

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**  
**TENTH SESSION**  
*Official Records*



**518th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 22 September 1955,  
 at 10.30 a.m.

**New York**

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**President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**Opening of the general debate**

**SPEECHES BY MR. DE FREITAS VALLE (BRAZIL), MR. DULLES (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA), THE REVEREND BENJAMÍN NÚÑEZ (COSTA RICA), MR. FAWZI (EGYPT) AND MR. DÍAZ ORDOÑEZ (DOMINICAN REPUBLIC)**

1. Mr. de FREITAS VALLE (Brazil) (*translated from Spanish*): May I be allowed to come to this rostrum to present my respectful compliments to my friend, the President of the General Assembly, a distinguished statesman of Chile, a country which I have just left and for which I have the greatest admiration.

*The speaker continued in English.*

2. Brazil has always addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations with faith and frankness. Once again we are together in this hall, this time at a moment when new horizons seem to be dawning before our eyes, and the whole of mankind longs to be freed from the sombre threat that haunts its path. The anniversary celebrations of San Francisco, where disagreements lost their edge, were followed by the four-Power conference "at the summit" in Geneva, where the virtues of frankness were stressed. Now, as a result of that most welcome meeting, the Secretary of State of the United States of America and the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union will shortly join their efforts to face with courage and determination the problems that still keep them apart. Peace cannot be brought about *à coups de miracles*, as Mr. Spaak has said with his usual insight. If, however, the answers to the problems to be examined in Geneva should not suffice to bring to light the miracle of peace, they will at least restore the confidence of the world in the days to come.

3. It is a fact that the old-timers of the United Nations can never forget that many difficulties have been successfully solved within the framework of the Organization. It is enough to recall the outstanding record of the Security Council in London, where within one single month many issues of major importance were settled. It is enough to bear in mind the critical situations dealt with by the General Assembly with firmness and wisdom, particularly in the years 1947, 1949, 1950 and

1951. And I am mentioning but a few examples. Hence it would not be out of place to deplore the fact that it should have befallen our Organization to be somewhat by-passed in the last few years. Nevertheless, we welcome what has been successfully accomplished outside these halls, and we crave for more.

4. The Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, convened as a consequence of the momentous initiative taken before the General Assembly by the President of the United States of America [470th meeting], provides the most recent evidence of the merits of making ample use of our Organization. That Conference made abundantly clear not only the benefits that mankind will derive from atomic power but also the apocalyptic threat that hangs over humanity if the force of the atom be diverted towards destruction. We saw scientists from 70 countries — some of them closely connected with the forging of atomic weapons — working hand in hand, exchanging relevant information freely and openly on the benefits that may come to the world from this epoch-making discovery. This is highly comforting and has a touch of chivalry seldom seen in the international relations of our time.

5. But ten years ago, the fervent hopes of men and women — emerging from the horrors of the war — were focused on the United Nations. May Almighty God permit that this Organization of ours be enabled to pursue unhampered its endeavour towards securing a just and lasting peace.

6. I am inclined to believe that the world will never regain its balance unless the security of Europe is assured. This inevitably leads us to the problem of the unification of Germany. It is not merely a question of giving to the German people — whose qualities we all acknowledge — what is their due. We must also give Germany its full share of responsibility in the maintenance of peace. The continuance of the present division of Germany cannot but be detrimental to the much desired political and economic stabilization of Europe. This unhappy state of affairs is also bound to keep alive a dangerous potential source of unrest. We trust that the unification of that nation, coupled with a comprehensive world disarmament programme embracing the great Powers, would only discourage any aggressive spirit that still may linger in Germany.

7. Now that the tension in international affairs is on the wane, we can more clearly discern controversies that beset relations between peoples and nations alike. I refer to the so-called colonial question. Almost all the American nations achieved their independence through insurrection, and to this day they derive pride and strength from their valiant struggles and feats of arms. It is only natural, therefore, that their sympathies flow to those who are demanding independence. This sentiment, however, springs from the heart and should not overcast the mind. May I recall, gentlemen, the words of Napoleon: "*Le cœur d'un homme d'Etat doit être dans sa tête*".

8. Thus it would appear that the role of the United Nations is to avoid premature actions which, once adopted, may one day be sorrowfully regretted. Real independence is the fruit of the natural growth of political institutions, founded on a sound economic and social structure. Let the people mature and their institutions develop fully. Then independence will be a blessing; otherwise it will be just a dangerous illusion.

