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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):^{1/} First of all, Mr. President, allow me to express to you our deeply felt congratulations on your election. The choice of the Assembly signifies a recognition, with which I associate myself, of your work during the past years in our Organization as well as a testimony of our trust in your ability to direct our work.

2. When, on 21 August 1958, the General Assembly, at its third emergency special session, unanimously adopted the resolution submitted the day before by ten Arab States here represented [resolution 1237 (ES-III)], all of us were inspired by feelings of faith and hope. However serious the crisis that had developed in the Near East, however important the interests involved and the contrasts between the various tendencies, it was quite clear that a sense of deep responsibility prevailed in each Government, thus reducing the immediate menace of increasing tension in that region. We derived hope also from the fact that it was possible to reach an initial agreement within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of the principles of our Charter.

3. We feel that this agreement was and still is of remarkable importance. On the one hand, it was inspired by a series of principles which constitute the basis of all effective possibilities for nations to foster and maintain good neighbourly relations. On the other hand, this agreement contains the fundamental and essential concept of co-operation among the countries of the Near East which are legitimately seeking a solution to their problems. In reaching this agreement, not only did we avoid increasing tension, but we accomplished something more; we showed a constructive element that fully justifies the hopeful expectancy that the Arab States, in a spirit of good will and mutual understanding, will implement the resolution unanimously adopted, thus fulfilling their duty to act as the free masters of their own destiny.

^{1/} Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

4. But, over and above this, it is evident that a new and better understanding has been shown of the need for the normal, peaceful development of those countries which are still too far from being able to maintain a sufficiently high level of prosperity. Equally, we have sensed a liberal and prompt willingness on the part of those Governments which dispose of more means to make a common effort, within the peaceful framework of respect for international law, to help the peoples of the Near East to fulfil their aspirations.

5. Does this mean perhaps that all the most important problems of the Near East may be considered solved and that all our anxieties should disappear? Certainly not. However, we have succeeded in our search for a sound approach, and the next step is to proceed on the right road.

6. In this slow and arduous task we know that we can rely on the sound and tireless action of the Secretary-General. We are awaiting the report which he is to submit in fulfilment of the mandate conferred upon him by the General Assembly. His absolute dedication to the cause of peace and his well-known qualities afford us the utmost hope and constitute a guarantee in this respect.

7. Considering the situation from a general point of view, I should like to express here my firm conviction that if we are able to analyse and evaluate adequately the causes and the spirit which resulted in the recent positive experience of our common work, we shall find therein guidance to lead us towards desirable and constructive solutions, responding not only to the interest of the people in that particular area of the world, but also to the expectations of mankind, anxious to safeguard peace with justice and freedom.

8. How could it be denied that we are all aware of the imperative commandment to spare our peoples the danger of a conflict which would totally destroy the existence of everyone and from which no victor, but only losers, would emerge?

9. Fortunately, a widespread reluctance openly and formally to violate the principles of the Charter is becoming more and more evident.

10. The ghost of an all-out conflict is not in itself sufficient to assure to all an enduring peace, and, on the other hand, it could be exploited by unscrupulous adventurers to the detriment of those who are anxious for the survival of our civilization. The principles of independence, non-interference in internal affairs and territorial integrity, sanctioned by our Charter, could be defied; indeed, in the past we have witnessed a serious crisis caused by aggression in the Far East, and today we see there a defiance of these supreme obligations.

11. On the other hand, understanding of certain natural needs of peaceful development in those countries which are still far from having achieved an

adequate standard of living, as well as readiness to make a common effort to solve their technical and economic problems, require concrete action which will take time, patience, vast means, a great spirit of generosity and an atmosphere of mutual trust that cannot be brought about all of a sudden. A harmonious and constructive effort on behalf of all the States directly interested could also be jeopardized by outbreaks of violence and self-interest.

12. There are valid reasons why we should more and more engage our sense of responsibility and our capabilities of appreciating the real terms of such a situation in a determination adequately to develop the United Nations. We should provide the means of controlling the implementation of obligations solemnly entered into and we should also provide appropriate instruments to cope with certain immediate economic and technical assistance requirements. Only in this way shall we be able further to consolidate those factors which have given rise to our recent political experience to a point where they will acquire a truly effective and lasting aspect. These are the aims of the Italian Government and my delegation will seek their attainment during the course of this session of the General Assembly.

13. I have stated this with the intention of clarifying and strengthening certain general principles. However, I now wish to identify those fields in which we may more usefully concentrate our immediate efforts. In this connexion, I do not hesitate to state that the Italian Government maintains that in striving gradually to overcome the most urgent political problems, it is also necessary to strengthen and develop the activity of the United Nations not only in the political field but also in the economic and social fields. It does not appear possible to separate the solution of economic problems from the solution of political problems. Whoever might indulge in such an attempt would undoubtedly become engaged in a fruitless effort, for these two aspects are inseparable; they are facets which complement and support each other. An error of this type should be avoided.

14. We should also take into account what happens within our own countries. It is in fact a feature of the policy of modern States to engage in efforts aimed at creating ties of solidarity within their territory. The principle of social welfare has been taken almost everywhere as the basis for intervention on the part of a government to a point where the entire economy is no longer conceived as a simple means of enrichment but as a means of strengthening, increasing and distributing wealth. It is in this sense that modern States conceive of freedom, which is not only political freedom but also freedom from material needs within the framework of the economic structure of the country. We have thus passed through various stages of history which have taken us from simple political freedom to the co-operation of the entire population. A similar situation and similar needs exist on an international level.

15. In the same way as we now care for poverty and unemployment on the domestic level, we cannot remain indifferent to certain elementary needs on the international level. There are too many people in the world who are in a state of general poverty, which is

inconsistent with the progress of modern technology. The concept of political independence must be made complete by the adequate development of the economic life of our countries if we really wish to be members of one large family.

16. All this is quite clear to Italian statesmen. Italy, which in the past offered its memorable contribution to the enunciation and implementation of the principle of nationality; Italy, which acquired independence by a difficult struggle and which is now engaged in a strenuous effort to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth among its citizens—Italy, of course, understands these aspirations for political independence which are expressed with peaceful intentions in the desire to abide by international law, especially today when the community of nations is organized within the framework of the United Nations. Italy especially understands full well certain legitimate yearnings to combat the unhappy heritage of collective poverty, yearnings which appear more actively in underdeveloped areas.

17. Only a few days ago, in a joint statement in São Paulo, the President of the Republic of Italy and the President of Brazil reaffirmed

"...the right of all peoples to their independence and to mutual respect for their legitimate aspirations; the right to enjoy civil liberties which are at once the condition and the expression of the dignity of man; the demands of justice requiring a more equitable distribution of wealth and a higher and more adequate standard of living for the masses."

They stressed that

"...these principles are the basic premises of an effective democracy and of peaceful international relations, since they impose an integrated policy of social progress upon every nation in its internal affairs, and a policy of co-operation and solidarity of the wealthier and stronger nations towards those nations which have not yet achieved a level of development in accordance with the basic needs of the populations."

18. I wish today in this Assembly to renew this solemn appeal in the name of my Government, in view of the development of the activity of the United Nations in the economic and social sphere and in the field of technical assistance. We must make the utmost effort in order that our Organization may become more and more an effective instrument at the disposal of all men of good will serving to safeguard the present generations and to prepare a brighter future for the coming ones.

19. We must look with faith to the future because the evolution we hope for is fully in keeping with the evolution of modern techniques. The progress of science is discovering new means heretofore unthinkable, means which will enable us to solve all problems of a material character. International conflicts, just as the problems of poverty, disease, and all the plagues through which mankind has struggled for thousands of years, can be overcome by means of technical progress that affords to all peoples the hope of a brighter future to come. But we must want this with determination because technical and scientific progress by itself, if not utilized in the right direction, may very well lead to the most abominable of catastrophes and to the most horrendous of failures.

20. On the other hand, peace is not and cannot be a merely negative concept; in other words, it cannot be conceived only as the absence of conflict. Peace must be envisaged as a positive action, and this is precisely the reason which prompts me to insist that the United Nations should create instruments of international co-operation in all fields and that the United Nations should look far ahead to the new world that is in the making, to the new roads that are opening up before us, to new forms of co-operation to which I intend to refer later on in my statement.

