hope that the deliberations of this disarmament committee may be crowned with success and that by this means we may succeed in finding a solution for the most difficult and thorny political problem of our times.

118. The recent visit of Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, to the United States would seem to provide good reason for hoping that the cold war will be brought to an end and that problems such as disarmament, the anomalous situation of Germany and so on will be solved. Without wishing to be too pessimistic, we cannot, however, escape the fear that behind this fervent enthusiasm for peace, coexistence and friendly co-operation between the peoples of the world which the

^{5/} H. Lauterpacht, *International Law and Human Rights* (London, Stevens and Sons Limited, 1950), p. 229.

head of the Soviet Government put into his speeches there lies an intention to continue with expansionist plans and to keep large parts of Eastern Europe and other areas of the world in a state of subjection. We can only await the results of the talks between Mr. Khrushchey and the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, and see what attitude will be adopted henceforward by the Soviet representatives in the General Assembly, the ten-Power disarmament committee and the Geneva meetings.

119. The Government of my country is anxious that a solution be found to world political problems and, more especially, that a satisfactory agreement be reached on the status of Berlin and that the artificial and prolonged partition of Germany, Korea, and Viet-Nam be brought to an end. None of these questions can be finally and lastingly solved unless the right of peoples to self-determination and the right of nations to unity and independence are taken into account.

120. No political change should be carried out by force or against the will of the peoples directly concerned. Only when this principle is genuinely respected and complied with shall we have ensured that mankind will live in peace and abundance, for only then will justice prevail in international affairs.

121. This brings us to the deplorable case of Tibet, where the situation, already condemned by El Salvador at the fifth regular session of the General Assembly in November 1950, has now become extremely serious. On that occasion, when Communist forces under the control of Peiping wrongfully invaded the territory of that small and peaceful country, the delegation of El Salvador, acting under special instructions from its Government, made an urgent request for the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Invasion of Tibet by foreign forces".

122. In his supporting memorandum, the then Chairman of the delegation of El Salvador, Mr. Héctor David Castro said among other things:

"The fact that such forces were going to be sent into the territory of Tibet was publicly announced at Peiping. The news was also given out that some plenipotentiaries from Tibet were being sent to Peiping in order to negotiate with the Government there for the purpose of settling the differences and avoiding an open conflict. In spite of this peaceful gesture, the forces were sent and have penetrated into the territory of the State of Tibet. The Government of Tibet has appealed to the United Nations to use its good offices in order to obtain a peaceful solution of the already existing conflict. This appeal cannot be ignored, unless the General Assembly of the United Nations is ready to ignore its primary responsibility 'to maintain international peace and security' to which paragraph 1 of Article 1 of the Charter refers."

A little further on, Mr. Castro stated:

"The Government of El Salvador, in giving instructions to its delegation to request the General Assembly to include in its agenda for its present session the case of Tibet, has stated that it would be fatal to the credit of the United Nations before the eyes of the world if a case of international aggression such as has taken place in the small country of Tibet, which has an autonomous Government, were to be ignored by our Organization." 6/

123. The supporting memorandum was accompanied by a draft resolution worded as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Taking note that the peaceful nation of Tibet has been invaded, without any provocation on its part, by foreign forces proceeding from the territory controlled by the government established at Peiping,

"Decides

"1. To condemn this act of unprovoked aggression against Tibet;

"2. To establish a committee composed of... (names of nations)... which will be entrusted with the study of the appropriate measures that could be taken by the General Assembly on this matter;

"3. To instruct the committee to undertake that study with special reference to the appeal made to the United Nations by the Government of Tibet, and to render its report to the General Assembly, as early as possible, during the present session."

124. The General Committee decided to adjourn sine die consideration of the inclusion of the item proposed by El Salvador in the agenda of the General Assembly. In so doing, it was chiefly influenced by the opinion expressed in the General Committee by the representative of India.

