

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



## 815th PLENARY MEETING

 Wednesday, 30 September 1959,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

### CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. Sastroamidjojo (Indonesia) . .	273
Statement by the representative of the Netherlands . . . . .	277
Speech by Mr. Cooper (Liberia) . . . . .	277
Speech by Mr. Palamarchuk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) . . . . .	279
Speech by Mr. Panya (Laos) . . . . .	282

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Delgado (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): May I take this opportunity to convey to the delegation of Ceylon and, through it, to the Government and people of Ceylon, the heartfelt sympathy of the Indonesian delegation at the tragic death of the late Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike. His sudden death came as a profound personal shock since I had the pleasure of associating with him at the Colombo Powers Conference in New Delhi, in 1956. I shall remember him always as a man dedicated to humanity and to peace.
2. The deep sympathy of the Indonesian delegation is also extended to the Government and people of Japan in this moment of their great human and material loss caused by natural calamities. Our condolences go to the families of those who perished in the tragedy.
3. Mr. President, in the absence of our esteemed President, Mr. Belaúnde, may I ask you to be so kind as to convey to him the congratulations of my delegation on his election to the high office of President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. I am certain that under his wise guidance this Assembly will further the cause of world peace.
4. On the day preceding the opening of this session a man-made object was placed on the moon. This historic first flight of a Soviet rocket from the earth to another cosmic body confirmed once again man's incredible skill in science and technology. In the unquenchable thirst to conquer new horizons, we have broken the terrestrial shackles. We are carrying out explorations into space. But how far have we progressed in our relations with our fellow man?
5. In contrast to the giant strides made in the scientific and technological fields, we continue to move with pygmy steps in the field of international relations. For

the past decade and a half, our dreams of a better, more peaceful and secure world have remained mired in the frozen wastes of the "cold war". Though we reach for the stars, we remain the victims of our own fears and suspicions. Even the acclaim for man's ingenuity in mastering the elements is sheathed in an atmosphere of alarm and apprehension.

6. Fearful of their security, nations seek protection behind arsenals of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, the menace to our very survival compels us to concentrate our best energies on devising straitjackets for the instruments we have wrought. This is the schizophrenic condition to which we have descended. It is a measure of the moral gap resulting from our inability to display in our relations with one another the same kind of creativity we exhibit so profusely in the scientific laboratory. Can we bridge this moral gap? Can we free ourselves also from the shackles of fear? The answer must come from the community of nations.

7. The creation of the United Nations was an act of faith. It was the solemn affirmation that from the rubble of war would arise a new social order based on justice and equality. From bitter experience was born the determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. In the Charter of the United Nations are enshrined the aspirations and ideals of mankind.

8. Yet, as has so often been said, this Organization can be no more than the sum of the individual Member States. Inevitably it is cast in the image of world conditions. It is the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, but reflects at the same time the existing disharmony.

9. On the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly are problems which were hardly thought of at the time of the founding of the United Nations. In 1945, only one great Power possessed the atom bomb, while the harnessing of thermo-nuclear energy was still in the speculative stage. A few short years ago, the question of outer space was a subject more suitable to science fiction than to this august body. Now it must be controlled to assure its peaceful use.

10. Along with these contemporary issues, there are problems on the agenda which have been with us since the beginning of the United Nations. We have not yet eradicated problems of such human import as those concerning racial discrimination and colonialism. We have still to succeed in making real headway on the question of disarmament and the economic development of under-developed countries.

11. Thus, the United Nations mirrors both our technical accomplishments and our moral shortcomings. It is, however, more than merely a barometer or road map of world events. It has also an active role to play in international affairs.

12. As regards the functions and activities of the United Nations, I have read with great interest the views expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization. He points out that

... "while the Charter establishes for its main organs the primary responsibility for the achievement of the purposes of the Organization, and gives access to its procedures to any State which appeals for its assistance for these purposes, the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security." [A/4143/Add.1, p. 1.]

Indeed, this conception clearly emerges from the fact that the United Nations is an organization composed of sovereign nations. It is implicit in the provisions of the Charter. Moreover, numerous resolutions of the Organization, especially on political issues, recommend recourse to normal diplomatic procedures, as, for example, negotiations between the countries concerned.

13. No, there is no question of the United Nations displacing other means of mediation or conciliation. But what does concern us very much is the proper utilization of this added instrument of diplomacy. As also noted by the Secretary-General, it is necessary for us continuously to reconsider the ways in which the United Nations can best function and fulfil its purposes.

14. In this respect, it is appropriate to recall the reason for establishing this Organization as an additional instrument to preserve the peace. It was created not only with the expectation of maintaining for peaceful ends the close war-time collaboration among the great Powers but, equally, in recognition of the right of all countries to participate and co-operate in the solution of world problems. Peace and security in the international community have become the province and the concern of every nation, large and small.

15. Referring once more to the report of the Secretary-General, I should like to support and to underline his contention that no international policy for the future can be envisaged which does not recognize the principle of organized international co-operation on a basis of universality and, further, is not willing to give this principle adequate implementation in practice.

16. Within this context, the proper utilization of the United Nations as an added instrument for peace must mean the perfection of its integration with the other means of reconciliation and mediation at our disposal. A procedure of co-operative or complementary efforts on the part of the United Nations and the individual Member States is, indeed, the basic framework for the operation of the Organization and its specialized agencies. It is the touchstone for the settlement of problems in accordance with our Charter goals and, in the past year, we have seen it work successfully in the case of two aggravated issues.

17. The dedicated services of the United Nations Emergency Force, coupled with the United Nations "presence", have considerably lessened tensions in the Middle East. Many problems still await resolution. Nevertheless, the joint efforts of the United Nations and the Governments concerned have brought about

peace and stability in this sensitive area, and conditions under which friendly relations could be re-cemented. We are grateful for this development.

18. We also wish to take this opportunity to welcome the restoration of peace on the island of Cyprus. Following an intensive debate in this august body, wise statesmanship prevailed and an agreement was concluded among the parties concerned, in conformity with the Principles and Purposes of the Charter. We hope that the example of Cyprus will soon be followed by others.

19. So far the United Nations has only partially succeeded in discharging its responsibilities vis-à-vis colonial issues. We are appreciative of the presence in this Assembly of many countries which have gained their independence in the post-war era. We particularly welcome those independent States of Asia and Africa which have joined the United Nations since the Bandung Conference.

20. On the other hand, we are keenly aware of the failure to eradicate colonialism completely from the face of the earth. As long as any people continues to suffer the indignities of colonial bondage, we cannot but feel that this Organization falls short of its purpose to strengthen universal peace by promoting and encouraging respect for fundamental human rights, and to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. We regret the many occasions on which the actions of the United Nations have run counter to these noble purposes. In consequence, acute colonial problems remain unresolved.

21. This is the fifth consecutive year that the question of Algeria appears on our agenda. Still the war continues in all its fury. Every week one can read the dismal announcements of its cost in human life. It is, however, impossible to describe in words or figures the intolerable suffering of the Algerian people. I shall not try to do so. We all know in our hearts that a peaceful and just solution must be found to this problem.

22. The Algerian people will achieve freedom and the right to govern their own lives. This is certain. What hangs in the balance now is the relationship of an independent Algeria with France and with the rest of the world in general. We of Indonesia support the people of Algeria in their struggle for independence. My Government has extended recognition to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria. We welcome its statesmanlike and constructive response to General de Gaulle's plan. I note, however, with some regret that no reference was made to this constructive response in the statement of the Foreign Minister of France this morning [814th meeting]. Nevertheless, it is our sincere hope that wisdom and foresight will prevail so that an understanding and a peaceful solution of this cruel conflict may be obtained before it is too late.

23. There is another outstanding colonial question which directly concerns my Government and people. It is the question of West Irian, which we brought to the attention of the United Nations on four separate occasions. Our aim was to find a peaceful solution to this dispute. We take seriously our obligations under the Charter, as well as the principles on which it stands. Unfortunately, a minority prevented this Organization from adopting the appropriate recom-

mendations. So we were left with no recourse but to seek a solution of this festering dispute by other means. For that reason, we did not request the inscription of this item in the agenda of last year's session of the General Assembly, nor have we requested its inscription this year. But the dispute persists.

24. Let me repeat here what I said last year: The Government and people of Indonesia are determined to remove this illegal remnant of colonialism and to reunite West Irian with the rest of Indonesia. We shall continue the struggle. We are confident of success because our cause is just: the fulfilment of the human spirit in freedom.

25. I turn now to the record of United Nations activities during the past year with respect to the economic development of the less developed countries. Today, the majority of the world's populations still faces the spectre of hunger and disease. The men who drafted the United Nations Charter recognized that economic well-being and security are prerequisites for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. We must repay these men for the legacy they gave us, not only by preserving the spirit of their ideals, but by implementing them in a practical way.

26. At this juncture, when we examine the progress that has been made and chart our future course of action accordingly, we note with satisfaction the proliferation of international agencies in the social and cultural fields. However, in the broader sphere of economic development, present international efforts to alleviate backwardness among the majority of peoples are far from adequate to produce tangible results.

27. The less developed countries are uniformly faced with difficulties in their efforts to diversify their economies and gain economic health. First, there is the dual problem of declining and fluctuating prices of primary commodities, which constitute their chief source of revenue. After the Havana Charter failed to materialize, the less developed countries tried through various bodies of the United Nations, particularly the Commission on International Commodity Trade, to stabilize international commodity trade and thereby improve their terms of trade. But these efforts have not met with substantial success. Instead, as a result of the deterioration of terms of trade, the capacity of the less developed countries to import manufactured goods, including capital equipment, has decreased.