21. As far as my country is concerned, I am glad to inform the Assembly that at the proper time the Italian delegation will announce the decision of the Italian Government to increase considerably its contribution to the yearly programme of technical assistance and to contribute to the Special Fund for underdeveloped countries. While this decision is only a few days old, my Government's decision to continue its assistance to Somaliland after the end of the Italian administration—an administration which to this date has already brought considerable progress to that Territory—shows that we are resolved to prepare the Territory for full independence. On the other hand, as is well known, the Italian Government has already favourably considered the possibility of participating fully in the international economic assistance to be extended through the planned economic organization for the Near East. We will be happy to do so, especially because that organization will be based on the free co-operation of the countries of that area. Italy is certainly not a rich country and therefore, owing to the magnitude of similar problems with which we are coping in our own territory, our contribution will not reach exceptionally large figures. However, I can assure you that we shall accomplish a considerable effort and that our contribution to this cause, which we so fully understand, will not be a purely symbolic one.

22. From several sides, proposals have been advanced about the possibility of utilizing for economic assistance a share of the savings to be realized eventually through disarmament. This is certainly an interesting idea. However, under the present circumstances, I feel that it might be more realistic to start the development of the economic and social activities already existing or under study, without awaiting a preliminary solution of the problem of disarmament.

23. On the other hand, in the light of what I have said so far, and also considering the positive result of our recent experiences, as I already mentioned in my speech at the third emergency special session [739th meeting], we feel that the idea of creating a permanent United Nations force for possible emergency cases should be seriously considered. This idea seems to have caused some alarm in certain delegations. I must confess that I do not see the reason for such alarm. In fact, it is not a question of creating an actual army but rather of profiting by past experience and avoiding hasty decisions. Clearly, the use of this force, of which we would merely draft the blueprints and the composition, would have to be planned in advance, taking into account the respect of the sovereign rights of the individual Member States. In other words, we envisage the creation not of a combat force but of an instrument of observation and control at the disposal of the United Nations. Similarly, the Italian delegation

is prepared to support all the other initiatives which the Secretary-General, in fulfilling his mandate, may deem it necessary to suggest with a view to the effective strengthening of the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon and in order closely to follow the implementation of the principles of the Charter in the most seriously threatened areas.

24. Considering now certain main aspects of the question of disarmament, while I reserve the privilege to present the views of my Government on the specific points on the appropriate occasion, I should like to dwell at this time on some general considerations which will guide the action of the Italian delegation.

25. Firstly, we intend to take a clear stand in favour of every initiative directed towards the utmost exploitation for peaceful purposes of recent discoveries in the nuclear field. We take this stand not only in the awareness of the great benefits that can accrue to humanity from technical progress, but realistically because it also takes into account the fact that every development in the peaceful use of nuclear energy will automatically divert from military uses a substantial proportion of the limited means which are available to individual Governments for this purpose. In the same way, we intend to offer our willing contribution towards the earliest possible utilization for peaceful purposes of outer space. The idea of creating a special institution for legal and scientific research in this field appears to us of the utmost urgency, and this Assembly should not conclude its work before adopting a positive resolution in this respect.

26. The method of separating the technical and scientific aspects from the political facets of nuclear disarmament has already yielded its first positive results in the control of nuclear tests. We cannot but hail these results and hope that the forthcoming conference on surprise attacks will also reach a positive agreement. Decisive steps should be taken in this direction, and the Italian Government is not only in favour of such initiatives, but is also prepared to offer its support and collaboration to this end. Atomic disarmament, if completed with legitimate safeguards in matters of control and with similar provisions in other fields of armaments, meets with our full approval. On the other hand, the Italian Government wishes to affirm its willingness in principle to permit the establishment of more effective controls on its own territory to the extent that the principle of reciprocity is adopted in this respect. However, my delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly of the United Nations should affirm the principle that it is fully aware of the crucial importance to mankind of the study of, and of further decisions on, the question of atomic radiation. The responsibility of facing these problems lies on all the States Members of the United Nations, and not merely on a restricted club.

27. If it is recognized that the question of nuclear disarmament deserves special attention, the Italian delegation nevertheless maintains that the importance of the question of disarmament in the field of conventional weapons should not be underestimated, if for no other reason than that conventional weapons are the only type available to the great majority of the countries represented in this Assembly. We believe the present juncture affords a unique historical occasion in this respect due to the decreasing importance

of conventional armaments for the major military Powers. We should not forego this unique opportunity. Considering the possibility of reaching agreement on separating the technical and scientific aspects of the problem from the political ones, I wonder whether it would not prove useful to apply the same method to disarmament in the field of conventional weapons, clearing the ground of the technical problems relating to controls through a special conference of experts.

28. The problem of disarmament, being one to which public opinion is highly sensitive, constitutes one of the main themes of propaganda from the communist camp. In concluding my general remarks on this question, I cannot but recall the attitude of obstruction held by the Soviet Union towards the United Nations Disarmament Commission during 1958. This is a case of open challenge to the decisions of the General Assembly and it seems peculiar that it should come precisely from the Government which ceaselessly declares its intention to disarm. The United Nations is competent for the solution of this problem and it is scarcely through a boycott of its lawful bodies and of their activity that progress can be achieved towards reaching an agreement which is the aspiration of us all.

29. But there is more to it. Whereas the democratic and parliamentary systems prevailing in the majority of Member States make it possible to follow in full view all measures, both military and financial, that are taken by each Government with the prior approval of the respective Parliaments, a thick veil of mystery clouds all that is happening in this field in the communist world. We might wonder whether it is really possible to deal effectively through uniform measures with this complicated and delicate matter, bearing on the very problem of national security and survival, as long as such a disparity of situations continues to exist.

30. Although I have tried so far to emphasize those aspects of our activities which offer a positive picture of our efforts—one which it is our responsibility to develop and to strengthen even further—I must recall other, negative, circumstances which cloud today's political horizon.

31. The problem of German reunification, which is so vital for a lasting order in Europe, remains unsolved, although all evidence points to the fact that its solution would indeed facilitate that of other serious questions such as security and disarmament.

32. I cannot refrain from pointing out that no positive course has followed the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1956 and 1957 with respect to Hungary. While I reserve my right to return to this point at the appropriate time, I should like to stress now that the Charter of the United Nations would have no more meaning if we passively accepted such flagrant violations. This challenge to our Organization must cease and must be eliminated once and for all.

33. What is happening in the Far East at this time is no less a cause of worry to us. We reserve our right to intervene in the debate if and when this question should be discussed during this session of the Assembly. However, something should be said now concerning the serious danger arising from the use of force. In this respect it is perfectly useless to appeal to rights and to invoke pretexts; whatever their foundation, the use of force is in no case admissible. The confusion between rights—or presumed rights—and

their exercise has been long since overcome within every State, and to go back to such positions would plunge us all into a state of complete anarchy. Similarly, the recourse to the principle of self-protection would present a serious set-back in international relations.

34. The United Nations was created precisely for the purpose of ensuring to the international community a legal order aiming at banning the use of force as a means of national policy. Any effort, however strong, towards an equitable solution of economic and social problems would be absolutely useless if the United Nations did not assure peace to mankind. And peace will not be assured as long as the use of force by individual States is permitted and as long as the decisions of the General Assembly are openly flouted.

35. We are firmly resolved to work together to assure to all peoples the satisfaction of their most urgent needs and to free them from the scourge of hunger and poverty. Our determination to defend the paramount gift of peace in freedom and legality is stronger than ever. We have entrusted this important task to the United Nations. The United Nations must discourage the enemies of peace once and for all. The place of Italy is amongst those who fight for the implementation of the provisions and the principles of the Charter. And we do not consider these principles as mere words to which lip service should be given from time to time, but rather as an imperative rule of behaviour by which to abide in the peaceful development of relations between the peoples of the world.

36. Mr. LLOYD (United Kingdom): I should like to begin my speech by congratulating you, Mr. President, upon your election. I first met you at the sixth session of the General Assembly in Paris in 1951. I received then a very clear impression of the great contribution which you could make towards the work of this Organization, an opinion which has since been consistently strengthened. I am delighted at your election and I hope that you have a happy and successful term of office.

37. With regard to the other candidate for the office of President, the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Sudan, I would simply like to say how much I appreciated the way in which he accepted the decision of the General Assembly, and to express my hope that he will at some future Assembly occupy high office. Because of the long association between the Sudan and the United Kingdom, that would be a very happy day for us.

38. One final personal word: I wish to express the thanks of the United Kingdom delegation to the retiring President, Sir Leslie Munro, for the outstanding way in which he has carried out his duties. It is even pleasanter for me to say this because he is a close personal friend.

39. This is our annual debate upon the state of the world when we survey together the achievements and the failures of the past twelve months; the present causes of tension and the prospects for peace. For the theme of my own speech I feel that I cannot do better than to take up the thought in Sir Leslie Munro's final address [747th meeting]—the thought of international interdependence—as he said, an "irrevocably interdependent world".