125. I take the following paragraphs from the relevant summary record of the General Committee:

"24. The Jam Saheb of NAWANAGAR (India) said his Government had given careful study to the problems raised by the proposal of El Salvador to place the question of the invasion of Tibet by foreign forces on the General Assembly agenda. That was a matter of vital interest to both China and India. The Committee was aware that India, as a neighbour of both China and Tibet, with both of which it had friendly relations, was the country most interested in a settlement of the problem. That was why the Indian Government was particularly anxious that it should be settled peacefully.

"25. He had no desire to express an opinion on the difficulties which had arisen between China and Tibet, but would point out that, in the latest note received by his Government, the Peking Government had declared that it had not abandoned its intention to settle those difficulties by peaceful means. It would seem that the Chinese forces had ceased to advance after the fall of Chamdo, a town some 480 kilometres from Lhasa. The Indian Government was certain that the Tibetan question could still be settled by peaceful means, and that such a settlement could safeguard the autonomy which Tibet had enjoyed for several decades while maintaining its historical association with China.

"26. His delegation considered that the best way of attaining that objective was to abandon, for the time being, the idea of including that question in the agenda of the General Assembly. That was why he supported the United Kingdom representative's proposal that consideration of the request for inclusion should be adjourned." 7/

Such then were the results of the action which we took in 1950 on behalf of Tibet.

7/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, General Committee, 73rd meeting.

6/ See footnote 2.

126. Nine years later, when constant references are being made in the Press and in diplomatic circles to the indignity suffered by the Dalai Lama when he was obliged to flee his own country, and to the further aggression committed by the totalitarian Peiping régime, we Salvadorians can only deplore the fact that it was not thought wise to hearken to us on that occasion and that the United Nations decided to fold its arms when faced with an undoubted act of aggression against a defenceless country.

127. El Salvador, which is always ready to champion good causes, will welcome and support any action or any resolution on the part of the United Nations that is designed to restore the traditional independence of Tibet and to condemn this flagrant violation of the political, social and religious system of that country, the temporal and spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama, and the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people. These violations have reached a stage at which they can be regarded as constituting the international crime of genocide.

128. In order to show to what extent the United Nations can contribute to the solution of acute political problems, I should like to recall what happened in the Cyprus question.

129. As we are all aware, this question was discussed at a number of sessions of the General Assembly, and it seemed difficult, if not impossible, for the points of view of the three countries concerned and of the peoples living in the island to be reconciled. It is gratifying to note, however, that after the debate which took place at the thirteenth session, and after the General Assembly had adopted a resolution in which it expressed its confidence that continued efforts would be made by the parties to reach a peaceful, democratic and just solution in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 1287 (XIII)], the Governments of Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, in a commendable spirit of prudence and conciliation and without omitting to include in their discussions the peoples directly involved—that is the Greek and the Turkish communities in Cyprus—succeeded in finding a formula for the solution of the political problem of that famous Mediterranean island; a solution which, fortunately, brings closer together three allied and traditionally friendly countries and re-establishes the bond between them.

130. I had the great honour of being chairman of the First Committee of the General Assembly at the thirteenth session, and it is with pleasure that I now recall the debate between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Greece and Turkey, Mr. Averoff-Tossizza and Mr. Zorlu, and the then chairman of the United Kingdom delegation, Mr. Noble. The lofty, erudite and sagacious exchanges which regularly took place in the First Committee between the Greek and the Turkish Foreign Ministers are still fresh in the memory of many of us.

131. The delegation of El Salvador would like to convey its congratulations to the delegations of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, and to the Greek and the Turkish communities in Cyprus, on the successful conclusion of the negotiations about the future of the island and on the fact that those negotiations, which took place in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations, succeeded in solving a thorny international problem and in bringing to an end the differences which had arisen between three Mem-

ber States. In common with other territories which are now on the verge of independence, the republic of Cyprus will soon enter the community of free nations and will be warmly welcomed as a new Member of this Organization.

132. The example of Cyprus leads us to believe that other questions frequently debated in the United Nations could also be solved if the parties concerned undertook to find a satisfactory solution and to that end would each, without abandoning principle, agree to waive part of its demands.