28. It is regrettable indeed that the less developed countries have thus far been unsuccessful in convincing the economically more advanced countries of the urgent need to find a more general and simultaneous approach to the problem of stabilizing prices than the "commodity by commodity" one. It is certainly to the advantage of the industrialized countries that they create larger markets for their products. But only if a fair relationship is established between the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods will the less developed countries increase their purchasing power. It is imperative, therefore, that we recognize and act in accordance with the principles of the economic interdependence of all nations of the world.

29. The less developed countries require capital in order to carry out long-term development projects. For this purpose, there should be an agency operating under the aegis of the United Nations to provide facilities for financing loans on more liberal terms than

those obtainable through ordinary banking agencies. In view of this need, the Indonesian delegation is strongly in favour of a United Nations capital development fund. The establishment of such a fund within the framework of the United Nations would ensure an operation free from the pressure of private individuals and of narrow national interests. It would enable the less developed countries to acquire soft loans with no strings attached. Moreover, a United Nations capital development fund would significantly supplement the existing United Nations lending and technical assistance agencies which, commendable as their efforts may be, are limited in the scope of their activities because of insufficient financial resources. As revealed in the United Nations World Economic Survey, 1958,<sup>1/</sup> international efforts have thus far been inadequate to "permit a significant breakthrough in economic development".

30. Indonesia is confronted with the huge task of nullifying the effects of centuries of colonial domination. We know that in our endeavours for economic improvement, we must rely upon ourselves. We are taking the necessary measures in a manner dictated by our national interest, so as to extract the greatest possible wealth from our natural resources. It is both the right and the obligation of the Indonesian Government to fulfil this responsibility towards its people.

31. Until recently, our resources were exploited to a large extent for the benefit of a foreign Power. At the time of independence, the ex-colonial Power took it for granted that its privileged status would continue, and that, by withholding a certain part of Indonesian territory and unilaterally including this territory in its colonial empire, it would be in a favourable bargaining position. This represents a mental attitude that has no place in the present day and age. Under mid-twentieth century standards, this way of thinking was doomed to failure. And the attempt to resurrect it now for the purpose of exerting pressure is incredible and certainly deplorable.

32. In the name of the self-proclaimed "twentieth century" standards of international conduct, the representative of the Netherlands the other day enunciated a policy of withholding aid unless the developing nations accepted his standards of good behaviour. But surely the willingness of a nation to submit indefinitely to colonial economic status cannot be a yardstick of internationally acceptable behaviour. Speaking for ourselves, and we believe also for the great majority of the new nations, we assure the Assembly that we would not be parties to an aid arrangement on any such inequitable terms. We assume, indeed, that it is now universally recognized that the granting of economic assistance should not be conditioned on political terms.

33. I have spoken about two discordant forces in the international community; colonialism which divides the world into free and subject peoples, and poverty which divides it into the haves and have-nots. But overshadowing both these forces, and complicating and making more difficult their elimination, is the cold war which splits the world of man into two distrustful camps.

34. This phenomenon of the modern age has cast a pall of fear over all our labours. Nor has it left the United Nations unscathed. Compelled to function in a hostile atmosphere of mutual suspicion, its activities

<sup>1/</sup>United Nations publication, Sales No.: 59.II.C.1.

in many fields have been seriously curtailed and even stalemated. Nevertheless, the Organization has endured. It must endure because there is no other alternative to international co-operation than a world in ashes.

35. It is this realization that has stimulated the renewed activities of the past year to remove the causes of cold-war tensions. And the mere fact that most of these activities have been initiated outside the United Nations does not disturb us. We are happy to support every effort designed to remove existing differences in the interest of peace.

36. Moreover, it has always been our considered opinion that only through constant contacts and exchanges of ideas can we achieve better understanding and more creative relationships. Therefore, we warmly welcome the exchange of visits by heads of States and, in particular, the current reciprocal meetings of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the United States. We shall follow their conversations with intense interest, and it is our hope that they may produce agreements upon which we can build the edifice of a more peaceful and prosperous world.

37. At the same time, we firmly believe that every outside effort to create conditions of stability and well-being must be met with a positive and complementary response within the United Nations. In other words, this international forum should not only benefit from but also actively contribute to the thawing of the cold war. We should certainly refrain from actions that may impede the hopeful signs of an improvement in East-West relations.

38. It is in the field of disarmament that the United Nations should make its foremost contribution to the alleviation of human distress and tensions. This is the testing ground of its potency for peace. There can be no doubt that the saturation point has long been passed in the frenzied effort to accumulate and perfect ever more terrifying weapons of mass destruction. Total annihilation stares mankind in the face. We can go no farther in this direction. The arms race must stop. We must begin now to apply bold measures commensurate with the total danger.

39. On 18 September last, Mr. Khrushchev appeared before this august body [799th meeting] and presented proposals for general and complete disarmament. We welcome these proposals of the Soviet Government. They correspond with the policy of peace advocated by the Government and people of Indonesia. They are imaginative in spirit and revolutionary in scope.

40. We believe that both the Soviet programme of universal disarmament and the disarmament plan submitted by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], deserve the most serious consideration.

41. But aside from the careful examination of these programmes, it is imperative that we have faith in one another's intentions. There must be trust. Only if there is trust can we hope to match the miracles of science with a miracle in the history of human relations.

42. In the meantime, since even miracles take time to unfold, an agreement must be attained on the discontinuance of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests so that mankind may be freed forever from the terror of these weapons. The unswerving position of Indonesia on this matter was once again reiterated by President

Sukarno in his Independence Day address on 17 August of this year, when he called for the immediate prohibition of all experiments, all manufacture and all use of thermo-nuclear weapons.

43. I should also like to refer to the words of President Sukarno in regard to the urgent question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara. Expressing the strong sentiments of the Indonesian people and Government, the President said:

"I trust that the better part of wisdom will prevail upon the French nation and that they will bring themselves to abandon their projected nuclear bomb tests in the Sahara.... It would be against the feelings of justice and fair play if the population of Africa would have to suffer from the aftermath of the nuclear tests."

It is the hope of the Indonesian delegation that the collective conscience of mankind, given voice in this international body, will be able to induce France to desist from its stand and to strive instead for nuclear prestige in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The harnessing of the atom for peace will certainly accrue to the greatness of France and excite admiration and praise.

44. Although this session of the General Assembly is only a few weeks old and we are still looking ahead to its deeds, it has already disposed of one important issue. I have in mind the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. I am, of course, using the words "disposed of" advisedly since, in actuality, we know that this issue cannot be disposed of as long as China, a permanent member of the Security Council, is improperly represented in this Organization. No matter how hard one may try, it is impossible to evade the confrontation with reality. On every problem bearing upon the peace and security of the world, the actions of the United Nations are crippled by the fact that the representatives of the People's Republic of China do not partake in our discussions and decisions.

45. The Indonesian delegation regrets very much, therefore, the decision to place the question of China's representation in moratorium for another year. This harms the United Nations. To refuse even to discuss this issue shows a lack of faith in the maturity of this Assembly. Moreover, it is a chance missed for attaining a better understanding of developments in a major country of Asia—developments which inevitably have their repercussions throughout the Asian continent.

46. In this connexion, I should like to inform this international forum about recent events in my own country. Occurrences in Indonesia and in other parts of Asia have provoked many questions and even much soul searching, the sum of which is: Can democracy survive in Asia?

47. We have also asked this question of ourselves. We believe in democracy as a form of government and a way of life. Having fought for it, we want to make it work in Indonesia. And because we were concerned about democracy, because we care, we initiated certain measures based on the firm belief that, to succeed, our democracy, which we call "guided democracy", must be adapted to fit the national garment. This was our first major conclusion: We ourselves must find the form of democratic government best suited to our national traditions and customs, to our capabilities and our needs.



48. So, as other nations have done before us, we took the necessary steps to adapt the institutions of democratic government to Indonesian conditions and requirements. We abandoned the whole-sale adoption of Western parliamentary democracy. In the summer of this year, with the unanimous sanction of Parliament, we readopted our Constitution of 1945. This further development of the Indonesian democratic system provides for the proper representation of important and dynamic social groups in our Parliament, as well as in other governmental bodies. It also ensures the adequate representation of the armed forces, which have a vital role to play in the present stage of our national life. Most important of all, however, the return to our Constitution of 1945 guarantees governmental stability. The Cabinet, appointed by and responsible to the President, remains in office for a period of five years. In turn, the President and the Vice-President will be elected for five-year terms, and they will be responsible to the supreme representative body of the people. This procedure eliminates the frequent cabinet crises of the past and allows for more continuous implementation of State policy.

49. Additional measures are being drafted to promote stability in government. These include the presentation to Parliament of bills concerning the reduction of the number of political parties, of which we have too many, and an improved system of election. We have established a National Planning Council which has the responsibility of drawing up a blueprint for over-all national reconstruction within the framework of the 1945 Constitution, with particular emphasis on economic development.