40. To what extent are we achieving a world society with its members living at peace one with another?

There is a certain tragic irony about our present situation. Man has conquered many of the secrets of nature. He has found new sources of power, new skills in the use of the products of the earth. New prospects for health, prosperity and happiness have opened up and been developed. It has become increasingly easier and quicker to communicate and to travel. Indeed, for foreign ministers travel has become almost too easy; we are expected to circumnavigate the globe with the regularity almost of sputniks. But the tragedy is that in spite of all these wonderful developments there has been no corresponding improvement in the political relationships between the nations.

41. Where do we stand on the various aspects of interdependence? In the field of health and medical science there is a wide recognition that the world is interdependent. There is a considerable exchange of knowledge and techniques. In some technical fields such as agriculture, animal diseases, pest control and the like, there is also a feeling of interdependence. Practical steps are being taken for the exchange of knowledge and techniques. The same applies over certain cultural activities such as the theatre, the ballet, music and sport. In the field of technical assistance there is a substantial international effort.

42. In all this we are glad to recognize the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations and to thank those devoted men and women who dedicate themselves to it.

43. And, if I may make a point in parenthesis, we also hope that during 1959 people throughout the world will be given a special opportunity to express their interest and sympathy in a particular matter of humanitarian concern. I refer to the proposal for a World Refugee Year which organizations in my country are planning in order to secure a more intensive effort to resolve the refugee problems that continue to exist and which are a reproach to the consciences of us all. We hope that this project will receive generous support both from Governments and from peoples, since we believe that such a concerted effort could do much to ease the lot of these unfortunate people.

44. When we come to economic questions there is still much to be done in this field of interdependence. International economic co-operation leaves a great deal to be desired. Practical measures and policies have still to be worked out. There is a conflict among those who believe in free economies, those who believe in completely managed economies and those who believe in a compromise between the two. We have not yet succeeded in producing a common doctrine on economic policy which will preserve a balance between the interests of the primary producers, the great industrial consumers and the trading nations of the world. Nevertheless, even though we do not know precisely how to achieve it, I think we all realize that we are economically interdependent. We know that there cannot be great poverty in one part of the world without its sooner or later affecting other parts. Some forward steps are, however, being taken. We in the United Kingdom welcome the creation of the Economic Commission for Africa. This new organization can count upon the whole-hearted support of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and we wish it every success.

45. In his speech last Thursday, 18 September [749th meeting], Mr. Dulles stated his belief that the time has come for the nations of the world to take stock of accomplishments in the field of economic development

and to chart anew long-term courses of co-operative action. He listed a number of major steps which might be taken, including the possibility of increasing the capital of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the quotas of the International Monetary Fund. We very much welcome these proposals and are ready, in so far as our resources allow, to help in giving effect to this imaginative programme. This must, as Mr. Dulles emphasized, be a co-operative action by all the Member States, and I would repeat his hope that 1959 could become a year of outstanding initiative in the long-term process of economic growth.

46. On my theme of interdependence, so far so good—or at least not too bad. But when we turn to political interdependence between the nations and consider the progress made, we cannot avoid a feeling of failure and frustration.

47. What is the essence of political interdependence? The United Kingdom view, based on centuries of parliamentary institutions, is that within the State the only basis for a happy society is one of live and let live, of tolerance and understanding, of political argument of course, but also of the feeling that there is sufficient national unity to see that that tolerance is not abused. I once heard it said that democracy only works well if 75 per cent of the people hold approximately the same views on 75 per cent of the issues of the day. All generalizations are dangerous, but I think there is an element of truth in this one. I believe that in my own country it is broadly correct and therefore our democracy works with reasonable tolerance and understanding between the various sections of the community.

48. What a revolution on world affairs it would be if we could get the same feeling of live and let live among the nations, a feeling not only held in theory but translated into practical measures! Therefore I want to try to deal in my speech with what can be done at the present time to promote this feeling and its practical applications.

49. First of all, there is the work of the United Nations itself. Under the Charter we are enjoined "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". In Article 1, which sets out the purposes of the United Nations, there appear these phrases familiar to many of you:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

"To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends."

50. That is the theory of interdependence. To what extent is it also the practice? We have to admit that to date the Security Council, except in one or two instances, has not been a success as an authority for enforcing international agreements or for dealing speedily with threats to the peace. The reason for this is not a fault in the United Nations, but the fact that the great Powers have failed to agree and that the veto has been repeatedly misused by one great Power.

51. The result has been not only a failure to get agreed solutions, but also it has proved impossible

for speedy action to be taken in critical situations. That is why in the situation in Lebanon and Jordan in the week beginning 14 July 1958 it was necessary for the United States and the United Kingdom, in response to requests from legitimate Governments, to take speedy action to preserve the independence of two small countries and so to win time for other action.

52. Our Organization is more successful when it is given time to reconcile different points of view in order to show the way to acceptable solutions. When there has been time for this process of reconciliation to work, the United Nations has proved well qualified and often very successful in producing acceptable solutions within the framework of the Charter.

53. Again in this context let us look at what has happened over Lebanon and Jordan. On 21 August 1958, at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, something happened which none of us, I think, suspected would happen: a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] was unanimously passed. That resolution seemed to recognize exactly the principle which I am seeking to advocate—the principle of the interdependence of the Arab countries of the Middle East, indeed of all the countries of the Middle East. That resolution propounded in admirable words the doctrine of "live and let live".

54. Following upon the resolution, the Secretary-General visited some of the countries concerned in the Middle East. I pay warm tribute to his disinterested and strenuous endeavours to promote a settlement as well as to his other work in this Organization. We shall shortly receive his report.^{2/} It will reveal the practical steps which he has inaugurated and which he has in mind. Our hope is that they will produce an atmosphere of peace and tolerance and so facilitate the withdrawal of British forces. It is our earnest desire that the good words of the resolution of 21 August 1958 should be translated into action.

55. We must, however, face facts. There is still a great deal to be done for that to happen. Jordan is at present a beleaguered country. The normal economic and commercial supply routes through Syria to Lebanon are not open. Not only is it not possible for oil products to be supplied along them, but the same applies to many needs of everyday life. The overflying of its territory by civil airplanes proceeding to Jordan is still forbidden by the United Arab Republic. These are matters of fact and not of interpretation. It seems to me impossible whilst this situation continues even to pretend that the resolution of 21 August is being carried out in the spirit in which it was put forward and accepted.

56. Then we come to the question of attacks upon the Jordan monarchy and Government from radio stations outside Jordanian territory. I have read some recent broadcasts, particularly one on 11 September and one on 16 September. I need only mention a phrase or two:

"I predict that Hammarskjöld's discussions and negotiations will fail...this means another solution has to be found...the fruits of the tree of freedom will not ripen unless the tree is irrigated by the blood of martyrs...the land of Jordan is thirsty and its soil asks for blood."

The broadcast ends with an appeal to wipe out the present régime in Jordan. There are scurrilous and vicious attacks upon the existing Government in Jordan, and throughout runs the theme of blood and incitement to murder and destruction. The broadcasts to which I have just been referring come from a radio operating from the Damascus area.

57. The continuance of this kind of activity seems to me to be completely inconsistent with the resolution of 21 August. I know that it takes time for action to be taken, but I hope that the Governments concerned are already taking decisions in the spirit of that resolution and that the promise of a good-neighbour policy towards Jordan will soon be fulfilled. We are anxious, I repeat, that the withdrawal of our troops should take place as speedily as possible and therefore we are anxious that the *détente* expressed in words on 21 August should be translated speedily into a *détente* in deeds dealing in particular with the matters to which I have just referred. We eagerly await the Secretary-General's report and signs of progress over these difficulties.

58. I have just been speaking of radio attacks by one country or from one country against the Government of another country. This is a matter which does not only affect Jordan. It is of much wider significance. I think it is one of the most important factors in promoting world tension at the present time. In our domestic law you can say what you like about people and their views provided you do not defame them and provided you do not incite to violence. A great deal of material broadcast over certain radios goes far beyond the expression of political views on international topics. It is personal defamation and direct incitement to bloodshed.

59. I will deliberately not give further examples. Nor do I say that only one group of countries has been guilty in this respect. What I do say is that the international community needs to make a fresh start in this matter and to accept a new code of conduct, a new standard, under which Governments will not permit either from publicly-controlled stations or from other stations on national territories the broadcast of material designed to incite to murder, to insurrection and to war. I hope that further thought will be given to this subject during this session of the Assembly.

60. I spoke earlier of the difficulty which faces the United Nations if immediate action is required in a crisis. I believe that we must seriously consider whether there are any ways in which the capacity of this Organization to deal rapidly with a critical situation can be improved.