133. We hope, for instance, that this will be true of the Algerian question and we are encouraged in our hopes by the statement recently made by the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, which would seem to suggest that the day is not far distant when this perilous conflict between a great European country and the long-suffering and determined Algerian people will come to an end.

134. Is it really so impossible that, in like manner, a solution can be found for the very grave problems which for so long have divided Israel and the Arab States?

135. If we say that it is impossible, then we are forgetting with what effectiveness and vigour this Organization has proved itself to be the most powerful of all factors making for peaceful competition and for international negotiation and understanding, and we are losing sight of the maturity, the sense of responsibility and the devotion to progress and to the general happiness which, I am pleased to say, are characteristic both of the great array of Arab States and of the young and vigorous State of Israel.

136. In a statement such as the one I have the honour to be making on behalf of my country, it would indeed be futile to attempt to cover the vast number and variety of items of a universal or regional character which are within the purview of the United Nations and are dealt with either by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council or the specialized agencies.

137. I have dwelt at some length on a few of these items, and, in conclusion, I should merely like to say that the United Nations must not and, I am sure, will not cease to do everything in its power to reduce and even remove the prevailing tension in international relations and to allay the feeling of uncertainty, fear and anxiety which has gripped everyone in this age of prodigious scientific and technological advances. Man could indeed enjoy the fruits of these achievements with a sense of calm and delight were it not that, paradoxically, these very achievements have brought to the brink of catastrophe a civilization and culture that have developed over the centuries in a constant effort to have the mind prevail over matter.

138. Every State Member of the United Nations, and also the States that are not yet Members, should make a solid and lasting contribution to the cause of peace and the cause of concerted and fruitful development, of free trade and of transit on land, in the air, on the seas and on natural and artificial waterways; in other words, to the cause of general economic development and the welfare of all, of respect for the commitments entered into under the Charter and those imposed by international law, and of harmonious and complete coexistence among all peoples. They will not, however,

be able to contribute their best as long as they remain divided by hate, mistrust and a spirit of domination.

139. The delegation of El Salvador, expressing the true feelings of its people and Government, sincerely hopes that the work of this General Assembly will be fruitful, and it will gladly offer its modest contribution to that end. It trusts that God will enlighten the minds and soften the hearts of those statesmen in whose hands lies the awesome alternative of our times: intelligent survival or total destruction.

140. U CHAN TUN AUNG (Burma): First of all, let me take this opportunity of extending the very warm felicitations of my delegation to Mr. Belaúnde on his election as President of the fourteenth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation, in common with other delegations, has no doubt that he is eminently suited to discharge, with distinction, the onerous functions expected of this exalted post. His vast and lengthy experience with the United Nations activities, and his wisdom and deep perception, will certainly stand him in very good stead in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities. Both on behalf of my delegation and on my own, let me express the hope that under his wise guidance the fourteenth session of the General Assembly will make a significant contribution towards the restoration of peace and harmony in the world.

141. Before coming to the business of the present session, let me associate myself with the sentiments expressed by my colleagues who have preceded me in condemning the dastardly crime committed against the illustrious Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranaike. The crime was all the more shocking since its perpetrator is reported to have donned the sacred robe of a Buddhist priest. As a Buddhist, let me take this opportunity of stating from this rostrum that violence is totally alien to the Buddhist way of life, and both on behalf of my delegation and on my own, let me extend our heartfelt sympathy to the people of Ceylon for their very tragic loss.

142. Once again, at this fourteenth session, the General Assembly opens in an atmosphere of tension. Unfortunately there is nothing new or novel about this, because it seems to have become the rule rather than the exception for the General Assembly to meet in such an atmosphere. It merely reflects the unfortunate fact that the world has not known genuine peace during the past two decades, ever since the outbreak of the Second World War. We have all been compelled to adjust ourselves to this atmosphere, and we are all fortunate that we have the United Nations to turn to whenever a given situation seems to be getting out of control.