50. Every one of these actions—the readoption of our 1945 Constitution, the establishment of our National Planning Council, the impending enactment of laws concerning a reduction in the number of political parties and an improved system of election—are designed to provide us with a democratic structure adapted to the Indonesian identity and conditions. We believe that they constitute, and should be viewed as, a constructive and creative endeavour to safeguard and indeed promote the growth of real democracy in Indonesia. While instituting these changes in the domestic field, Indonesia continues to adhere to its active and independent foreign policy. We seek to preserve and develop friendly relations with all nations on the basis of the Bandung principles and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. In conclusion, I wish to express the hope that this General Assembly will make a real beginning toward resolving the critical international problems. Let us sincerely strive to dissolve the sources of fear and tension, so that the human and economic resources of the world may be applied solely to promoting the well-being and health of mankind. The skills and means are available to properly feed, clothe and shelter every human being. Poverty and disease can be eradicated. These could be our accomplishments in a world where the instruments and materials of man's unlimited intellect are used constructively and imaginatively for peace. This is the exciting prospect and challenge before us. It is our hope.

52. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of the Netherlands who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

53. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): In the speech which we have just heard, the representative of Indo-

nesia referred on two occasions to questions concerning the Netherlands.

54. His remarks on Netherlands New Guinea do not call for any detailed reply at this moment. Members of the General Assembly, who have assisted at previous debates on the future of that Territory, know full well that no colonial question is involved. What Indonesia has been trying to achieve is that it should be allowed to incorporate Netherlands New Guinea into Indonesia, irrespective of whether the inhabitants of the Territory wish to be so incorporated or not. The Netherlands, on the other hand, maintains that it is the population of the Territory itself which must decide what its future destiny shall be, and the Netherlands will abide by whatever decision the population will make.

55. I do feel obliged, however, to protest against a misquotation of the address made on 25 September in this Assembly by the Head of the Netherlands delegation. Mr. Sastroamidjojo summarized a passage from this address as follows:

"... the representative of the Netherlands ... enunciated a policy of withholding aid unless the developing nations accepted his standards of good behaviour."

56. Now, what the Netherlands Foreign Minister actually said was this—I am quoting from the verbatim record of the session of 25 September:

"But if developed countries are to behave according to mid-twentieth century standards in matters of assistance and the sharing of wealth, the under-developed countries should likewise endeavour to observe certain basic rules of conduct. Unlawful seizures of the property of our countrymen and other discriminatory actions perpetrated against them have, fortunately, not been able to arrest the economic progress and expansion in the Netherlands, nor have they even changed our attitude towards the problem of economic development. But I must say that the willingness of the developed countries to pursue that line of policy would be put to a lesser test if there were no cases of undermining unilaterally what we endeavour to build up multilaterally." [809th meeting, para. 220.]

And that is exactly the opposite of what the representative of Indonesia suggested that Mr. Luns had said.

57. Moreover, if Mr. Sastroamidjojo has read the text of the address by Mr. Luns with the care I feel certain he has devoted to it, and if he has observed the stand which the Netherlands has consistently taken and defended on the question of aid to less developed countries, he cannot be ignorant of the fact that my country does not advocate that either Indonesia or any other country should "submit indefinitely to colonial economic status". That is not a policy that we have ever advocated.

58. I thank you, Mr. President, for having given me the opportunity of making this brief statement. My object was not to argue with my Indonesian colleague; merely to see to it that the Netherlands representative should not be charged with having expressed opinions that are the exact opposite of what he actually said.

59. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): Mr. President, it is with much regret that we have heard of the slight indisposition of Mr. Belaúnde, the President of the Assembly.

We wish for his speedy recovery and hope that my delegation's sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will be conveyed to him. We take note that he is one of the very few representatives who has had the distinguished honour of being his country's representative in San Francisco in 1945, and who still remains with the Organization up to the present as a representative. With his ability and wide experience in United Nations affairs, as well as his advocacy of liberty and justice, we are positive that he will justify and satisfactorily execute the enormous and heavy responsibilities which the Assembly has unanimously entrusted to him.

60. Man's attempt to conquer the forces of nature is coeval with his existence. Concurrently he has sought to create a society where he could live in peace. His creative genius in bringing the former nearer to fruition seems to be far in advance of the latter. Why is man so slow in developing a peaceful atmosphere for himself? Is it because he has not yet learned how to live in harmony with his fellowmen? This difficulty which entered into inter-state relations has been so compounded that some States believed that their security lay in increasing their own power and in preventing the increase in power of their rivals even at the risk of war.

61. Man, however, abhors war and with the advance in its destructive nature and the increase in the civilized character of human relations and the concern for humanity itself, he has sought to extend the reign of law, of international order and peace. The end of the Second World War brought great hope to mankind through the Organization of the United Nations. This body is admittedly the greatest international pyramid of peace ever founded by man. It is therefore our wish that the United Nations will long remain man's greatest hope for world peace and world brotherhood.

62. Most of the items on the agenda of the present session are concerned with the fundamental rights of men. On every continent men are standing up boldly for their right to be free and to exercise that freedom in the interest of their personal and collective progress, advancement and security. Fully cognizant of this fact, the Government and people of Liberia are earnestly endeavouring in their day-to-day activities to preserve and protect these inherent rights of man.

63. Human rights under the concept of the United Nations are designed to safeguard for all time man's heritage of basic rights and fundamental freedom. This struggle for human rights is as old as humanity. Its existence can be traced to the great law-givers, from the time of Hammurabi, who have sought by legal means to protect the weak against oppression by the strong. This concept has followed the changes of time and has reached this Organization in the form of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This ideal should be the goal of all States Members of the United Nations.

64. Let us remember that no nation or race can achieve progress when its people are governed in a manner which deprives them of their fundamental right to be free and to exercise their freedom in the interest of their personal and collective progress, advancement and security. Permit me to emphasize that it is the position of the Liberian Government that all men and nations who know the value of liberty and enjoy the great blessing of freedom and self-determi-

nation are doubly obligated to guarantee and extend without fear, discrimination or favour these identical rights and benefits to all subjective peoples wherever they may be scattered throughout the world. Our universe will never be safe as long as any members of the human family, no matter how few, are deprived of these natural and inalienable rights.

65. Turning now to the rising tide of nationalism in the continent of Africa and those parts of the earth where men are still being denied these rights and privileges by sheer means of force and might for personal gains and national aggrandizement, we are convinced of the pressing necessity for evolving some satisfactory formula to relieve this unjust situation. Until this is done, we wonder how the nations here assembled in this international Organization, whose prime purpose is to maintain world peace, can expect ever to attain that professed goal. There can be no peace without good will based upon a deep and abiding consciousness and regard for the rights of others, be they high or low, rich or poor, white or black, yellow or brown, and whether they emanate from the north, south, east or west. A willingness to safeguard and respect the fundamental rights of all men is essential to our quest for the solutions to complex problems.

66. The approach of the Liberian delegation to many of the problems which will come up before this session of the Assembly will be largely influenced by those principles which I have just restated.

67. The Liberian Government and people stand as one of the proponents of the right of the people of Algeria to self-determination, freedom and independence. This right is in keeping with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which all Member States should uphold, and it must be considered to be a fundamental and basic right of man. The question whether or not a discussion of the Algerian problem is a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a colonizing Power is, in the opinion of the Liberian delegation, dwarfed by the immensity and magnitude of the substance involved, as well as by the fact that it is a disturbing threat to world peace which the United Nations seeks to preserve and maintain. The Algerian people have only asked for themselves the right to, and benefits of, the same privileges that each of us—States Members of the United Nations—enjoy. If we enjoy these rights and regard them as inherent and fundamental for ourselves, why should we not honestly and forthrightly see that they are extended and accorded to the Algerian people.

68. At the recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of the independent States of Africa held in Monrovia, the Liberian Government explained that one of the fundamental policies which the Liberian Government has supported is that every people has a right to institute a Government and to choose and adopt whatever form of Government it desires. The Liberian Government considers this right inherent and inalienable, and it cannot be denied without the grossest injustice. The Liberian Government also recognized the complexity of the Algerian problem and deplored the use of threats to influence the opinion of other countries. It is the view of the Liberian delegation that the time is opportune for the United Nations to explore the possibility of a settlement of what is considered a grievous and tragic situation.

69. These principles which we believe should apply to Algeria are equally applicable to the problems in

East, Central and South Africa. We cannot accept the theory that any portion of Africa is an integral part of any other continent. Such a fiction is no solution to the grave problem of freedom and human rights which are involved in these areas.

70. We are concerned about the imprisonment of African leaders and of attempts to force on a people something which they have clearly indicated they do not want.

71. While the European minorities that have settled in African territories have to be protected, this should not be done to the detriment of the African majorities who are the real owners of the territories.

72. In addition, there is the problem of the Territory of South West Africa. We have read with interest and concern the report of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South West Africa [A/4224], but we maintain that the United Nations cannot relinquish its moral and legal responsibilities to the indigenous inhabitants of this Territory, for they are entitled to the same treatment as those of other Trust Territories.

73. The "apartheid" policy practiced by a Member State is an evil against which this Organization should speak and act. Any attempt to limit or to thwart basic rights due to people in any part of the world constitutes a denial of justice to them and a danger to those of us who are now enjoying such rights.

74. It is to be regretted that discrimination against ships and cargoes passing through the Suez Canal is being applied. A Liberian ship has suffered this fate. One of the primary objectives of the United Nations is the bringing together of nations at this forum so that by contact, communication, interchange and exchange of courtesies and opinions a spirit of camaraderie, friendship, understanding and good relationship between Member States and all nations of the world will be engendered. The Liberian Delegation therefore hopes that a speedy solution to the problem will be found.