61. One way which has been suggested, of which I know many delegations have been thinking, might be through the creation of a United Nations peace force, or stand-by force—not a fighting force, but one to operate as the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza strip is doing. I am sure no one will question the success of that Force and our gratitude to the countries which have supplied its contingents. Without doubt other problems will arise which it will be easier to tackle if some form of United Nations force could be made available. A United Nations peace force would not solve the problem of immediate action in a crisis. It would always take some time to organize. The decision to use it in a particular situation would

^{2/} Subsequently distributed as document A/3934/Rev.1.

have to be taken by the United Nations and its employment would depend upon the agreement of the countries concerned. Nevertheless, much could be done to reduce the time which the establishment of such a force would require, and the knowledge that it could be created at short notice might of itself have a stabilizing effect.

62. There have been many suggestions about the way in which such a force might be organized. I am inclined myself to think that it is not practicable to contemplate a force in permanent being. That would raise insuperable difficulties of cost and organization, location, married quarters, education of families and similar topics. I do not, however, see the same difficulty about the ear-marking by individual States of personnel who would be very quickly available; nor would it be difficult to establish a small planning section in the Secretariat which could work out in advance plans for dealing with the problems which would arise if a decision was taken to set up a force for a particular purpose, and obviously that advance planning would be very much helped if it was known what countries would be prepared to make personnel available and if that personnel was already ear-marked.

63. I am sure that the report which the Secretary-General is due to make on the experience gained from the operation of the United Nations Emergency Force will be a help and at this stage I do not wish to pre-judge the matter. Nevertheless, I would hope that some progress can be made along these lines. It is possible to sense, in the speeches made both at the third emergency special session and at the present session of the Assembly, that international public opinion by and large is ready for some initiative of this sort.

64. I wish now to deal with the topic of disarmament. That is another matter where the interdependence of the world is very obvious. The consequences of modern armaments are such that they affect peoples far away from the scene of actual hostilities. The cost of modern armaments is such that to build them up throughout the world means a diversion of physical effort and resources from more worth-while tasks. It is bound to affect the living standards of all. Therefore a start on controlled disarmament in which all the nations could have confidence would make the world both safer and richer. It would of itself produce a lessening of tension which would help the solution of other difficult problems.

65. At its twelfth session, the General Assembly paid deep and serious attention to this problem, and recommended, in resolution 1148 (XII), which was approved by 56 votes to 9, with 15 abstentions, the lines on which the Powers concerned should continue to negotiate. The resolution suggested the outline of a disarmament programme, and the United Kingdom Government and fifty-five others supported this outline as forming a reasonable basis for further negotiation towards a partial disarmament agreement which could be put into effect in the world as it is today.

66. That resolution has remained almost a dead letter. Indeed, the Disarmament Commission, to the improvement of the composition of which much attention was given at the twelfth session, has not even been able to meet, nor has its Sub-Committee.

67. The Assembly will be aware that this deplorable situation has in no way been the fault of the United Kingdom Government or of our friends and allies. We have been ready at all times to resume negotiations with the Soviet Union on the lines so clearly marked out by the Assembly at the twelfth session. As the

meeting of the Heads of Government of the North Atlantic Treaty Powers made clear in December 1957, only a month after the General Assembly approved resolution 1148 (XII), we were ready at any time to resume negotiations in the properly constituted United Nations bodies and to welcome suggestions from no matter what source provided they pointed to our goal of balanced, controllable disarmament.

68. But for nearly a year the Soviet Union has blocked the work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The Soviet Government can do this because it is relatively impervious to the feelings of public opinion. I do ask the Assembly to consider, however, what would have been the reaction throughout the world if a Western Government had behaved so obdurately and had declared such a boycott of the United Nations machinery, as did the Soviet Government after the twelfth session of the General Assembly. The fact is that no democratic Government would be allowed by its public opinion to act in such a way.

69. I feel justified in reminding the Assembly of this contrast in attitudes. But I do not wish to dwell on it. We have to deal with facts as they are, and recrimination is not a policy. Our policy is to go on trying, trying to seek agreement where we can and when we can, without insisting too much on questions of prestige or forms of procedure.

70. In the last few weeks this policy has paid a dividend which does much to redeem the otherwise bleak record of the year behind us. In May 1958 the Soviet Government yielded to an argument which the Western Governments had been pressing for many months without success—the argument that one practical way towards agreement would be to initiate expert studies of the practical matters involved in the control over disarmament measures, for without effective control there can be no effective disarmament. I make no apology for reminding the Assembly that I myself in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in July 1957, fourteen months ago, proposed, on behalf of the Western Powers, that experts should meet to study the control measures which might be necessary in connexion with a possible agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests. 3/I developed that proposal still further in my speech during the general debate in September 1957 [685th meeting], and it was the Soviet Government's acceptance of it in May 1958 which made possible the recent meeting in Geneva. 4/ For once East and West were able to meet in an atmosphere reasonably free from politics to discuss the technical aspects of a problem in the disarmament field. The United Kingdom Government welcomed the result of this conference as a most heartening success; and we at once sought to carry matters further.

71. The agreed conclusions reached at Geneva on 21 August 1958 enabled the United States and United Kingdom Governments to propose on 22 August that the Soviet Government should meet with us on 31 October to negotiate for an agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests with the actual establishment of an international control system as recommended by the experts.

3/ See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1957, document DC/112, annex 11.

4/ Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held at Geneva from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

72. As an earnest of our desire to make progress, we accompanied this proposal with an important statement on our side. If the Soviet Government were to accept these negotiations, we declared ourselves ready to refrain from nuclear testing for one year from the day the negotiations began, provided of course that the Soviet Government did not itself conduct tests in that year. Moreover, we undertook to extend this arrangement for further periods of one year on the condition that there should be progress towards setting up the controls and towards the execution of real measures of disarmament. I am confident that the Assembly will not underestimate the significance of these offers.

73. The Soviet Government has now agreed to these negotiations, and we have assented to their being held in Geneva. Assuming, then, that the negotiations take place as proposed, we shall in fact suspend our nuclear tests for one year from the date the negotiations begin. The Soviet Government has raised certain questions in connexion with the negotiations, and we have suggested that, if the Soviet Government is willing, these matters should be discussed at the conference itself.

74. But I can say—and I know I speak also for the Government of the United States in this matter—both our Governments will do all in their power to bring these negotiations to a successful conclusion. It is our hope that the negotiations beginning on 31 October 1958 will be the first step along the path towards controlled disarmament.

75. Another encouraging development is that the Soviet Government has recognized the need for technical discussion in another field, that of measures of inspection to reduce the possibility of surprise attacks. This also is something for which I appealed to the Assembly a year ago. If technical progress can be made on these measures, as it has been on the control of nuclear tests, then it should facilitate an agreement that could bring a real and invaluable increase of confidence in international relations; and this could in turn lead to other things. My Government greatly hopes, therefore, that the correspondence now proceeding between the United States and Soviet Governments on this subject will lead to a meeting of experts in the near future.

76. As a result of these various developments, we hope that the United Nations will itself be very soon able to resume fruitful work on disarmament through its own established machinery.

77. Meanwhile, there is one matter, with some bearing on disarmament, in which I believe progress is possible at this session of the General Assembly. I refer to measures designed to associate the United Nations directly in the solution of the problems which are now emerging from man's discoveries in outer space. At this session the Assembly has the opportunity to approach the whole problem from a different and perhaps more positive standpoint. My Government welcomes the initiative of the United States Government aimed at developing international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

78. We believe that this should be done now, while the space age is still in its infancy. Let us have no repetition of the delays and missed opportunities that have made the problems of nuclear energy so much more intractable. But we cannot act effectively without a

fuller knowledge of the problem; the peaceful uses of outer space are still largely undefined, and yet they clearly involve many interests, including those of several of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

79. We shall therefore support the United States proposal [A/3902] that, as a first step, the General Assembly should appoint an ad hoc committee to study and make recommendations. We hope that this undertaking can be kept apart from the disarmament problem and free from the international differences which beset that problem. If so, we are sure that this initiative can in time contribute to the general aim of strengthening peace.

80. I wish now to refer to some of the particular problems which are causing tension in the world and which may fall to be discussed during this session of the Assembly.

81. There is the question of Cyprus. There have been repeated debates about this problem in the past. I do not wish to say anything in my speech today which would make future debates more difficult or more acrimonious. The United Kingdom Government has tried very hard to find an acceptable final solution which would satisfy all concerned. We have made proposal after proposal. We have tried every form of diplomatic approach and negotiation. We have now put forward an interim plan to cover the next seven years, and I wish to tell the Assembly of the reasoning behind our new plan.