143. The United Nations has its shortcomings and its limitations, but it must be admitted that it has successfully steered the world through one crisis after another and prevented a major clash between the two camps armed with frightful weapons of destruction which can be brought into action at a moment's notice. If the United Nations cannot give us genuine peace, it has succeeded in saving us from the scourge of war. It has given and is still giving the world the much needed opportunity to make the extremely difficult adjustments demanded by the nuclear era and thereby fulfilling what we consider to be an indispensable function.

144. Meanwhile, we are glad to note that the quest for real peace continues in earnest. We most heartily

welcome the exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev, because we believe that they truthfully reflect the growing realization throughout the world that, in the prevailing circumstances, war is unthinkable and that the problems which confront us, however intractable they may seem, must therefore be settled through peaceful negotiation. Since the main obstacles to the settlement of these problems are fear, suspicion and distrust, it is our hope that these visits will bring about better understanding and a consequent relaxation of tension, thereby opening the door to settlement of those problems which have so far defied solution. My delegation, therefore, welcomes this exchange of visits between the leaders of the two most powerful nations of the world. These visits are part of a very noble mission to reduce the risks of another world war. If the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks, just concluded, should prove to be the start of a new development in world affairs, and we hope they will, the framework most suitable for its functioning would be the United Nations. There is certainly great scope for this world Organization in establishing the new pattern of world politics that is emerging if all of us approach the problems with vision, courage and enterprise.

145. Although the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva did not produce any positive concrete results, it should not be regarded as a waste of time and effort. The fact that the Conference lasted so long despite the appearance, at its very commencement, of apparently irreconcilable differences, and that the conference even now has only been adjourned and not terminated, clearly demonstrates a determination on both sides to persist in their efforts until peaceful solutions are found. We hope that the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meetings will result in a definite improvement in the international climate so that the Foreign Ministers' Conference, when it is resumed, will be able to make a greater impact on the seemingly insoluble problems which plague the world today. Meanwhile, we congratulate all the Foreign Ministers on their will to find peaceful solutions, and wish to assure them of our continued unstinted moral support.

146. We regret that the question of general disarmament had to be shelved during the year that has elapsed since the Assembly last met. But, it is certainly a matter for gratification that the Big Four Powers have come to an agreement on the imperative need for a fresh round of negotiations by a newly-formed ten-nation Committee. For the first time in the lengthy and turbulent years of disarmament negotiations, membership in the new body is divided evenly between the Western and Eastern blocs. My delegation is happy to note that the United Nations has not been by-passed by the establishment of the ten-nation Committee and that the ultimate responsibility for disarmament measures will continue to rest with the United Nations. On this understanding, my delegation has endorsed the principle of negotiation outside the United Nations for the resumption of talks on disarmament. For this reason also we would like to see the United Nations Disarmament Commission reactivated, since the final responsibility for disarmament should lie with this world Organization.

147. The effective role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is clearly recognized by all nations. It is evident from the fact that this year's general debate once again highlights the problem of disarmament. My delegation, in common with several

other delegations, considers that Prime Minister Khrushchev's proposal for total disarmament in stages [799th meeting] is deserving of the closest attention both in and outside the United Nations, and we are in complete agreement with the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, when he said last week that the Soviet proposal must be taken very seriously.

148. We are also gratified to note that significant progress has been made in the Geneva discussions between the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom on the cessation of nuclear tests. One of the barometers of world tension has been the progress of this Conference of the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which has been meeting at Geneva since July 1958 and which adjourned till 12 October, that is, throughout the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks which were expected to deal with this matter, among others. The hopes and fears of many people have concentrated on the projected Geneva Conference which has received more than its share of appeals from official and unofficial bodies. Before adjournment, in an atmosphere of cordiality, the participants cheered the world with happy tidings. The United States undertook not to hold any tests before 1960. The United Kingdom has agreed not to test while negotiations continue and the Soviet Union promise not to be the first to resume tests. We welcome these assurances, not only for the prospect of a poison-free atmosphere, but also for the fact that they herald a broader agreement on disarmament itself. All of us, I am sure, are heartened by the spontaneous decisions of each of these three countries not to resume nuclear tests as long as the others do not resume them. We wish to commend them for this wise and humane decision.