9. The political maturity of the countries represented at the Bandung Conference was emphasized by the very fact that, while firmly stating their position on many controversial issues, they took into account the realities of the international situation and the problems that the necessity to coexist creates for every nation.

10. In the Far East, we are gratified to note that the efforts of the Secretary-General towards the liberation of the United Nations airmen so arbitrarily detained by the Government of Peiping have met with success. To Mr. Hammarskjöld goes our gratitude. The United Nations is fortunate indeed to have as its principal official a statesman whose great ability is matched only by his modesty.

11. I know of no other problem so vital for the United Nations as that of the admission of new Members. The deadlock, that might have been broken long ago, deprives the Organization of that universality which should be one of its characteristics if Article 4 of the Charter is to be properly observed. If the new spirit of understanding and mutual concessions could be made to prevail among all the members of the Security Council, I trust that many States would be recommended to the General Assembly for admission to the United Nations.

12. The delegation of Brazil suggested in San Francisco in 1945 that the United Nations Charter might be reviewed automatically every five years and that no veto should apply.<sup>1</sup> Although not adopted at the time, our proposal was to a certain extent met by Article 109, which directed the General Assembly to consider, ten years thereafter, whether it was advisable or not to hold a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. It would appear, however, that the international scene today did not warrant much hope that enough support would be forthcoming for the text that might result from such revision to ensure its approval. This applies not only to its adoption in terms of votes, but also to the more protracted process of ratification. This being the case, while acknowledging the desirability of reviewing the Charter, it would be wiser, in the opinion of the Brazilian delegation, to take now a decision in favour of holding that conference, referring to the next session of the Assembly the task of setting a definite date for it. To our mind this would render it possible for Member States, then guided by a stronger spirit of harmony, profitably to review those provisions of the Charter which, in the light of experience, have proved unsatisfactory.

13. In the field of human rights, Brazil had not the opportunity to participate more actively in the drafting of the proposed covenants, as it was not represented in the bodies which undertook this task. My Government would, however, like to point out that any transformation of such covenants into radical and whimsically idealistic declarations ought to be avoided. It is only too clear that the very States which have traditionally upheld those same fundamental rights will be prevented from subscribing to declarations of this kind.

14. Before closing my remarks, may I be allowed to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the need for a greater effort to correct the tremendous disparity in economic levels amongst the various regions of the world. This is, as a matter of fact, one of the essential purposes of our Organization. We cannot ask, of course, that all countries be equally wealthy. But countries like my own, whose main source of income stems from the production of basic commodities, are affected not only by fluctuations of supply and demand, but also by the rising production of similar goods in colonial territories, the output whereof has been increasing partially by virtue of financial aid granted for the benefit of the colonial Powers themselves. As a matter of course, the standards of living in colonial territories determine a cost of production which brings the price of commodities to a level so low as to impair the competitive ability of traditional producers. It is urgent that through technical assistance and appropriate financial machinery we strive for the elimination of the economic and social grievances that affect the harmonious relations between peoples.

15. Before I leave this rostrum, I beg to inform the General Assembly that the Government of Brazil has decided to receive those prisoners of the Korean war still in the custody of the Indian authorities, subject to the fulfilment of minimum immigration requirements and their willingness to live among our people.

16. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): It is always a great pleasure for me to return to this Assembly, this centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. My pleasure today is especial, for not only will this session round out a decade of United Nations effort, but also there are welcome signs that the second decade may in fact be more harmonious than was the first. Surely we can say that it is within our power to make it so.

17. We can express such sentiments with confidence because we see that the nations are becoming more and more sensitive to the moral verdicts of this Organization. This Assembly is a hall of understanding, and thus of hope. It is also a hall of judgment. Here the nations of the world expound, explain and defend their international policies. In the process, national purposes are disclosed and oftentimes altered to meet the opinions that are reflected here. Sometimes true purposes are sought to be concealed. But this Assembly has a way of getting at the truth. The perceptions and the moral judgments of the nations meeting here endow this Assembly with genuine power. No nation lightly risks the Assembly's moral condemnation, with all that that condemnation implies.