82. Three nations are concerned with the problem of Cyprus. First, the United Kingdom: the sovereignty of the island is now vested in us. It is our responsibility to safeguard the peace and well-being of the Cypriots. The island is important to us from a military point of view so that we should be able to fulfil our international obligations. A large majority of the population are Greek Cypriots. In addition to their cultural and religious leanings towards Greece, they aspire to union with Greece. Therefore, Greece has a strong interest in the island. Then there is Turkey. A considerable number of Turkish Cypriots live in the island, people who look to Turkey as their fatherland. The island is of great strategic importance to Turkey, covering its southern ports, and has had a long association with Turkey in the past.

83. It is a case, therefore—and this really cannot be disputed—of three countries having an interest in the problem. It is a tripartite problem. It seemed to us that the most constructive way to seek to make progress was for the three nations concerned to try to put into effect for the next seven years a plan taking account of that tripartite interest and, at the same time, making it possible for the peoples of Cyprus to make progress towards self-government. I will not go today into the details of the carefully balanced plan with its checks and balances which are well known to most of you.

84. It does not pretend to be a final solution. No one is asked to give up their ideas as to what the ultimate solution should be. What is more, I believe it to be the only way which will prevent continued violence in the island and enable harmony to be restored between the three countries and the two Cypriot communities and so open up some long-term prospect for the peoples of Cyprus. The policy is founded on the sound principles that each community should control its own

affairs and that the elected representatives of both communities should come together, in a body with a Greek majority, to run the affairs of the island as a whole. There are, of course, dangers in going ahead with our policy, but we are convinced after the most careful examination that they are not nearly as great as the dangers of wavering or of going back. We believe that the policy embodied in this interim plan is the best for all the people of Cyprus and that it offers the only escape from the deadlock of the past and the only hope for practical progress. It is an imaginative effort, in accordance with the spirit of our time, to make an interdependent approach to a difficult and contentious issue, and I commend it to you.

85. The topic of territorial waters and fishing rights will be raised in the Sixth Committee during the session. This is an even more striking example of a subject where the principle of interdependence should be recognized. Our attitude is that this is a matter which must be settled by international agreement, that unilateral seizure of areas of the high seas under the pretext of some unilateral national decision is quite out of tune with the spirit of the day. We regret very much our present dispute with Iceland. We have a long history of most cordial relations which we wish to restore as quickly as possible. Our difference is essentially a difference of opinion as to what Iceland is legally entitled to do. The United Kingdom, with other countries, believes that Iceland is acting illegally. Iceland maintains that it is acting legally. So I have this proposition to make. If the Icelandic Government is prepared to agree, let us submit the issue to the International Court of Justice. If the law is on Iceland's side, then it has nothing to fear from such a course.

86. In the meantime, I would repeat that the United Kingdom has always been and is still prepared to negotiate an agreement which would safeguard the future of the fisheries around Iceland and take account of Iceland's dependence on its fisheries. This would, of course, be without prejudice to the consideration on a world-wide basis of the questions of territorial waters and fishery limits at a second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The United Kingdom is also prepared to continue negotiations for an acceptable modus vivendi with Iceland pending the holding of such a conference.

87. We have made repeated efforts to get negotiations started, but so far without success. In brief, if the Icelandic Government bases its case for the extension of its fishery limits on its economic needs, we are prepared to negotiate an equitable solution; if it bases it on its right in international law, let us submit the issue to the International Court of Justice. I have no doubt that Iceland would loyally abide by the decision of the Court and so, of course, would we.

88. Another problem which has long been a source of instability is the continued division of Germany. It is surely a monstrous thing that, more than thirteen years after the end of the war, the German people are still divided, contrary to the heart-felt desire of the vast majority on both sides of the dividing line. I do not see how we can hope to achieve any lasting system of European security until this injustice has been removed. Unfortunately, the Soviet Government still refuses to recognize its responsibilities or accept the directive which the Soviet Government itself agreed to

at the Geneva meeting in July 1955.^{5/} We still maintain that the only practicable and just solution is to permit the German people freely to choose their own government by means of free, all-German elections, and to recognize the right of a freely elected all-German Government to choose its own domestic and foreign policies. Is it too much to hope that the Soviet Government will at long last recognize the justice of this claim and permit a solution to be found?

89. I now wish to say something about the situation in the Taiwan Strait. The Government of the United Kingdom supports the United States Government in its wish for a peaceful settlement. I hope that that wish is sincerely held by all. The crisis had been immediately precipitated by large-scale bombardment of Quemoy by Chinese Communist forces. We hope that this resort to force will be terminated and that the Chinese Nationalist authorities will also abstain from military activities. We welcome the fact that talks are taking place in Warsaw between the United States Government and that of the Chinese People's Republic. We have noted two very significant statements made on behalf of the United States with regard to these negotiations. President Eisenhower in his address to the American people on 12 September 1958 said:

"There are measures that can be taken to assure that these offshore islands will not be a thorn in the side of peace."

Mr. Dulles in his speech here on 18 September used these words:

"We seek a prompt cease-fire and equitable conditions that will eliminate provocations and leave for peaceful resolution the different claims and counter-claims that are involved." [749th meeting, para. 30.]

90. We welcome that conciliatory approach by the United States Government. We deprecate the violent and provocative language which is being used about the situation by spokesmen of the Chinese People's Republic and of the Soviet Union. In our approach to this situation we cannot forget how the parties have acted during the past ten years, or the great contribution which the people of the United States have made in the way of economic assistance to Western Europe and most other countries of the world. We remember their leadership over Korea and the tremendous sacrifices they have made to provide a framework of security within which nations can try to live their own lives free from the fear of aggression. We have not observed any similar effort on the part of those who now talk about American aggression in the Far East. However that may be, and whatever may be the juridical aspects of the current controversy, I believe that the whole international community should join in insisting that this matter should not be settled by force. We hope therefore most earnestly that there will be an immediate cessation of current military action and the determination to see that the Warsaw talks reach a satisfactory conclusion.

91. I have touched on some of the grave problems which still impede the realization of our objectives of world peace and world stability. I have tried to speak without rancour of British differences of opinion with

^{5/} Conference of Heads of Governments of the four great Powers.

other nations. I have not tried to minimize the difficulties surrounding these problems, but I have attempted to indicate the way in which, the approach by which, I believe we may surmount these difficulties. Never before have such material opportunities been open to mankind. Never before have the benefits of science come within the reach of so many. If we are to take these opportunities and enjoy the fruits of so much brilliant work by scientists and technicians, two things seem to me to be necessary. First, we must see that the moral stature of man matches these material opportunities and that the things of the spirit are not lost sight of. Secondly, we must seek a new political approach. I have tried in my speech to dwell upon this theme of interdependence. It means that, in pushing our individual claims and interests, we have to consider also the hopes and aspirations of other nations and of the international community as a whole. Without tolerance and mutual understanding the world will be an unhappy place for us and those to come after us. If, however, we can succeed in remembering that we are all members one of another, irrespective of race or creed, and if we can carry out in practice, each one of us, the noble professions of our lips, then indeed we can face our future with confidence and with hope.

92. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Jordan has asked to make a very brief statement at this point. This will not be his definitive statement in the general debate; it is a brief statement in connexion with one of the topics raised by the representative of the United Kingdom.

93. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me this short intervention. The delegation of Jordan hopes to be able to make its main statement on 30 September. It will try to deal in that statement with matters of special interest to Jordan. We hope that the report of the Secretary-General, ^{6/} requested in the resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly at its third emergency special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)], on the proposal of the Arab States, will be before the Assembly by then, so that my delegation will be able to discuss it at that time. However, the speech of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, which we have just heard, gives my delegation the opportunity to express some early views on behalf of the Jordanian Government regarding the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan.

94. Since the adoption of the resolution of 21 August 1958, the Jordanian Government has followed a policy of strict adherence to the principles laid down and reaffirmed in that resolution. We not only intended to honour our pledge and live up to our international responsibilities, but we also wanted to furnish further evidence, if such was ever needed, of our true nationalism and our correct Arab policy.

95. We now hope that the wrong done to Jordan by some of its neighbour Arab States will be removed by them very soon. An improvement in the attitude of these sister States and a normalization of their relations with Jordan will, no doubt, bring about a very early withdrawal of British troops from Jordan. Consultations along this line are already taking place between my Government and the Government of the United Kingdom.