149. We are also, however, bound to note with regret and concern that, while the three existing atomic Powers have come to this most welcome agreement, France seems determined to proceed with its tests in the Sahara, and so establish its right to belong to the "nuclear club" and reassert its policy of "grandeur". With all due respect, my delegation would humbly submit that the possession of the nuclear weapon should not be regarded as the test of "grandeur". France is already a great nation even without this terrible weapon. We believe that there are other ways in which France can demonstrate its greatness in a more convincing fashion, and we hope that its energies will be turned in those directions rather than in that of adding to the fears and worries of an already tense world. We are against any further poisoning of the atmosphere. Moreover, the projected nuclear tests by France would be seriously against its own interest. Any military gains likely to be achieved would more than offset by the overwhelming political liability which it would incur in most areas of the world, especially at a time when hopes are set on reducing East-West tensions by the talks between heads of Governments.

150. We feel that any discussion of East-West tensions will be lacking in significance if I fail to mention the question of China's representation in the United Nations. As is well known, the Government of the Union of Burma recognizes the People's Republic of China and consequently supports the seating of its representatives in the United Nations. There is still one other consideration that cannot be ignored. The People's Republic of China contains approximately

one quarter of the world's population, and in the view of my delegation, it is unrealistic for the United Nations to continue to ignore this by shutting out the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

151. I wish to take this opportunity of reiterating our disapproval and condemnation of colonialism in any shape or form, and our sympathy with those whose lot still is to struggle under foreign domination. The attitude of the vast majority of Asian-African peoples towards this problem is too well known to be reiterated here. After the last World War the United Kingdom made a graceful exit out of Asia as a result of which India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon once again became free, sovereign States. The Federation of Malaya followed suit. France made its exit too, though not so gracefully, from Asia. To our distress, however, large areas of Africa are still under colonial yoke. After all these years it is time that the colonial Powers understood the upsurge of national consciousness in colonies as a rising tide which no power can stem. The more prolonged this meaningless attempted stemming, the more painful will be the result not only for the colonial Powers, but also for the whole of the so-called "free world", and for the cause of democracy which Burma cherishes. In Africa over a million people are being ruled today by the free nations of the world. The atmosphere is far from ideal for the flowering of democratic ideals. There is one very telling truth which is apt to be overlooked. When independence is too long postponed, a mood of desperation and frustration appears which hinders free development in all spheres. If a country wins independence too late, then some extreme forces come to the surface and become dominant. It seems to my delegation that one main reason why democracy is receiving set-backs in many newly independent nations is that many of their new leaders are imbued with a sense of frustration and desperation after unnecessarily prolonged struggles against their old masters.

152. This brings me to the situation in Algeria, which is foremost in the mind of my delegation whenever the problem of colonialism is discussed. At this stage I do not wish to go into a detailed discussion of the issues involved. Suffice it to say that we extend our heartfelt sympathy to the long-suffering people of Algeria, and express regret that so much blood continues to be shed by both sides in the Algerian fighting. My delegation appreciates the fact that the problem which faces France in Algeria is by no means a straightforward one, but it is our hope that France will show itself to be willing and able, under the wise leadership of President de Gaulle, to work out a mutually acceptable settlement in accordance with its great liberal traditions and the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people.

153. A very significant development took place a fortnight ago when President de Gaulle announced his new Algerian peace proposals. My delegation will reserve its position on these proposals, as well as on the reaction of the Algerians themselves. However, we fully appreciate President de Gaulle's desire for peace, and we hope that his new approach will lead inevitably to negotiations of a political nature which obviously have been the essence of United Nations resolutions in previous sessions.

154. My observations on colonialism would not be complete without a reference to the question of West Irian, which is the predominant colonial issue in Asia.