18. This fact that our Organization's power derives largely from moral judgments formed here illuminates the problem of membership. It shows how essential it is that there should be here all of those eligible nations which, by their policies and conduct, have demonstrated their devotion to the purposes and principles of our Charter.

19. Today we have a wide and important membership. But about a score of sovereign nations are not represented here. Many of them meet the membership tests of our Charter. They are peace-loving and they have shown themselves able and willing to carry out the Charter's obligations. Their Governments would reflect here important segments of world opinion. To block the admission of such nations by use of the veto power is a grave wrong not only to them; it is also a wrong to this Organization itself and to all its Members.

<sup>1</sup> See United Nations Conference on International Organization, G/7 (e) (3).

20. I hope that during this tenth session action will be taken by the Security Council and by this Assembly to bring these nations into our membership. Thus the United Nations would enter its second decade better equipped to serve mankind.

21. This tenth session must deal with the question of a Charter review conference. That is mandatory under the Charter.

22. The United States believes that such a review conference should be held. One impelling reason would be to reconsider the present veto power in relation to the admission of new Members, particularly if that veto power should continue to be abused. Also, epochal developments in the atomic and disarmament fields may make it desirable to give this Organization greater authority in these matters. These matters are vital to survival itself. We recall that, when the Charter was drafted, none of us knew of the awesome possibilities of atomic warfare. Our Charter is a pre-atomic-age Charter.

23. Our founders believed that, after ten years, the Charter should be reviewed in the light of that first decade of experience. I believe that they were right. That does not necessarily mean that drastic changes should be made. On the whole, the Charter has proved to be a flexible and workable instrument. But few would contend that it is a perfect instrument, not susceptible to improvement.

24. Therefore the United States believes that this session should approve, in principle, the convening of a Charter review conference and establish a preparatory commission to prepare and submit recommendations relating to the date, place, organization and procedures of that general review conference.

25. Let me turn now to review some of the events which have occurred since December 1954, when the ninth session of the General Assembly adjourned. On balance, these developments have contributed notably to the advancement of our Charter goals of international peace and security, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. I shall not try to cover the whole field, but allude only to those where United States policy has played a part, usually in partnership with others.

26. Turning first to Europe, we see that the Federal Republic of Germany has become a free and sovereign State by treaties concluded with it by France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Concurrently, the Federal Republic joined the Brussels and North Atlantic Treaties.

27. Also, at that time, the Brussels Treaty was itself made over so that, in combination with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, there was developed an effective system of limitation, control and integration of armed forces, the like of which the world has never seen before. This system ensures against the use of national force in the Western European area for aggressive and nationalistic purposes. The arrangements provide security, not only for the participants, but also for the non-participants. They end the conditions which have made Western Europe a source of recurrent wars, the last two of which developed into world wars, endangering all. Never before have collective security and individual self-restraint been so resourcefully and so widely combined. The result can be hailed as a triumph by all who truly believe in the dual principle of our Charter, that security

is a collective task, and that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest".

28. As a sequence to these developments regarding Germany, Austria became free. The Austrian State Treaty, which had been pending for eight years, was signed on 15 May 1955, and now is in effect. Thus are finally fulfilled pledges given by the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943 and hopes which this General Assembly expressed at its seventh session [*resolution 613 (VII)*]. In passing it should be noted that the Austrian State Treaty, bearing the Soviet Union's signature, contemplates support for Austria's admission to the United Nations.

29. Quickly following these German and Austrian developments came new efforts by France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States to reduce the danger of war and to solve outstanding differences by negotiation.

30. In May 1955, the three Western Powers proposed what they called a two-stage effort. The first stage was to be a meeting of the heads of Government themselves to provide a new impetus for a second stage, which would be that of detailed examination of the substance of the problems.

31. The first phase of the programme occurred at Geneva in July 1955, when the four heads of Government met. There they clearly manifested their common desire for peace and better relations. Specifically, they agreed that further efforts should be made in three fields: first, European security and Germany; secondly, disarmament; and thirdly, development of contacts between East and West.

32. Now we enter on the agreed second stage, where the spirit of Geneva will be tested. A United Nations sub-committee is already discussing the Geneva ideas about disarmament. Next month, the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States will meet at Geneva. The Western Powers will associate with themselves, where appropriate, the Federal Republic of Germany and their other partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

33. At this coming meeting, agreed priority will be given to the closely linked problem of the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security. This is as it should be.