96. Mr. COUVE DE MURVILLE (France) (translated from French): During the twelve years since the United Nations was founded it has become an established tradition to hold a general debate at the opening of each session of the General Assembly to enable each delegation to review the international situation, discuss the problems of special interest to it, make any suggestions it may wish to offer and in general make its contribution to the task of objective analysis which must be undertaken by an organization responsible for promoting peace and establishing friendly relations among peoples. It is natural that such a debate should be marked by concern with the national interests of the individual countries concerned and that passions should sometimes run high, with the result that on occasion things are said that would normally be left unsaid. Nevertheless as a rule a general pattern emerges and some conclusions can be drawn by a sufficiently impartial observer. Therein lies the main value of the debate, and also its disadvantage, for in the world in revolution in which we all of us live, subjects of concern and points of friction inevitably tend to push into the background the factors that might make for optimism.

97. This year again our session opens in the shadow of two major international crises, one in the Middle East and the other in the Far East, and at a time when little progress has been made towards the settlement of the great problems that face our Governments—whether the problems arising from the last war, among the first of which is, in my country's opinion, the tragic division of Europe, or the more general problem of disarmament. Thus once again there is in theory immense scope for action by the United Nations, if the Organization wishes to seek to fulfil the mission entrusted to it by the Charter and to satisfy the anxious expectations of the peoples.

98. It is true that one of the two crises I mentioned, that of the Middle East, now seems to be entering a phase of relative stabilization. A little over two months ago, after the landing of American forces in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan, at the request of the Governments concerned, it seemed that the peace of the world was imperilled by the great Power conflict which had once again crystallized in that area. Disturbing messages were sent, serious threats were made and all the chancelleries sought means of organizing discussions that would halt the course of events. It was in those circumstances that the General Assembly met only a few weeks ago in emergency special session, with the purpose of containing the threatened conflagration.

99. Now that a report is about to be submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General we can make an initial appraisal of what was done at that time and of the developments that may be expected. I am happy to say that, at least so far as the French delegation is concerned, this appraisal is relatively optimistic. It is optimistic because there is apparent a real tendency to deal with the problems as such, that is to say, to deal with them objectively as they arise, once outside interference has been eliminated. This was symbolically affirmed in August 1958 by the fact that the resolution then adopted [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] was proposed and submitted by the countries concerned, by the Arab countries. It was clear that if progress was

^{6/} Subsequently distributed as document A/3934/Rev.1.

to be made, it was necessary to isolate the two concrete problems, the Lebanese problem and the Jordanian problem, in which the crisis originated and which really existed in themselves. That was the only way of enabling the two countries concerned to settle their internal affairs and to decide their future for themselves.

100. That, it seems to me, is the task the Assembly entrusted to the Secretary-General in making available to him all the means, with the exception of military forces, which he might deem necessary to demonstrate—in the countries directly concerned and in the neighbouring countries—the will of the United Nations to establish conditions in which Lebanon and Jordan would have the possibility of freely choosing their own course, and thus to bring to an end a crisis which threatened the very existence of the latter State.

101. We are now awaiting with great interest and hope the report of the Secretary-General, whose tireless efforts have rightly earned our gratitude. We believe that subsequent developments will meet our expectations and will in particular lead to the early withdrawal of the forces which are still in Lebanon and Jordan and which, as we well know, neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of the United Kingdom wishes to keep there any longer than is absolutely essential.

102. We also know that when this difficult stage is passed, the problems of the Middle East will not suddenly disappear. Some of these problems do not concern our Organization; I refer to those that arise from the natural evolution of the countries of the region, to the extent that this evolution is peaceful and and no one wishes to resort directly or indirectly to aggressive methods. There are also relations and interference with the rest of the world, and the direct or indirect responsibilities of the countries known as the great Powers, all subjects which it seemed necessary to discuss in a special manner and which will eventually have to be settled, if the Middle East's prospects of peaceful development and economic advancement in genuine independence are not to be impaired.

103. No sooner had a measure of stabilization been achieved in the Middle East than a new crisis unexpectedly developed in another part of the world where the situation had been relatively calm for three years. The disquieting events in the Formosa Strait are cause for anxiety, if not alarm. Once again peace is jeopardized in the Far East.

104. France, for its part, has no commitments in the area. It is therefore absolutely free in its judgement of the present events and its only concern is that military situations which may have serious consequences should be brought to an end. In our opinion, resort to force is never a good way of settling political disputes and is the less justified if it may have consequences disproportionate to the objective sought. We therefore very sincerely hope that the talks which were initiated while certain military operations were in progress will result in an agreement that will, if not permit a substantive solution of the problem, at least establish a modus vivendi capable of eliminating any threat of war in the Far East.

105. If unfortunately the outcome of these talks should not be positive, it would be for the United

Nations to take cognizance of the dispute and attempt to bring it to an end in the spirit of the Charter.

106. The immediate dangers that must be averted should not blind us to the long-term problems which are the real cause of the concern and the dangers which arise as events develop. These problems, with which we are confronted in the Assembly every year and which are ever present outside these walls, are the fruit of the cold war, in other words of the division of the world and of the armaments race which is its consequence.

107. From time to time there is talk of convening a summit conference, not so much in the hope of solving these problems as for the purpose of reducing the tension to which they subject the whole world. Nearly a year ago, the idea was again mooted and at times it seemed possible to envisage an early decision. After many vicissitudes, the prospects again seem distant for the time being, firstly, because the two major international crises mentioned have diverted attention from less immediately pressing problems and, secondly, because there has been apparent very marked disagreement between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union with regard to the goals pursued.

108. It was clear from the outset that a solution, or even headway towards a solution of the political problems, would be very difficult to achieve; I am thinking in particular of the reunification of Germany, one of the most important of these problems, if only from the human point of view.

109. But there were other and more serious difficulties. As far as we were concerned—and by this I mean France—we would have been willing to resign ourselves to the fact that some problems could not be solved for the time being, to defer them until a more opportune moment and to concentrate our efforts on the points on which some agreement might have been reached. In this connexion we were thinking above all of disarmament.

110. The discussion—which was very soon interrupted—concerning the agenda unfortunately showed that on the Soviet side the approach was quite different. The USSR Government has clearly demonstrated that in its view what we consider to be problems that must be deferred if they cannot be solved corresponds in reality to a definitive situation which there can be no question of not accepting as such. The very purpose of a summit conference would thus be to sanction, formally or otherwise, a status quo which in fact is but the disastrous consequence of the notorious Yalta Conference and, by the same token, to sanction the division of the world which was the outcome of the Yalta Agreements.

111. In the field of disarmament, the same tendency was apparent from the start and has now been crystallized in the proposals submitted to the General Assembly. In all the texts there is evident the same concern not so much to settle problems as to secure a ratification of the political and military status quo.

112. In saying this I do not mean that it is possible to separate the problem of disarmament from political problems proper. Disarmament, like the armaments race preceding it, is not in itself a phenomenon, and it is clear that the more normal and expedient course, in order to make disarmament possible, would be to

begin by creating a climate of confidence and a feeling of security.

113. We have not succeeded in achieving this in the ten years and more during which our Organization has endeavoured to promote a general disarmament plan. At least the efforts that have been made show us, in a concrete manner, the technical possibilities and impossibilities in this matter. They keep alive the spirit of disarmament, in particular by making international public opinion aware of the appalling threat implicit in the very existence of the nuclear weapon. They make it permissible to hope that if, reversing the usual order of things, agreements were concluded on the subject of a general plan, the consequent relief would facilitate the settlement of those political problems which are still pending and thus bring about the genuine relaxation of tension which we all desire.

114. We must admit that the results so far achieved are meagre. An over-all plan prepared during the summer of 1957 by the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission was approved by the General Assembly at its twelfth session by a large majority, but was not accepted by one of the great Powers chiefly concerned, so that the deadlock persists. And now, since the attempt at a general settlement has failed, there is a trend towards a new approach and the consideration of limited agreements which would make some headway possible, despite the obstacles, and help to create a climate of confidence. Is this new trend to be welcomed?

115. My delegation has no preconceived ideas, other than that of facilitating any agreement which may seem valuable and likely to pave the way for future progress. Moreover, it is too strongly attached to the idea of disarmament itself to tackle the question in a spirit which might be considered even slightly negative. Nevertheless we are forced to admit that the suggestions before us are not satisfactory.

116. Disarmament is a complex problem. The consequences of each measure taken separately are different for each of the countries chiefly concerned, so that a concern for equilibrium must be a primary consideration if some are not to be favoured while others are put at a disadvantage. Moreover, the over-all view must never be lost to sight, if we wish disarmament to be a dynamic and continuing process, the end result of which will be increased security for all. One last condition is that the proposed measures should be genuine measures of disarmament and not simply create an appearance of disarmament.