75. The problem of disarmament has been discussed for many years, but no solution has been reached. Fears and suspicions still hover around us and we have to seek to remove the causes which create distrust and tension so that progress towards disarmament may be made possible.

76. A ray of hope resulted from the fact that, during the recent discussions in Geneva, the nuclear Powers have refrained from the testing of nuclear weapons. We are pleased to observe that the test ban has been extended while those Powers are still exploring the possibilities of reaching agreement.

77. In spite of this, testing of nuclear weapons in the Sahara has been proposed and it has aroused the indignation of all Africans, who have raised strong protests against this. When other nuclear Powers, in the interest of human welfare and well-being, have stopped testing nuclear weapons, we wonder why any Power should desire to conduct new tests. Statements that these tests will not be harmful are not sufficiently reassuring, since all of us know that man has not yet progressed to the extent that he is able to control nature. The Liberian delegation therefore hopes that plans for nuclear explosions in the Sahara will be abandoned.

78. The Liberian Government, like all other countries desiring peace, welcomed the meeting of President

Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. It has been greatly impressed by the statements made by both of these gentlemen in regard to peace and international problems. It is the hope of my Government that the new hope thus inspired and the recommendations put forward not only by these two Powers, but all suggestions from delegations on disarmament should be taken together and agreement sought. From this point of view, the Liberian Government has noted the request by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/4218], which has been approved by the General Committee and endorsed by the General Assembly, for inclusion on the agenda of this Assembly of Mr. Khrushchev's recommendations concerning disarmament. The Liberian Government feels that the proposal made by Mr. Khrushchev offers an opportunity for discussion and should, like other proposals made by other countries on disarmament, be welcomed, thoroughly investigated and discussed.

79. In conclusion, my delegation sincerely hopes that this fourteenth session of the General Assembly will reach decisions and agreement on the problems with which we are faced that will inure to the benefit of mankind.

80. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): If we cast our thoughts back over the period since the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, we cannot fail to note one characteristic and highly encouraging feature. On the basis of a careful analysis of events, it may confidently be said that a warm current has already forced its way into the turbulent and storm-swept ocean of international affairs, overcast as it is by the leaden clouds of the "cold war". This current is daily becoming stronger and is bringing about an improvement in the climate of international relations. There is growing hope among the nations that peace can be preserved and that the threat of a devastating nuclear war can ultimately be eliminated from human affairs.

81. Many unsolved problems, of course, still lie ahead, but there is every reason to believe that the idea of the inadmissibility, and I emphasize this word inadmissibility, of a world war is becoming ever more deeply rooted in the minds of the people and their governments. The forces of peace and international co-operation are rapidly gaining strength.

82. The idea of the inadmissibility of war was reflected in the communiqué published after the meeting between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower. I should like to quote that part of the communiqué: "The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the United States agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled, not by the application of force, but by peaceful means through negotiation".

83. It would be difficult, indeed almost impossible, to over-estimate the importance of this agreement from the point of view of the development and strengthening of international co-operation. It strikes at the very roots of the insidious and senseless "position of strength" policy and paves the way for the settlement of controversial issues from "positions of good will". It consequently offers better opportunities for restraining militarist elements, which, in some countries, are fabricating dangerous plans for new wars. The exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government, and President Eisenhower of the United States is rightly regarded by



the peoples as a valuable and auspicious first step towards the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. It gives us genuine satisfaction to note that the General Assembly is apparently unanimous in taking a favourable view of the exchange of visits. The representative of Colombia, for instance, enthusiastically acclaimed the meeting between the leaders of the two great world Powers, the USSR and the United States, and the representative of Denmark said that the meetings could mark the beginning of a new era in international relations. These sentiments were echoed, in one way or another, by the representatives of Belgium, Saudi Arabia, Norway, Iran, Yugoslavia, Japan, Jordan, Burma and other States.

84. It can now be said with certainty that nowhere in the world have people failed to appreciate the great significance of the exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower, or to express serious, and I may say justified, hopes that the process of establishing normal relations between countries has entered upon a new phase. The significance of this exchange of visits undoubtedly extends beyond the mere matter of relations between the USSR and the United States. It will benefit all nations and States, irrespective of their size or social and political systems. It means that the work of the United Nations, in which all the changes taking place in the world are reflected, is assuming the purposeful and effective character envisaged in its Charter, and that its Member States will be able to devote their efforts, not to winning propaganda victories or votes, but to achieving unanimous decisions in the interests of what is most important in the world—peace for the people.

85. We recall that, prior to Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States, many pessimistic forecasts and unwarranted misgivings were expressed. Allowing their imagination full rein, some politicians even visualized their countries crushed under the wheels of a Soviet-American agreement. It is now obvious that these gloomy forebodings were unfounded.

86. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR regards the perceptible narrowing of the gulf between the United States and the Soviet Union as an important step towards the stabilization of international peace. The Ukrainian Government has repeatedly shown itself to be an ardent champion of the settlement of controversial problems by negotiation, a fact which was, incidentally, noted by Mr. Macmillan during his visit to the Ukraine last spring.

87. It is an undoubted fact that the trend towards a healthier international climate has become more marked. We cannot, however, adopt an indifferent or heedless attitude towards the counter-current which is also perceptible in international relations. I refer to that unnatural phenomenon of our times, the "cold war".

88. Viewed subjectively and objectively, the cold war, in all its manifestations, can only increase international tension. It undermines the foundations of world peace and, with ominous persistence, paves the way for the outbreak of an actual "hot war", whose catastrophic consequences for mankind are difficult even to predict. Like a fearful scourge, it now threatens all nations, large and small.

89. In this connexion, we should like to emphasize one point which, in our view, is of vital importance. The

cold war, directly or indirectly, affects all countries of the world, including those which are economically under-developed, and leaves its mark everywhere. In this cold war atmosphere, Western countries view the needs of under-developed countries and small nations from the narrow standpoint of their military pacts, and assess those needs primarily in the light of their own strategic plans, disregarding the true, vital interests of those countries and nations.

90. The events of recent years eloquently demonstrate that, in circumstances of international tension, the cold war policy deprives nations of opportunities for democratic progress, gravely exacerbates the internal political situation in many countries and fosters dangerous conflicts, which, in other circumstances, would not have arisen or would have been settled by normal, peaceful means. Many of the representatives present in this hall from Latin America, Africa and Asia could, no doubt, provide impressive examples to illustrate what I have just said.

91. We are often told that the United States is the unfailing champion of peaceful changes in the world. If that is so, the United Nations has a right to expect the statesmen responsible for the conduct of United States foreign policy, not only resolutely to condemn, but to renounce the cold war policy in all its many forms.

92. I must remind you, however, that advocates of the cold war are quite vociferous in the United States. They try to convince Americans, although ultimately they probably fail to convince even themselves, that the cold war is not an evil, but something desirable. Only recently, a Senator—if I am not mistaken Senator Byrd—declared (and I quote from the Congressional Record of 1 May 1959): "The only way to prevent a third world war is to wage unceasing and unrelentless cold war". Surely an extremely candid and eloquent statement! We are invited to throw burning matches into a drum of petrol and an attempt is made to convince us that such an action will prevent fire.... Unfortunately, Mr. Byrd's imprudent statement was to the liking of his fellow-Senators.

93. Nor can I pass over in silence those actions of the United States which are designed to foster enmity between peoples—one of the objectives of the cold war. I refer to blatantly unfriendly acts on the part of influential circles in the United States such as the adoption by Congress of that notorious resolution calling for the "liberation" of the allegedly "captive nations", including the Ukraine. Thus, with a stroke of the pen, the sponsors of the resolution created new geographical entities on the map of the USSR, and then included them in the list of countries requiring "liberation". They cannot of course lay claim to originality. Anyone even slightly acquainted with history must know that the office of Alfred Rosenberg dealt in similar inventions and drew up insane plans for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the enslavement of its peoples. This incident therefore not only reveals that remarkable and astonishing ignorance described by Mark Twain, but also suggests a spiritual affinity for German fascist ideology on the part of the sponsors of this resolution. In our opinion, it is most unwise and unfitting for the legislative body of a country like the United States to allow itself to be led by superannuated political charlatans, who only recently were helping the Nazis to exterminate the peaceful inhabitants of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.



94. I feel I must remind those worthy and forgetful Senators, and also the traitors who advised them, that the Ukrainian people have twice experienced the great joy of liberation—at the time of the great October Socialist Revolution and, later, when the fascist hordes were driven from its native land. The Ukrainian people is free, and that freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Constitution of the USSR, and I would advise our would-be "liberators" to digest that fact.

95. In our opinion, it is the duty of the United Nations, as the embodiment of the principle of the peaceful co-existence of States with different social and political structures, to oppose any attempts to fan the cold war into a conflagration. That is all the more reason why we should not allow the fourteenth session of the General Assembly to become, so to speak, a barrier blocking the circulation of warm currents in international politics.

96. I should like to ask quite candidly: what are the motives of those who are trying to force the General Assembly into a discussion of the so-called question of Tibet? It may of course be said: concern for human rights. But it is precisely that concern which underlies the national policy of the Chinese People's Republic in transforming Tibet and helping the Tibetans to emerge from the dark dungeons of feudalism and to enjoy all those rights which, I may say, are still no more than a dream for the inhabitants of certain parts of Asia, Africa and the Pacific. Those advocating the examination of the so-called question of Tibet are not, in fact, demonstrating their concern for human rights, but merely their desire to adhere to past practice, when the General Assembly was used as an instrument of foreign policy by certain States, and the seal of its authority was set on the cold war policy.