Although the Government of the Republic of Indonesia did not request the inclusion of this question in the agenda of this session, my delegation feels that the United Nations should be kept reminded of the continuing existence of the West Irian question as part of the problem of colonialism, and that this problem can be solved only by negotiation between the parties concerned.

155. As I have stated above, Burma, like other formerly dependent countries, having suffered from the effects of colonialism, cannot help maintaining its traditional stand against all manifestations of colonialism and believes that the best contribution which the Member States can make in the cause of peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind is to assist in liquidating any form of domination of one people by another. As mankind has placed its major reliance on the United Nations, we are happy to note that the emergence of an increasing number of free and independent countries within the past few years has become a strong source of inspiration to many millions of human beings who are still denied the rights of self-determination and self-government and the right to be the masters of their own destiny. The appearance of new independent nations cannot but strengthen international peace and co-operation.

156. As a member of the Trusteeship Council, Burma is particularly gratified to know that the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration and Somaliland under Italian administration will all become independent in a few months' time. The impending attainment of independence by the Federation of Nigeria, of which the Trust Territory of Cameroons under United Kingdom administration had for many years been administered as an integral part, has injected an element of urgency and importance into the burning question of the political future of the British Cameroons. In the determination of the destiny of the British Cameroons, we trust that the Administering Authority will assist the people by fully respecting their freely expressed wishes and lead them towards the objectives of Chapter XII of the Charter.

157. Let me touch very briefly on the deplorable situation regarding race conflict in the Union of South Africa. After all these years, the Government of that country persists in swimming against the tide by applying its policies of "apartheid" and racial segregation, in defiance of repeated appeals by the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that those policies will eventually have to be abandoned, but we hope that this will be done while it is still possible for some kind of mutual accommodation to be worked out between the European settlers and the indigenous Africans, and that it will not be left until frustration and bitterness within the latter community build up to such a point as to make such an accommodation impossible.

158. My delegation is happy to note that the explosive situation which existed in the Middle East during the

last year did not result in any major eruption and that stability has been restored to the affected areas. On the other hand, we cannot help but regret the continuing lack of success in bringing about better relations between the Arab States and Israel. Since the continuance of this state of affairs means that a large share of the resources which might otherwise be utilized to raise the living standards of the people are now being diverted to unproductive purposes, we would once again appeal to both our Arab and our Israeli friends to intensify their efforts to find ways and means to solve their differences.

159. My delegation is extremely happy to observe that the problem of raising the living standards in the under-developed areas of the world is being given the highest priority by the leaders of those countries which are in the best position to assist in meeting this problem. The problem is such a staggering one that we believe that it will take the combined efforts of all the highly developed countries of the world to make an impact on it. It is our belief that the time has come for the major industrialized countries, irrespective of ideology, to pool their resources, and to view this problem in its proper perspective and not to treat it as an instrument of the "cold war".

160. Before I conclude, let me, on behalf of my delegation, reiterate our hearty welcome to the current negotiations between the two super-Powers: the United States and the Soviet Union. These moves may be the harbinger of peace and harmony in the entire world. Agreements and settlements at the summit can, however, be upset by occurrences elsewhere in the world, quite unprovoked by the great Powers. A new flare-up in the Middle or Far East could easily destroy a limited accommodation at the summit. Here the United Nations can play a significant role. It seems to my delegation this world Organization can certainly exert its pacifying influence by making its presence felt in the turbulent areas of the globe. On behalf of my delegation I want to pay a very warm tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, for his untiring efforts in discharging his very delicate duties towards the achievement of United Nations objectives. But we feel that, in the context of increasing flare-ups in some parts of the globe, the remedy lies in our ability to make the United Nations presence felt in all potentially explosive areas. Peace is indivisible. Any disturbance of the peace in any one part of the globe cannot fail to have repercussions on the other parts. My delegation feels that very close attention should be given by this Assembly to the possibility of stationing the Secretary-General's special representatives in those areas, with their functions clearly defined. This innovation worked with signal success in the Middle East last year during the period of grave crisis, and there is no reason to suppose that it will not work in other areas in similar situations.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.