117. It is in that spirit, in our opinion, that we should consider the proposals made to us. I shall not stop to consider one of those suggestions, which calls for a percentage reduction in the military budgets of certain States. Although justifiable in itself, a suggestion of that nature immediately raises problems of control and reopens the whole debate; it can only be studied by a body with a competence similar to that of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission.

118. For the rest, we have before us two categories of proposals: on the one hand, the creation of certain zones which would be specially controlled or where armaments would be reduced, on the other hand the prohibition of nuclear tests.

119. Proposals in the first category have been made very frequently in the past three years and have already been fairly thoroughly discussed. As far as we are concerned, there is no objection in principle, provided it is understood that the consequences are slight from the standpoint of disarmament proper, that they cannot be considered in isolation but only in relation to an over-all plan and as a step towards general measures, and finally that they should not favour some to the detriment of others. I shall add one further condition, namely that the proposals must tend to promote disarmament and not to prejudice political settlement under the guise of disarmament. From this last point of view, it is clear that any zone centred on the existing line of demarcation dividing Europe would be primarily political in its implications, in other words would tend to ratify the status quo.

120. From other points of view, moreover, it is clear that the control or demilitarization of a zone extending for, say, 800 kilometres on either side of this demarcation line would cover not only Germany and Poland, but also a substantial part of French and British territory, leaving the territory of the Soviet Union virtually untouched, an inequality of treatment that would in effect control or disarm the less powerful or less heavily armed, and leave the more powerfully and more heavily armed unaffected. We shall find the same tendency when we come to the question of nuclear tests.

121. At the present time conversations are in progress with a view to the organization of a technical conference on the question of the control of surprise attacks. France for its part will gladly co-operate. In our view the problem is that of considering practical means of controlling military movements of all kinds and defence and transport installations in a given area so that preparations for aggression can be detected in advance. This in no way prejudices the creation of a specific zone in a particular region. If an effective control system can in fact be devised, the ideal solution would in any case be to extend it to cover the whole world.

122. The problem of nuclear tests is infinitely more complex because it includes scientific, psychological and military factors which are at present inextricably confused.

123. One first point, and not the least important, is to find out how far the legitimate concern expressed in many countries, particularly in Japan, concerning the danger of atomic explosions to the human race, must be taken into account. In that connexion we now have before us the remarkable report [A/3838] prepared for us by the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. In so new a field it has not yet been possible to conduct the necessary research and observation over a sufficiently long period, nor to extend them to very many countries. The general conclusion which appears to emerge from the report, however, is that even if, as the popular saying has it, the watchword when in doubt should be "don't", the continuation of tests at the present rate—a rate which will probably not be maintained—creates no serious danger of an abnormal increase in radioactivity.

124. Another point is to ascertain how far it is possible to control a possible cessation of nuclear tests for military purposes. In that connexion, the technical con-

ference held this summer in Geneva^{2/} reached the conclusion that with sufficiently extensive and appropriately distributed facilities control would be possible.

125. The prohibition of nuclear experiments, which is not demanded by concern for human health, is accordingly a specific measure that could be put into practical effect. How does it fit in with a general disarmament plan? The French delegation has no hesitation on that point. Our country is second to none in its desire for disarmament, more particularly nuclear disarmament, because our experience of war and its effects has been only too long and too painful. We have no wish, unless we are obliged to it by concern for our own defence, to possess atomic weapons, and still less to find ourselves forced to use them. France is therefore prepared to subscribe to any serious and effective disarmament agreement and scrupulously to respect its application. But any such agreement must be based on a disarmament programme and that means, as has always been understood, a series of well defined measures, i.e., in addition to the cessation of tests, the cessation of manufacture and the progressive reconversion of stockpiles. We cannot see any other way of releasing the world from the constant threat of destruction which now overshadows it.

126. It is in this frame of mind that we shall consider any proposal made before the General Assembly or elsewhere. Any over-simplified solution would in our view be misleading, likely merely to conceal the real problems, and therefore unacceptable. If all the countries in the world today decided without further ado on a general prohibition of atomic tests, what would be the real consequences? Those who do not yet possess this devilish weapon would indeed prevent themselves from manufacturing it in the future. But the gain would be slight, as they represent a relatively weak military potential, if we omit one very great Power which is not a Member of the United Nations and which has never to our knowledge shown any intention of considering such a renunciation.

127. One other consequence would be that the nuclear bomb projectile still being the basic weapon of modern armed forces, all these countries would renounce their right to possess any true defensive weapons and would consequently be placing their defence wholly in the hands of the Nuclear Powers. The political consequences of such a move within the next five, ten or twenty years are obvious. A country like my own could not possibly consider such a step. And what would become of the United Nations itself?

128. On the other hand, the Powers now in possession of nuclear weapons which would, of course, undertake not to go on developing the armaments now in use, would not undertake to give up their manufacture. Not only would existing stocks not be destroyed—they would continue to grow.

129. Once again the status quo would be sanctioned. But the potential disarmament of certain Powers is not genuine disarmament. In this case, it would be all the more an illusion because the world would have lost the strongest incentive to nuclear disarmament, which now urges it on despite all difficulties. I am referring, (not to mention the wish of those in possession of the

weapon not to increase the number of atomic Powers), to the irresistible pressure of international public opinion. Public opinion is in fact only kept awake to the nuclear problem by the announcement of tests which periodically remind them of the gravity of the danger. Once the tests had ceased, there would be no more publicity, manufacture would continue in secret and there would be no further mention of disarmament. That is why the cessation of tests can only be conceived within the framework of effective nuclear disarmament. We shall not weary of repeating this, because the welfare of mankind is at stake.

130. It is in this spirit that we envisage the conversations to be held in Geneva in a few weeks between the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. The immediate purpose of this conference is to reach agreement between those three Powers to enable them, through the institution of an appropriate form of control, to give up their own experiments in the future. We should of course have nothing to say against such a tripartite agreement; but it would not in our view be of any real value unless it constituted a first step towards disarmament on the part of the three countries concerned. It would in fact be normal if the chief result of the meeting was a decision to go on forthwith to the study of the truly decisive stage, by which I mean a study of methods for controlling the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear materials for military purposes. In that case it would be possible to say that real progress had been made towards disarmament and France would therefore associate itself whole-heartedly and in a most positive spirit with such a study.

131. In any case, the steps taken in recent months, however debatable in some of their possible consequences (and in that connexion I think I have made myself quite clear), show some progress because they lay stress on the real obstacle to disarmament control. The establishment of control has been treated as a necessary preliminary condition, and that is a step in the right direction, in which we should continue.

132. Although economic questions account for a large proportion of the activities of our Organization, I shall confine myself here to a brief reference. From the point of view of the United Nations, as for each of our countries individually, the essential problem is that of assistance, particularly in the form of technical assistance, to countries which are not yet sufficiently developed. As far as we are concerned we shall continue the efforts we have already undertaken in this field through the United Nations and directly on our own initiative. Moreover we attach great importance—hence our strong advocacy of it in the past few years—to the establishment of an economic development fund. We are glad that this year will see the establishment of the Special Fund which, while not entirely fulfilling our early hopes, will make a valuable contribution.

133. The financial assistance given by the industrialized countries to the economic development of other nations would not be fully effective if those other nations continued to be affected by excessive fluctuations in the prices of raw materials. At the twenty-sixth session of the Economic and Social Council the French delegation took an active part in the discussion on the question of the stabilization of commodity prices. We hope that our Organization will succeed in developing machinery to prevent excessive fluctuations

^{2/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests.

in prices and we can but welcome the decisions recently taken to reconstitute the Commission on International Commodity Trade with wider terms of reference and a larger membership. ^{2/}

134. In this statement I have intentionally concentrated on a small number of particularly important questions, on which I thought that a clear statement of the French Government's views might be of value. There are many other items on the customary lengthy agenda before the General Assembly, to which my delegation attributes importance either in the political, economic, social or trusteeship fields. The French delegation will state its views on those subjects at the appropriate time. What I particularly want to say in conclusion is that it will do so in the spirit in which I have endeavoured to speak today.

135. These problems must above all be treated objectively. That, of course, does not exclude concern for national interests; but it does mean that we must not be guided by emotion, however human. In the past, and even now, the debates in the United Nations have often been swayed by emotion. Of course no one would dream of condemning emotion in itself. But it must achieve self-discipline.

136. It is only by consenting to make the effort that we shall succeed in holding useful debates and reaching genuine, that is, political settlements, of our problems. In other words, let us try to revive that spirit of good will, tolerance and human brotherhood in which the United Nations came into existence in the spring in California in 1945, before the hopes of the postwar period had been dissipated. If we cannot restore it, how can we discharge our essential duty, which is to promote peace between men and nations?