97. It is also a matter for serious regret that the same motives underly the adoption, by an insignificant technical majority, of a resolution precluding settlement of the question of the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations. This merely serves to emphasize that the United Nations has so far proved incapable of correctly appraising the true situation or acting in the interests of the real majority of the peoples, and that it has failed to take an important step that would strengthen its authority. It is pointless to cherish the illusion that the question of China's representation in the United Nations can be swept aside by a formal majority vote. The illusion will disperse like the mist at sunrise, but the question of China's representation will never lose its immediacy until it is finally settled in the United Nations.

98. Now I shall say a few words about the German question. The Ukrainian people, whose land has more than once in the course of history been incorporated by militarists—and not only German militarists—in what has been termed Germany's "Lebensraum", is particularly concerned, like certain other nations, that a correct solution should be found to the German question. Our people, who, twice in the space of one generation, have been overrun by German armed forces and who suffered severely as a result of the destruction wrought by the Nazis, cannot fail to support, and indeed wholeheartedly support, the endeavours of the Soviet Government which, if viewed objectively and without prejudice, have but one aim: to bar the way to the resurgence of an aggressive militarist Germany, which would be a

constant threat to its neighbours and to the whole world.

99. West German militarism is again becoming the dominant power factor in Western Europe, and eagerly awaits the time when it will be allowed to possess the most destructive types of modern weapons.

100. To revive the notorious warlike national spirit, books and periodicals praising Hitler and preaching revenge and the "Lebensraum" theory are being published extensively throughout Western Germany, while West German youth, at best, remains ignorant of the monstrous crimes of Nazism. Theodor Oberländer, a former butcher of the Ukrainian people and at present a Minister at Bonn, is now inculcating the following idea in young Germans (and this is something we should bear in mind): "There is land waiting for us in Russia. There we shall be able to strike root...." He goes on to say: "We must train people with a capacity for colonization". There are already people in Western Germany who are looking forward to future opportunity to carry out plans for the dismemberment and enslavement of the Ukraine.

101. During his term of office, former United States Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau quite rightly emphasized the role of the German monopolies in equipping fascism with the material basis for the realization of its wild plans. He wrote as follows:

"Hitler must have remained a figure of fun if it had not been for Krupp and Thyssen and Hugenberg. Heavy industry alone permitted a man born for slapstick comedy to convert himself into Wagnerian tragedy."

102. Today, persistent efforts are once more being made to provide the West German revenge-seekers with an adequate material basis for the earliest possible realization of their criminal designs. But those who cherish the idea of using German militarism to unleash a new war should not forget the instructive lessons of the recent past. In the last war, the Ukrainian people demonstrated that they, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, know how to stand up for themselves, to defend their way of life and their right to live as they wish, in the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR.

103. Neither the peoples of the Soviet Union nor all the other peoples of the world have the right to close their eyes to the fact that, today, the activities of adventurers coupled with revenge-seekers, may lead to the outbreak of general war with dire consequences for all peoples. For that reason, the Ukrainian people and their Government fully support the USSR proposals for the elimination of the vestiges of war in Germany.

104. Although bloody battles abound in the past history of mankind, war as such is an unnatural phenomenon, alien to human nature; it is certainly not something eternally inherent in man. The idea of establishing peace on earth was born even earlier than Plato's dream of an ideal federation of States solving all their problems without recourse to arms.

105. The first attempt to take practical steps for the prevention of war was made, as you know, following the establishment of the League of Nations. Unfortunately, this attempt proved unsuccessful and ultimately tragic. If the Soviet disarmament plans had been adopted, the subsequent course of events would probably not have

culminated in a new world war. This human tragedy was highly instructive, however, since it provided the most cruel but convincing proof that the Soviet Union, which more than thirty years ago had introduced proposals for total disarmament, had been right, and the Western countries, which had treated the Soviet Union's proposals with sarcastic derision and contempt, had been tragically wrong.

106. In our day and age when man is mastering the most powerful forces of nature, taming the atom, sending a rocket to the moon, creating new planets, and overstepping the limits of the earth in daring exploration of the universe, in these truly stirring times, man has within his power the solution of such vast and important problems as the permanent elimination of war—that ruthless destroyer of the products of human genius. Settlement of the problem of eliminating wars is not only over-due, but indispensable because of the creation of forces so destructive that, if they are brought into play, they can bring mankind to the verge of catastrophe. An absolutely new situation has arisen, and that of course means that proposals made with regard to disarmament must be assessed by entirely new criteria.

107. States are diverting huge resources of materials and equipment to the senseless armaments race and exposing man himself and the fruits of his labour to the danger of annihilation. As several speakers have already said from this rostrum, literally hundreds of millions of men and women are being prevented from taking up useful creative activity. It has been estimated that, if all military expenditure was switched to productive purposes, in something like ten years these resources alone could finance the building of a new country with towns and gardens, a country in which more than 100 million people would be assured of a high standard of living.

108. In the light of what I have just said, the proposal introduced at the present session of the General Assembly [799th meeting] by Mr. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on general and complete disarmament by all States within four years, is a remarkable contribution to the cause of peace and international security. This proposal is inspired by an ideal which mankind is seeking to achieve, and yet it is far removed from sterile utopianism.

109. The implementation of the Soviet plan would remove all the obstacles hitherto encountered in considering questions of partial disarmament, and would clear the way for the institution of really comprehensive and complete control. The international control organ, which is to be established under this proposal and in which all States will participate, will be called upon to exercise effective control on a scale corresponding to the different stages of phased disarmament. General disarmament will guarantee the complete security of all States and will eliminate even the possibility of armed conflicts between nations.

110. I must frankly admit, however, that my delegation has been concerned by the quite active attempts to belittle the significance of the Soviet disarmament proposals. The arguments used against the idea of general and complete disarmament even include the assertion that the Soviet proposals should be rejected because they do not guarantee that people will not fight

each other even if knives and sticks are their only weapons. Such arguments reflect the theory—which we regard as extremely questionable—that man is eternally predisposed to discord and wars and that human society has not progressed beyond the stage of savagery in its attitude towards war.

111. Of course, we cannot accept these apologies for arguments. The idea that man cannot abstain from fighting, that people will be bound to come to blows even if the only available weapon is an inoffensive table knife, such an idea, if you will forgive my frankness, might perhaps have carried some weight during that period of the middle ages when obscurantist forces darkened European civilization and before the Renaissance had heralded the powerful impact on life of humanist ideas. Today, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, it is impossible to persuade us that man of the age of the atom and interplanetary travel is indistinguishable from prehistoric man armed with a cudgel, and that atavistic instincts are more powerful than the intelligence which has brought contemporary civilization into being. The humanist philosophy of our time teaches an entirely different lesson. Speaking on 16 May 1959 in the Kremlin, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"Man was not created in order to destroy his fellow men. The desire to kill is alien to man's nature, to his spiritual qualities."

112. Others argue that the idea of general and complete disarmament should not be taken seriously because it is not new and merely repeats the proposals introduced by the Soviet Union in the League of Nations. At the present time, we do not propose to discuss how the present proposals of the Soviet Union differ from its past proposals, or how much the present historical situation differs from the conditions of thirty years ago. General and complete disarmament always was, is, and will be new; that is to say, it will be an urgent and acute problem for us until humanity has found a final solution to it. The crux of the matter is this: do the necessary practical conditions exist for the formulation and settlement of the problem of general and complete disarmament, quite apart from the implementation of those partial measures which also are provided for in the Soviet Government's declaration? In our opinion, they do.

113. Two years ago, the General Assembly, as you know, adopted a resolution calling upon States to respect and observe the principles of peaceful co-existence [resolution 1236 (XII)]. Against the background of an unrestricted armaments race, peaceful co-existence is usually tantamount to armed co-existence, which involves the risk of the principles of peace being violated in one or another part of the globe. Against a background of general and complete disarmament, peaceful co-existence would be the great boon to which the innermost thoughts of the people of the whole world aspire.

114. In conclusion, I should like to assure the General Assembly that my delegation will co-operate with other delegations to the full extent of its powers and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter so that the fourteenth session of the General Assembly may fulfil its obligations.

115. Mr. PANYA (Laos) (translated from French): The Lao delegation is happy to be able in its turn to offer Mr. Belaúnde its warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the Assembly. My country

is extremely pleased that this high office has been conferred upon a person whose exceptional qualities are recognized by this august assemblage and whose public life has been entirely devoted to the defence of the noblest ideals. As we all know, he has worked in our Organization since the day of its foundation, and, what is more, he was among the ranks of those who served its predecessor, the League of Nations. Therefore, his experience of men and things, and of our Organization and its operations, are without parallel. His competence, combined with his personal abilities and his rare qualities, make him today the person best suited to occupy the place of honour in our Organization. His unanimous election renders brilliant homage at once to his noble country, to the countries of Latin America and to himself for his unflinching pursuit of the cause of peace and international understanding. We are convinced that under his guidance the Assembly will be able, during its fourteenth session, to mark up to its credit further achievements towards the goals of the United Nations.