34. The German people have now been forcibly divided for over ten years. The perpetuation of this division is a crime against nature.

35. Three-quarters of the Germans are in the Federal Republic, and they are fortunate in having a great leader, Chancellor Adenauer. He stands for a united Germany that will be peaceful and that will find its mission in friendly co-operation with its neighbours. He is determined that Germany's legitimate needs for security and sovereign equality shall be met without a revival of German militarism. It would, however, be a tragic mistake to assume that because most of the Germans now have chosen that enlightened viewpoint, the injustice of dividing Germany can be perpetuated without grave risk.

36. There are many nations which feel that their own future security and world peace urgently require that Germany should be reunited, and enabled, if it so desires, to become a party to the Western European arrangements for limitation, control and integration of armed forces, so that they can never serve an aggressive purpose. There are others which profess to feel that a united

Germany within NATO would endanger them even under these conditions.

37. To bridge this difference, the Western Powers are ready to advance some over-all plan of European security which would give the Soviet Union substantial additional reassurances. The conjunction of this attitude of the Western Powers with the like mood on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany provides an unprecedented opportunity.

38. But the German mood which I describe may not always persist. Also, it cannot be assumed that the Western Powers, including the United States, will always be ready to enlarge their present commitments to meet Soviet concern about European security.

39. The present opportunity is so unusual and so full of constructive possibilities that it can be hoped that the forthcoming four-Power meeting of Foreign Ministers will find a solid basis for the reunification of Germany within a framework of European security.

40. At the Geneva "summit" meeting, President Eisenhower mentioned two causes of international tension which were not accepted for inclusion in the agenda of the Conference.

41. The first was "the problem of respecting the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live". As to this, President Eisenhower said that "the American people feel strongly that certain peoples of Eastern Europe, many with a long and proud record of national existence, have not yet been given the benefit of this pledge of our United Nations war-time declaration, reinforced by other war-time agreements".

42. President Eisenhower also raised the problem of international communism. He said that for 38 years this problem had disturbed relations between other nations and the Soviet Union. It is, indeed, difficult to develop honestly cordial relations between Governments, when one is seeking by subversion to destroy the other.

43. The head of the Soviet Government took the position that these problems were not a proper subject of discussion at the Geneva Conference. Nevertheless, the eyes of much of the world will remain focused upon these two problems. What, in fact, the Soviet Union does about them will, to many, be a barometer of the Soviet's real intentions.

44. If the spirit of Geneva is genuine and not spurious, if it is to be permanent and not fleeting, it will lead to a liquidation of abnormal extensions of national power, which crush the spirit of national independence, and to the ending of political offensives aimed at subverting free governments.

45. Turning now from Europe to this hemisphere of the Americas, we find the Organization of American States continuing to demonstrate how the purposes and principles of the United Nations can be effectuated through regional arrangements for collective self-defence. The organization's general meetings have promoted political understanding and economic and social co-operation. On three occasions within the last 15 months — in relation to Guatemala, to Costa Rica, and now in relation to the Ecuador-Peru boundary dispute — the organization has acted promptly and effectively to maintain international order. Its activities in this field have been fully reported to the Security Council, as required by our Charter.

46. In the Near East, we see a situation which remains troubled. It has been difficult to assure the sanctity of

the armistice lines established in 1948 under the auspices of the United Nations to end the fighting between Israelis and Arabs. The United States desires to pay a high tribute to those who, during these troubled days, have been serving the United Nations, particularly to General Burns of Canada and his associates.

47. On 26 August 1955, I addressed myself to certain fundamental aspects of this situation. I said that if the parties desired a stable settlement, they could, I thought, be helped from without. I had in mind financial assistance in relation to the problem of Arab refugees, and in relation to irrigation projects which would enable the people throughout the area to enjoy a better life. I also spoke of the importance of bringing greater security to the area. I said that if nations from without the area made clear their readiness to contribute to these three essential aspects of a settlement, it might then be more possible to bring order, tranquillity and well-being to the area itself.

48. President Eisenhower authorized me to say, as I did, that he would recommend participation by the United States in these monetary and security commitments if this were desired by the Governments directly concerned, on the assumption that action, wherever feasible, should be on an international basis, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations.