137. Mr. SEPULVEDA CONTRERAS (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Before beginning this brief statement, I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating the President on his election to this high office for the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

138. At this time when it is customary, both in our own countries and in the international community, to reaffirm our fundamental principles I find myself attending this session of the Assembly just after the completion by the Chilean people of a new stage in their uninterrupted democratic progress, in the shape of presidential elections which have been a model of public order.

139. By this act of democratic faith Chile has shown that it will not hesitate to give its fullest co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, which are so gravely threatened today throughout the world. We shall continue as before to exert all our endeavours to promote the greatest possible degree of economic development both in our own country and beyond its frontiers, and we shall spare no effort to bring to an end the state of under-development in which so large a part of the human race is living and which constitutes a major obstacle to the achievement of the essential purposes of our world Organization.

140. In this connexion I should especially like to draw your attention to one plan, viewed with approval by Chile, which is aimed at stimulating the much-needed

economic growth of the under-developed countries. I refer to the measures recommended by the Economic and Social Council at its twenty-sixth session held at Geneva, with a view to launching the Special Fund. We feel confident that Governments will respond to the resolution in question ^{2/} and that they will very soon be making statements on their contributions so that this well-conceived plan can take shape.

141. We must also stress the urgency of speeding up the process of ensuring the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms by all human beings, without distinction as to race, religion or political ideology. We are anxious to see improvements in the inter-governmental institutions responsible for co-ordinating the search for peaceful and constructive solutions to problems created by clashes of interest and conflicting ideologies.

142. In the American regional sphere, common historical traditions form a bond which unites us effectively in the face of our common problems. We are therefore concentrating our attention on material progress and a more effective pattern of coexistence as the most practical and useful contribution which we can make to the improvement of living conditions for all peoples. To enrich the collective patrimony of our territories to which all men of peace and good will are free to devote their mental and physical abilities, we are seeking to build up, on a foundation of ancient culture and civilization, new standards of social behaviour to take place of the inequalities which can give rise both to domestic and international conflicts.

143. I come from Washington where we American Foreign Ministers have been meeting to consider what joint measures would make the most effective contribution to solving the problem of economic under-development of so many of the peoples of our continent, and to continue our often rather dispersed efforts to find solutions to world problems. The admirable proposal made there by the Brazilian representative, Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, is in the best interests of the American peoples and of the entire world. The growth of the population, the use of vast untapped natural resources and the improvement of economic and social well-being, now inadequate and a cause of political instability, can all contribute to the restoration of normal criteria in international relations.

144. The United Nations Charter recognized that the best way of co-operating in the maintenance of peace was by the use of regional machinery. The inter-American regional system is a good example of the effectiveness of machinery of this kind. The experience we have had of the working and improvement of our own regional system encourages us to believe that the best way to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the coexistence of peoples is to rely in the first instance on the equal co-operation of States which have common traditions and origins and which are most immediately interested in the preservation of peace in their own economic and political spheres.

145. Nevertheless the search for peace through regional procedures in no way detracts from the powers of this Assembly as defined in the letter and the spirit of the Charter and in the "Uniting for peace" resolution passed at the fifth session of the General Assembly

^{2/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 691 A (XXVI).

^{2/} *Ibid.*, resolution 692 (XXVI).

[resolution 377 (V)]. It is not our purpose to weaken this world Organization; on the contrary we wish to keep it vigorous and alert and endowed with full authority, with all its organs becoming increasingly efficient. Accordingly Chile believes in and is determined to support the principle of equality of opportunity for all men and all nations and favours the full acceptance of individual and collective responsibilities based on a realistic acceptance of the existing inequalities in the strength of the States.

146. We realize that the new complexities of international life call for the use of new methods to prevent conflicts and maintain peace, and we attach the greatest importance to the use of the preventive measures laid down in the Charter. We also appreciate how important has been the personal contribution made by the Secretary-General, and I should like to pay a tribute to him on his recognized and proved abilities and on his skill in diplomacy. Nevertheless although satisfactory results have been achieved by the efforts made to deal with situations which were potentially very serious, we feel we must stress the fact that the measures taken have been no more than temporary expedients and that it is essential to use any respite to advance the solution of basic problems. This is the method used in our inter-American system, especially as the outcome of the Gondra Treaty signed at Santiago in 1923.^{10/}

147. This comment is not intended as a criticism of the work of the United Nations, but arises from the fear of the difficulties which may arise as a result of the transfer of the responsibilities of Member States to ad hoc machinery administered by the Secretary-General. It is the responsibility of the States themselves to seek a peaceful settlement of their differences by making use of regional machinery and of any other machinery set up by the Charter. We can readily understand the special circumstances which have led to the recent neglect of this responsibility.

148. The authority of a court would be gravely impaired if it failed to pass sentence for fear of giving offence to the parties. The same applies to United Nations organs if, for similar reasons, they fail to deal squarely with the substance of the questions brought before them and, for fear of aggravating the situation, deal only with the immediate consequences.

149. Although it seems likely that conflicts endangering international peace and security will continue to arise, we should not underestimate the success of the experiment of using the United Nations Emergency Force, and we should study carefully the possibility of providing the Organization with a permanent military force, as contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter although no such force has yet been set up.

150. Chile would certainly not oppose the creation of any effective means of maintaining or restoring peace and of ensuring the rule of law in disputes. We must, however, point out that the procedures so far adopted to provide the United Nations with an armed force have proved exceedingly burdensome to our countries. In present economic conditions we are unable to meet expenditure of this magnitude, and it would be preferable to consider how far such plans could be combined with a much broader plan for disarmament.

^{10/} Treaty to avoid or prevent conflicts between the American States.

151. I do not wish to enter into greater detail at the present stage but I think that better results would be achieved if the creation of a stand-by force went hand in hand with the limitation of armaments, since both of these are in fulfilment of the aims of the Charter.

152. The heavy burden of armaments diverts a large part of economic resources which should be used for the welfare of the population, for increased production and for an expanded programme of social progress. For countries whose economies are under-developed, a reduction in expenditure on armaments, on the basis of effective international machinery, would be a decisive step towards the elimination of frictions caused by competition in armaments and would provide better guarantees of real progress towards a peaceful and just future.

153. The Chilean record of democracy is a fine one, and Chile has always been true to its tradition of respect for and observance of human rights. It cannot therefore remain unmoved by the tragic situation of the Hungarian people. Notwithstanding the resolutions voted by the General Assembly, the armed intervention of a foreign Power in the internal affairs of Hungary continues, and its people are unable to decide on their own future by a free and spontaneous expression of the popular will.

154. My country is keenly interested in seeing more effective steps taken to solve one problem which particularly hampers the work of international reconciliation: that of the reunification of various States which are still divided as a result of the cold war. The long-standing and close economic and cultural relations between the Chilean and German peoples make us particularly sensitive to the need to bring about the unification of the great German nation. Let us hope that the endeavours and political vision of the Powers which bear the primary responsibility for world peace, will lead to the restoration of the German, Korean and Viet-Nameese peoples as nations unified by historical tradition and common interests.

155. An important item on the agenda of the present Assembly is the calling of a second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to continue the study of certain important questions on which no decision was reached at the first Conference held in Geneva from 24 February to 29 April 1958.

156. Chile has taken a strong stand in favour of the recognition of the preferential rights of coastal States to take measures for the conservation of their maritime wealth, for it believes that this is the only possible basis for arriving at a harmonious solution to problems affecting the sea. These rights have already been recognized to an extent which goes some way towards meeting the wishes of the coastal States, although progress had not been sufficient to solve the problems arising from the special circumstances of some countries. This is borne out by recent serious incidents, which are the logical outcome of this state of affairs. Further progress is needed in order to avoid a situation in which principles solidly based on considerations affecting the preservation of maritime resources can be used as a pretext for attitudes wholly governed by political objectives, which cannot be acceptable to Chile.

157. I should like to make special reference to the offer made by my Government in 1955 to turn over to

the United Nations, free of charge, a park at Santiago in which buildings could be erected to house the offices of the United Nations and of those specialized agencies which have branches in my country. We are confident that, in the course of the present series of meetings, the General Assembly will decide to approve detailed plans for the realization of this project together with general arrangements for financing it.

158. It would, I think, be inappropriate to comment now on all the other items of the agenda in which my country is interested. My aim has merely been to give a general outline of my country's attitude to questions of major

importance in these grave hours and to certain other matters which are of particular interest to us.

159. I offer this thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Chile's full support in the examination of all the items on the agenda both as a participant in collective action on the regional plane in the Americas and also in its individual capacity. Mankind is so appalled by the fearful consequences of a possible war that it implores its statesmen to spare no effort of will and deed to maintain peace and concord.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.