116. The Lao delegation also joins in the tribute that has been paid from this rostrum to the memory of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, whose tragic death has plunged his people into grief and mourning. The circumstances of the crime have roused indignation throughout Laos. The Lao people, who practise "Little Vehicle" Buddhism, which originated in Ceylon and which we call Lanka, offer their heartfelt sympathy to the Ceylonese people in this time of tribulation.

117. It is the custom at each General Assembly to cast a glance backward to measure the distance we have come in the course of the preceding year. Although customary, this practice is not the less important, for we must take stock of our position so as to know where we stand in our progress towards the goals we have set ourselves. Each obstacle overcome, each objective gained, is an incentive to further effort; every failure, omission or defect must be pointed out so that it may be remedied. The usual methods may be inadequate to meet the situation; if that is so, then we must consider new methods. It is also important to make sure that all this activity is being carried on within the proper framework in accordance with the proclaimed purposes of our Organization.

118. My Government has been pleased to note that the positive accomplishments of the current year have been predominant, and this has strengthened our confidence in the work of the United Nations as regards not only conciliation and mediation but also such economic and humanitarian activities as assistance to the less developed countries and succour to the underprivileged peoples.

119. Among the Organization's achievements during the past year, there was in the first instance its happy intervention in the Middle East, which served to prevent irrevocable actions and to create an atmosphere conducive to the easing of tensions, to peace and tranquillity in an area notorious for its extreme sensitivity to political events.

120. The United Nations Special Fund, operating within the framework of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and acting through the specialized agencies, has done important work in all spheres of economic and social development and has helped to improve public health, agriculture technology, etc. It is to be hoped that, in view of these spectacular

results, it will be easy to secure a unanimous decision to increase contributions to the Fund.

121. Then again, assistance to refugees—which has in fact not been overlooked at any time since the very first days of the United Nations—received an impetus as sudden as it was unexpected. Compared with the immensity of the task and its increasing urgency, the routine methods were clearly inadequate. The conscience of humanity was stirred, and it is true to say that each individual felt ashamed, in the midst of the freedom, security and comfort which were his to enjoy, upon seeing the unjust, the pitiable fate befalling millions of men of whom the least that could be said was that they had as much right as any others to share in the good things of this earth. The World Refugee Year was thus instituted, and the results will no doubt be commensurate with the effort expended. My Government and my country have whole-heartedly supported this demonstration of universal brotherhood, but I should like to pay a special tribute to the country which, having conceived the idea and submitted it to the General Assembly, took the lead in getting it accepted by a large majority. I refer to the United Kingdom.

122. All these achievements can be entered to the credit of the United Nations, but it would be unpardonable not to associate with them the person of the Secretary-General, whose untiring activity must command the respect and gratitude of us all. Thanks to him, to his high qualities as a man, to his great culture, his competence and his devotion, the decisions of the United Nations are translated into concrete actions and results. Whether he is acting as the Secretary-General or in his personal capacity, his activity has always had a beneficial effect. His recent visit to the capital cities of a number of Member States is an excellent example. My country is happy to pay a public tribute to him from this rostrum.

123. We can, then, justifiably feel satisfied with the positive results achieved, but this does not make the negative factors any the less disquieting. Grave problems remain to be solved, and despite the time and effort expended on them no visible result has yet been forthcoming. At the top of the list there is the problem of disarmament and the halting of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. During the last few months, the world has been constantly marvelling at the prodigious advances made by science. Paradoxically, however, fear and misgiving rather than joy or gladness have been roused by the brilliant performance of the artificial satellites and the marvel of the moon-rockets. Since the opening of the fourteenth session, numerous disarmament proposals have been placed before the General Assembly. We have just added another item to our agenda, namely, on complete disarmament. Let us hope that these steps, together with the meeting of the Heads of Governments of the two main atomic Powers, will serve to clear and cleanse the present atmosphere of doubt so as to prepare the way for greater mutual understanding. Otherwise the prospects for the world will be sombre indeed, and that paradoxical situation to which I have referred will arise, an absurd situation where theories and methods designed for the benefit of mankind will lead it to perdition.

124. A number of the Assembly's decisions have, moreover, remained ineffective because of the refusal of the nations concerned to co-operate. In this connexion, world public opinion and the conscience of all will continue to be perturbed so long as Sir Leslie



Munro is unable to accomplish the mission entrusted to him by the United Nations. More serious still, the violation of the political and individual rights of the Hungarian people, a violation which has gone without redress, has led to other breaches of respect for the human person and the spirit of our Charter, again on the part of a totalitarian Power. From the confines of Asia, from Tibet to be exact, come echoes of events which have cast a gloom over the rest of the world. Despite solemn agreements, the Tibetan people have been despoiled of all their rights; they have lost their identity; they are today helpless. The life of their leader was saved only because of certain providential circumstances.

125. Confronted by this flagrant crime perpetrated in violation of human rights and of the rights of peoples and prompted by an ideology which denies all the values which form the very basis of humanity, the United Nations has the sacred duty to intervene. And I trust that it will do so at a very early date for each day which passes increases the sufferings of the Tibetan people.

126. To end this list, I come now to the act of aggression to which my country has fallen victim. This act was the result of a carefully laid plan the object of which was none other than to destroy my people and my country. In order that I may lay the problem before the Assembly with all due clarity, I would beg you to allow me to go back a few years.

127. In 1954, the Geneva Agreements put an end to the long Indo-China war which Laos did not instigate but whose heavy legacy it bore. As regards Laos, the provisions contained in the Agreements were of two kinds. There were military clauses and political clauses.

128. The military clauses provided for the evacuation of foreign armed forces, that is to say the French Expeditionary Force, on the one hand, and the forces of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam on the other, and subsequently the regrouping of the Pathet Lao fighting units in the two provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua pending their integration.

129. As regards the political clauses, there was the re-establishment of the Royal Administration in the provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua, where the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had assisted the fighting units of the Pathet Lao in organizing an administration of its own after taking advantage of the cease-fire to get rid of the government forces still there at the date of the signing of the Agreements.

130. Finally, there was the reintegration into the national community of the Lao citizens who were not on the side of the Royal forces during the hostilities and who were known as the fighting units of the Pathet Lao.

131. Those were the main aspects of the problem to be solved. For that purpose, six months would have been enough between negotiators of good will. In fact, it took more than three years during which the Royal Government was pressed to the very limit of its patience and indulgence, accepting every demand and granting every concession, refusing right up to the end to treat the Pathet Lao forces as anything other than the country's children, and cherishing to the last the hope that they might learn from their past mistakes and be ready to co-operate with the Royal Government

in the work of rebuilding the country. The Vientiane Agreements signed on 12 November 1957 were the product of the patience, the goodwill and the tolerance of the Royal Government. They provided for the following:

(a) The handing-over of the administration of the Provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua to the Royal Government, which took place in a solemn ceremony on 18 November 1957;

(b) The inclusion in the Royal Government of two members of the Pathet Lao, which also took place on 18 November;

(c) The holding of elections, which took place on 4 May 1958;

(d) The integration into the national army of a contingent of 1,500 men from the former Pathet Lao forces and the handing-over to the Royal Government of all war materials;

(e) The fixing of 19 January 1958 as the final date for the completion of these measures.

132. There is no doubt that the Vientiane Agreements brought some measure of relaxation. The International Commission for Supervision and Control, a body set up by the Geneva Conference of 1954, saw that there was no longer any need for its presence there and, deeming its task completed, withdrew from Laos in July 1958. With the return of calm and security, the people became reassured and returned to work.

133. This state of affairs was unfortunately not to last very long. Trouble broke out again in May 1959 when the second Pathet Lao battalion, instead of joining the national army as agreed, chose deliberately to rebel and flee. Supported in strength by Viet-Minh elements, that is to say, the forces of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, it subsequently returned to attack the national forces and so created a situation that my Government felt compelled to bring the matter to the attention of the United Nations and to call upon it for help in putting a stop to this open aggression.

134. Charges have been made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam against the Government of Laos. They are entirely without foundation. At the very time when it was giving its support to the Pathet Lao, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was hurling at Laos accusations as violent as they were untrue. Naturally, that country's Communist friends and allies hastened to follow its example. Using all the means with which their propaganda arsenal is packed, they accused Laos of violating the Geneva and Vientiane Agreements, of maltreating the former members of the Pathet Lao forces and of turning its territory into a spring-board for aggression.

135. I should like briefly, but in the most categorical manner, to deny these allegations here and now. First of all, allow me one observation. Does not the very fact that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has become the self-appointed spokesman of the Lao rebels, the fact that it presumes to tell the Royal Government what domestic decisions it should take and what international course it should follow, do not these facts themselves constitute sufficient proof of interference?

136. Laos did not violate the Geneva Agreements. On 11 February last, the Head of the Lao Government, H.E. Phoui Sananikone, stated that Laos had fulfilled



its obligations under the Geneva Agreements. In fact, the military phase had been completed. As regards the political clauses, only some small details remained to be settled, and within a very short time they had been dealt with almost in their entirety. The International Commission for Supervision and Control recognized this by withdrawing. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam leapt upon that declaration as its war-horse. It maintained that the Lao Government had made the declaration in order to evade the clauses determining the size of its armed forces and prohibiting its participation in an agreement and its abandonment of neutrality. On behalf of the Royal Government, I deny these assertions.