49. The United Kingdom immediately associated itself with these United States suggestions. A number of other countries have also indicated their support.

50. If there is a favourable response from the Near Eastern countries, many aspects of this problem would eventually come to the United Nations for consideration at some future session.

51. Turning now to the Far East, we see that the fabric of peace has been strengthened by the coming into force of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. An organizational meeting of the Treaty Council was held at Bangkok towards the end of February 1955 at the ministerial level.

52. This security arrangement is unique. It marks the first time that any considerable number of countries have banded together in Eastern Asia for collective self-defence. There are eight parties to the Treaty which, in addition, applies to Cambodia, Laos and free Viet-Nam. Also, the arrangement draws together Western and Asian countries. This would have been impossible had we not all firmly committed ourselves to the principle of political independence and self-determination. This commitment is found both in the preamble to the Treaty and in the concurrent Pacific Charter, which reflects the aspirations of men everywhere to be free.

53. The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty does not envisage the establishment of a combined military organization comparable to that which has grown up under the North Atlantic Treaty. The conditions in the area do not readily lend themselves to the creation of a treaty force, in being and in place. Primary reliance is placed on the agreement of the eight signatories to treat any armed aggression in the treaty area as a common danger to each party, calling for action on its part. That pledge will, we believe, work powerfully to deter aggression.

54. In the China area, the situation is somewhat less ominous than it was. We hope that the "Chinese People's Republic" will respond to the manifest will of the world community that armed force should not be used to achieve national objectives.



55. The record of this communist régime has been an evil one. It fought the United Nations in Korea, for which it stands branded here as an aggressor. It took over Tibet by armed force. It became allied with the communist Viet-Minh in their effort to take over Indo-China by force. Then, following the Indo-China armistice, it turned its military attention to the Taiwan (Formosa) area. It threatened to take this area by force, and began active military assaults on its approaches, which assaults, it claimed, were a first step in its new programme of military conquest.

56. This constituted a major challenge to principles to which the United States is committed under our Charter. It was also a direct and special challenge to the United States itself. We have a distinctive relationship to these islands, a relationship which is reinforced by a Mutual Defence Treaty with the Republic of China covering Taiwan and Penghu (Pescadores).

57. At this point, on 24 January 1955, President Eisenhower asked the Congress of the United States for authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the defence of Taiwan and Penghu and related areas which the President might judge as appropriate to that defence. After full hearings in the House and the Senate of the United States, the requested authority was granted. In the House the vote was 409 to 3, and in the Senate the vote was 85 to 3. The authority thus granted terminates whenever the peace and security of the area are reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise.

58. I am convinced that this timely warning, given with solid, virtually unanimous, national concurrence, served to prevent what could have been a dangerous miscalculation on the part of the Chinese Communists.

59. Thereafter, the Bandung Conference was held. There again, the peace-loving nations — many of them Members of this Organization — made clear to the Chinese Communists their adherence to our Charter principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat of force.

60. From the site of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai proposed direct discussions with the United States, a proposal which I promptly indicated was acceptable to the United States so long as we dealt only with matters of concern to the two of us, not involving the rights of third parties. That reservation applied particularly, so far as the United States was concerned, to the Republic of China, to which we are loyal as to a long-time friend and ally.

61. Shortly thereafter, the Chinese Communists released four — and, later, 11 — of the United States fliers of the United Nations Command whom they had been holding in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. This release, you will recall, had been sought by resolution of this General Assembly adopted in December 1954 [*resolution 906 (IX)*]. That outcome justified the confidence which the United States had placed in the United Nations and our restraint in the use or threat of our own national power.

62. Some fifteen months ago, the United States had started talks with the "Chinese People's Republic" at Geneva with regard to getting our civilians home. As a result of the Bandung statement made by Mr. Chou En-lai and my reply, these talks were resumed in August 1955, to deal first with the topic of freeing civilians for return, and then with other practical matters of direct concern to the two of us.

63. All Chinese in the United States who desire to return to their homeland are free to do so. They have always been free to do so except for a few who were temporarily prevented by restrictions arising out of the Korean war. The "Chinese People's Republic" has now declared that all Americans on the Chinese mainland have the right to return and will be enabled expeditiously to exercise that right.