137. The Geneva Agreements provided for the retention in Laos for its security and for the training of its army of French military personnel numbering 3,500 men and 1,500 instructors, to be stationed at two establishments. Today, despite the danger, the total number has been reduced to 300 men and 100 instructors. The second French military base has never been established.

138. The Geneva Agreements permit Laos to import a certain quantity of armaments and equipment specified as necessary for its defence and security needs. At no time has this quantity exceeded reasonable limits. Laos has not received strategic weapons and can not constitute a danger to its neighbours.

139. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam also accused Laos of becoming a United States military base. In fact, there have for some months been 100 American instructors in Laos. They are working there within and under the supervision of the French Military Mission. Their introduction, which was based on practical reasons, had been the subject of negotiations between France, the United States and Laos. Since there are so few of them, there is no justification for the anxiety the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam claims to feel. Indeed, in its sincerity and honesty, Laos had announced the agreement with France and the United States some weeks in advance.

140. Finally, on 17 February, in order to cut short all such accusations, the Royal Government published a communiqué—something which it had not considered called for the preceding week—confirming its position of neutrality and its intention to refrain from joining any military pact. This clarification did not, of course, diminish the aggressive ardour of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, for "none is so deaf as he who will not hear".

141. The Royal Government has not violated the Vientiane Agreements. The leader of the rebels wrote to the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam that the Royal Government had shown discrimination against the members of the former Pathet Lao forces. That is not the case. Anyone can tell you that the former Pathet Lao members are at present occupying various posts and positions in the administrative and governmental offices on the same footing as other Lao citizens. The only condition for admission to regular government service was the passing of an examination which is also required of other civil servants in order to ascertain their educational and other qualifications. This is a normal procedure, and I do not think that it is any different from what is done in other civilized countries.

142. As to the integration of military units, about which we have been subjected to the most violent attacks, here is the simple truth. The Agreements provided in the first place for the integration of 1,500 former members of Pathet Lao; in the second place, that rules for that integration should be those used in the national army; and, thirdly, that any difficulties arising in this process of integration should be settled by the Royal Government.

143. In the Royal Army 1,500 men means two battalions with a complement of forty-one officers, including two battalion commanders. The Pathet Lao forces asked for the integration of 112 officers (equivalent to a staff of six battalions), including three colonels. Such claims naturally did not facilitate the operation. Nevertheless, in the interest of peace and reconciliation, the Royal Government acceded to all these demands. The officers' posts were to be designated by the High Command of the former Pathet Lao forces. Since the latter refused to do this, the Royal Government decided in December 1958 to reintegrate a former Pathet Lao member as a colonel and to make him responsible, in co-operation with the headquarters staff of the Royal Army, for designating the other officers from the former Pathet Lao forces. Colonel Singkapo was the person thus appointed, and the appointment was embodied in a Royal Order. After accepting the Government's offer, he refused to take part in the ceremony confirming his reintegration, indicating the decision of his party.

144. Determined to settle the question once and for all, the Royal Government undertook to appoint the cadres itself and to set 11 May 1959 as the date for the integration. When that day came, the Second Pathet Lao Battalion, which was stationed at the Plaine des Jarres, refused to be integrated and took to the road in the direction of the North Viet-Nam borders.

145. The Royal Government is not guilty of illegal acts against the former members of the Pathet Lao. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam informs us through its Press and radio that, if the two former Pathet Lao Ministers were brought back into the Government Cabinet, the crisis in Laos would automatically come to an end. Strange words indeed from a country which claimed not to interfere in other countries' affairs! Since August 1958, the Lao National Assembly had established in power a team which no longer included any Viet-Minh partisans. But all this has taken place in accordance with parliamentary and democratic rules. And I should add that we do not act like those self-styled democratic countries whose every action is a breach of democracy.

146. I have dwelt at length on the lack of substance in the accusations made against my country and my Government. The present situation in Laos, which led to the dispatch of a Security Council Sub-Committee, is actually the result of intervention and aggression by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. In the first place, there is collusion between the Pathet Lao and the Viet-Minh—collusion which has its roots in the distant past. The Pathet Lao grew out of the Lao-Issara movement, founded in 1945—in the course of events in the Far East—to oppose the return of a protectorate or dependent régime. This objective having been achieved by the Government at Vientiane, the Lao-Issara party, which was in exile in Thailand, was dissolved in 1950 and its members rejoined the various groups which had stayed in Laos. Most of the

present leaders and holders of responsible posts in Laos belonged to this movement. Only a handful of men whose purpose was not to fight for national independence refused to join it. Some of these were guilty of offences under the general law and were afraid, incidentally without good reason, that they would have to answer for them before the courts; they rejoined the Viet-Minh forces during the Indo-Chinese campaign, and returned in 1954 possessing all the influence which the Viet-Minh victory had given them. Their act made it perfectly clear to us that their ultimate objective was the communization of Laos.

147. In the light of this, it is easy to understand their various moves. It was not without reason that they sought to drag out indefinitely the negotiations for reunification and reintegration, since, when they withdrew to regroup at Sam Neua and Phong Saly, the Pathet Lao and the Viet-Minh had forcibly taken away with them the young men of the villages through which they had passed. They were awaiting the return of these young men, after their education at Hanoi and Peking under a system which I need hardly name, before embarking on their standard procedure for setting up communist cells and instigating subversion. It will thus be understood why the Pathet Lao was anxious to meet the representatives of the Royal Government at Rangoon; that was the slowest way of dealing with domestic issues.

148. It was not because it was dissatisfied with conditions under the Government that the Second Battalion chose to flee. The Pathet Lao had never wanted such integration, which would have deprived it of the military support it needed in order to carry out its Machiavellian plan. It was in pursuance of this plan that it had established stocks of arms in the forest and turned over to the Royal Government arms to a quantity less than had been expected, and for the most part in poor condition. Since November 1957, when equipment was to be transferred under the terms of the Vientiane Agreements, the Royal Government has recovered 4,000 concealed weapons, through the co-operation of the population which had been protected from the exactions of the Pathet Lao.

149. Some days ago, I quoted an example of obvious collusion between the Viet-Minh and the Pathet Lao. It was the case of a petition addressed by the leader of former members of the Pathet Lao to the Head of the Government. Before the Prime Minister could so much as take cognizance of this letter, which had been placed on his desk an hour previously, its contents had been broadcast by Radio Hanoi. The only possible conclusion is that the Pathet Lao receives its orders by signal from Hanoi and there have been many similar examples.

150. The aid given by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the rebels for the purpose of promoting disturbances in Laos cannot be questioned.

151. Radio Hanoi plays an important part in these machinations. It has never ceased to pour out against Laos a flood of accusations, slanders and tendentious statements, with the object of provoking unrest among the people and inciting them to break with the Government. For a long time, the Government refrained from making any reply, so as to avoid futile arguments. Starting from last winter, in preparation for the armed attacks of July and August, Radio Hanoi tripled the time allotted to its broadcasts in the Lao language. I

hope that the Security Council Sub-Committee will not fail to examine the monitorings of these broadcasts; it will see that their favourite theme is the claim that the Pathet Lao is engaged in a patriotic struggle to liberate the country, and that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has the duty of helping it to achieve final victory. Radio Hanoi has placed its broadcasting services at the disposal of the rebels, and has observed no limits in its campaign of subversion and sabotage; in order to make its broadcasts convincing, it quotes from a newspaper allegedly issued in the field by the fugitive battalion. No one has ever seen this newspaper. It is a product of Radio Hanoi's fertile imagination. But there is something more serious. For some weeks, Radio Hanoi has been making a daily thirty-minute broadcast in the Lao language called "The Voice of the Pathet Lao Forces Command".

152. Moreover, the supplying of arms to the Pathet Lao by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a fact which is quite obvious. The Pathet Lao turned over its own military equipment to the Royal Government on 12 November 1957, in accordance with the Vientiane Agreements. The equipment which it hid in the forest was afterwards recovered by the Royal Government. None of this equipment—whether turned over or hidden—has ever been a very important factor. It is known that, the day before the transfer of equipment to the Royal Government, fifty trucks from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam arrived at the village of Hai Xuan, on the road between Sam Neua and Thanh Hoa, to collect arms lent to the Pathet Lao. Eyewitnesses who were with the Pathet Lao at the time, and who have now left it because of its anti-patriotic conduct, could provide confirmation of this for the Sub-Committee. Various weapons, particularly grenades, were seized during the recent fighting. The grenades were practically new, which rules out the theory that they could have been hidden in the forest.

153. Moreover, the outlying provinces of the North-East are among the poorest of all the provinces. Lack of communications and shortage of local supplies make it very difficult to station troops there. The province of Lam Neua generally lacks the means of subsistence between harvests, that is to say in the period before the rice harvest, and each year the Royal Government takes measures to remedy this deficiency. This is tantamount to saying that the province could only ensure the subsistence of the rebels and their Viet-Minh allies for, at the most, two weeks. Whence, then, could supplies for the aggressors originate save from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam?

154. We know that mere subsistence is not the only requirement of an army in the field. It needs drugs, medical care, surgical services, etc. In monitoring radio broadcasts, we have intercepted messages, both in plain language and in code, concerning the dispatch to the Lao frontier of pharmaceutical products, doctors and aircraft to take the seriously wounded to hospitals in Hanoi, particularly after a major military engagement. The Royal Government has submitted to the Sub-Committee, for examination, the most typical of these messages.

155. In assisting the rebels, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has not confined itself to the supply of weapons, munitions and stores. It has been training recruits as potential cadres, propagandists and political commissars. Two training centres have been operating, one at Moc Chau—eighty kilometres from

Sam Neua—and the other at Thanh Hoa. As I said at the outset, it was a sinister plot which was being hatched against the life of Laos and its people.

156. The course of this plot and its execution reflect a perfected technique, well known to all of us. Force and subversion have in turn, with consummate skill, been employed. The main object has been to keep up harassing pressure, maintain tension, and avoid any truce or respite.

157. Thus, immediately after the Geneva Agreements, when the Pathet Lao—perhaps because it desired a short breathing-space—was curtailing its activities, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in its turn took up the cudgel. It occupied a border canton called Tasseng Chang, in the province of Xieng Khouang. The Royal Government endeavoured to settle the matter amicably. Delegations from the two countries met, on one occasion close to the scene of the incident, and on another at Hanoi. At these meetings, the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam made no reference whatever to the incident, but spoke about treaties of friendship, economic and cultural co-operation, and so forth. This endeavour ended in failure—which only shows the futility of employing normal methods when dealing with a party who negotiates in bad faith.

158. Subsequently, when the flexible and cautious policy of the Royal Government had borne fruit, the situation in the Kingdom became relatively quite. The provinces of the North once more experienced peace. This success could not, however, be to the taste of the Pathet Lao and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The latter saw its communization plans threatened with collapse. It was then that it instigated a further series of border incidents, so as to maintain the atmosphere of war at all costs. The occupation of a part of the province of Tchépone represents a very serious infringement of Lao sovereignty. It is a typical example of the skill of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in manufacturing a frontier incident out of a pre-fabricated argument. It claimed that the territory belonged to it. Nowhere will you find any frontier-tracing that would leave Nam Travigne, Ban Tarua, Ban Kapai—villages of this area—in the territory of North Viet-Nam. Moreover, the most up-to-date proof that the territory belongs to Laos is provided by the reference map used at the Geneva Conference of 1954. According to this 1/100,000 scale map entitled "East Tchépone", the frontier between Laos and Viet-Nam runs north and east of the villages which are now occupied. The Prime Minister of the Hanoi Government, who signed the Geneva Agreements on behalf of North Viet-Nam, accordingly, in 1954, accepted without reservations, by the first official international act to which the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was a party, the frontier drawn on that map.

159. Here I would make one incidental remark. The Royal Government of Laos, so far as it is concerned, has always stated that it would respect the frontiers of Viet-Nam, especially this particular region. An example is the military post of Lao-Bao which, in 1954, during the war operations, had been occupied by the Franco-Lao troops; it was subsequently held by units of the Lao army. This army, in the months following the signature of the Geneva Agreements, evacuated the village, which has since then been controlled by the authorities of Viet-Nam.

160. Once the occupation had been completed, the Hanoi authorities offered to negotiate. What could such negotiations be about? Their only possible subject would be the procedure for the evacuation of our national territory. But there is no point in that. All that Hanoi had to do was to give an order for the evacuation of its troops. The example of the occupation of Tasseng Chang is a sufficient lesson for us, and forbids us to attempt anything along those lines.

161. In any case, the Royal Government was anxious to prevent the tension from becoming more acute. The police forces in the zone were withdrawn, and the troops stationed in the vicinity were moved further away, in order to avoid any armed clashes. Faithful to its policy of peace and confident in the United Nations, the Royal Government requested the Secretary-General to intervene with a view to settling the problem. While the Secretary-General was seeking ways and means of dealing with the situation, an even more serious act was committed on 30 August 1959, which led the Security Council to take its first emergency measures.

162. In brief, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is guilty of aggression against Laos. In face of the Royal Government's determination to restore order and discipline, and because the population was co-operating increasingly with the Government and was gradually escaping from the clutches of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Pathet Lao, the two latter decided to make a decisive move for what they called liberation or final victory.

163. That is the correct explanation of the events which have occurred since 16 July 1959 and which reached their climax on 30 August last. There is therefore no truth in the argument, advanced by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, that the present conflict was due to the American hold on our country for imperialist purposes.

164. American aid to Laos is granted in the interests of peace. In this way, the United States is helping us to place our economy on firm foundations. The amounts of money we are receiving, and the use to which they are put, are well known. We have never concealed anything in that connexion. Some of the American funds are being used for the creation of an army which is needed for the defence of the Kingdom; and the numbers of that army constitute no secret. This small defensive force, which is simply a symbol of our independence, can inspire no alarm in any country. The Royal Government is receiving military aid from the United States and France—in the form of material, personnel and instructors—only for the defence of its territory, in accordance with its statement made at Geneva.

165. This aid, therefore, is supplied on a legal, international basis. The Royal Government has always insisted that the forms which it takes should be officially made known. In any case, it amounts to very much less than that originally planned, as only one out of the two French bases authorized by the Geneva Agreements has been established and its strength is far below the 3,500 men authorized for the SENO base and the 1,500 instructors for the French Military Mission.

166. Contrary to what Hanoi and Peking assert, there are in Laos no new bases, no bombers, no heavy artillery, no new tanks, and no foreign units. The whole world can establish this fact for itself, and I am not aware that the thirty journalists of various nationalities



now travelling freely about our territory have attempted to controvert it. In any case, we invite all observers, whoever they may be, to come and verify our statements. We open our doors wide to all.

167. We knew that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was aiding and taking part in the raids against Lao army posts. That caused no surprise, for the attacks were always launched from places where that Republic usually maintains frontier guards and military forces.

168. For the attack on the posts of Muong Het and Xieng Khô on 30 August 1959, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam did not confine itself to providing assistance and support. It openly participated in it. Here is an account, by eyewitnesses, of what happened. The attack began at dawn, in two successive waves—the first constituted by former members of the Pathet Lao, and the second by troops that could not speak the language of Laos, but only Viet-Nameese—along a three-kilometre front; it was supported by heavy mortar fire, which was so accurate that the command post and the communications equipment were wiped out at the fourth round. It was started by a red rocket signal and concluded by a green rocket signal. The attackers crossed the Nam Ma river, which ran alongside the posts, in rubber boats. At the same time, the posts of Sophao and Sopbao, within the perimeter, were attacked. This attack was prepared, co-ordinated and carried out with a refined technical skill of which only the Viet-Minh were capable.

169. In face of this flagrant aggression, the Royal Government approached the United Nations and requested its intervention. The Sub-Committee responsible for assembling all evidence and documents concerning the attack is now at work in the area.

170. Such is the whole origin of the present tension created in Laos by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. That Republic, together with certain other countries, tells us that, in order to normalize the situation, it would suffice to revive the former International Commission for Supervision and Control set up under the Geneva Agreements. Allow me to express the Royal Government's views on this point.

171. The task of the International Commission for Supervision and Control was confined to the implementation of the military and political clauses of the Geneva Agreements. Today, the country has already been reunified and reintegrated. The Pathet Lao no longer exists, since its forces have been legally dissolved; there remain only rebels against the Government and traitors to their country. The aggression committed by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a circumstance of quite another kind, which, like the occupation of our national territory by the Republic, falls outside the competence of the International Commission.

172. The Kingdom of Laos is a sovereign country and a Member of the United Nations; who then, in this

Assembly, would contest its legitimate preference for arbitration by the United Nations? Who would maintain that any other form of arbitration could be so universal in character as that of the United Nations?

173. But let us make no mistake. The proposal for the revival of the International Commission for Supervision and Control is a trap, and a very obvious one. By that manoeuvre, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam aims to restore the former Pathet Lao to life and to regroup its members in the two Northern provinces whence it, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, could resume its aggressive and subversive operations.

174. Thus the road to general harmony will always be rough and difficult so long as there are nations which, while constantly talking of peace, in fact dream solely of extending their proud sway beyond their frontiers, by armed force or other more tortuous but no less baneful methods. These nations are in fact perpetuating the old traditions of force which all of us want to abandon, because we know quite well that war has never led to a final settlement of any dispute or completely extinguished the hatred which it engendered.

175. Might is not always the servant of right, as we can see; and we for our part deeply regret that it should still be regarded as a necessary political instrument by certain countries which, though possessed of formidable power and satiated, as it were, in that respect, have not yet become reconciled to the idea that their forces should serve the cause of peace alone. There are still, in fact, aggressive nations, over-confident in their social philosophy, convinced that they hold the key to the future and the key to everything, deeply persuaded of their missionary vocation, and prepared to use any means, however brutal, to impose their ideology on others.

176. Is there any need to speak here of the peaceable nature of our people? What country can say that throughout the centuries it has ever been threatened or attacked by Laos? The peoples of Laos are inspired by a religion which turns the spirit more towards withdrawal and meditation than towards violence. They are imbued with a sense of human values, with a love of joy and even, perhaps, of an easy life; tribute has often been paid to their wisdom, a wisdom akin to that of peoples who are happy and have no history. And even if such a people chose to brandish its weapons, who would tremble?

177. In reality, since its recent attainment of independence, Laos has had one idea alone, one purpose only; to establish its fledgling State on a sound basis, by devoting itself, with its all too modest resources, to tasks of reconstruction and peace. How then, without complete disregard for truth, can it be accused of being a trouble-maker, a promoter of imperialism, or an instrument for the imperialism of its political friends, whose only thought is to help it and safeguard its new and fragile independence.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*