64. For the favourable trend of events to which I refer, the United States thanks the Secretary-General for having worked so assiduously to bring about the release of United States fliers of the United Nations Command. Various Governments and other individuals were helpful in this and other matters.

65. The will of the world community may have operated to avert another war, the scope of which could not surely be limited.

66. Last year, from this rostrum, I spoke of the peaceful uses of atomic energy [*475th meeting*]. We had gone through a period of disappointing negotiations to secure the participation of the Soviet Union in the programme presented to the General Assembly by President Eisenhower on 8 December 1953 [*470th meeting*]. In the face of a negative Soviet attitude, we had resolved nevertheless to go ahead.

67. In September 1954 I mentioned four activities which we promised to commence immediately. Since that time we have made good progress in each of these fields.

68. The negotiations for the establishment of an international atomic energy agency have led to the preparation of a draft statute establishing such an agency. An International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held with outstanding success last month at Geneva. This Conference was so successful that the United States will again propose a similar conference to be held in three years, or earlier, if the increasing development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy so warrants. The first reactor training course at our Argonne National Laboratory is nearing completion, and an enlarged course is about to begin. Distinguished doctors and surgeons from other countries are visiting our hospitals and research establishments where atomic energy is used for the cure of cancer and other diseases.

69. The Soviet Union is now taking a more co-operative attitude, and we gladly note the recent offer of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Bulganin, to set aside fissionable material for the work of the proposed international agency when it comes into existence.

70. Much has happened, we see, to give reality to the vista of hope which President Eisenhower portrayed when he spoke to our eighth session.

71. The United States also plans to propose at this session the establishment of an international technical body on the effects of atomic radiation upon human health. It would be composed of qualified scientists who would collate and give wide distribution to radiological information furnished by Member States of the United Nations, or by specialized agencies. The United States is itself giving much study to this matter. We believe that properly safeguarded nuclear testing and the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy do not threaten human health or life. But this is a subject of such transcendent concern that we believe that all available data should be sought out and pooled under United Nations auspices.

72. On 21 July 1955, at the "summit" Conference in Geneva, the President of the United States took still another major initiative. Dealing with disarmament, and addressing himself for the moment principally to the representatives of the Soviet Union, he proposed that, as a beginning, each of our two nations should provide the other with information as to its military establishments and with facilities for unrestricted aerial reconnaissance of its territory.

73. The logic of this proposal is simple and clear. Major aggression is unlikely unless the aggressor can have the advantage of surprise and can hope to strike a blow which will be devastating, because it will be unexpected. But the preparation of an attack of such magnitude could hardly be concealed from aerial inspection. Aerial inspection would not, of course, detect everything; we do not think of it as a final and comprehensive answer to the whole problem of inspection. But aerial inspection would detect enough to exclude the greatest risk, and because it would do that, it would open the way to further steps towards inspection and disarmament which we all — and I emphatically include the United States — wish to see taken.

74. Long experience in these matters has made it apparent that when there is a sense of insecurity, when there is an ominous unknown, then arms seem needed and the limitation of armaments becomes virtually unattainable. Reductions of armament occur when fear is dissipated, when knowledge replaces exaggerated speculation and when, in consequence, arms seem less needed.

75. It was, I believe, immediately sensed by all that if the United States were to permit Soviet overflights of its territory, and if the Soviet Union agreed to permit the United States overflights of its territory, that would go far to show that neither had aggressive intentions against the other. Then, as President Eisenhower pointed out in his plea at Geneva, it would be easier to move on to a comprehensive, scientific system of inspection and disarmament.

76. The essence of the President's proposal was that it would, as a beginning, do what is required of a beginning; namely, make it more possible to take subsequent steps.

77. I hope that the sentiment of this General Assembly will make clear that this beginning should be made as simply as may be and as quickly as may be. From such a beginning can come — and, I am profoundly convinced, will come — solid advance towards our Charter goal of reducing the "diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources". Then we can look forward realistically to fulfilling the desire close to the hearts of all our peoples — a desire voiced by President Eisenhower at the commemorative meetings of the United Nations in San Francisco — that more of this earth's resources should be used for truly constructive purposes, which would benefit particularly the underdeveloped areas of the world.

78. It was ten years ago last month that the fighting stopped in the Second World War. We have lived through the subsequent decade without another world war. That is something for which we should be profoundly thankful. But true peace has not been enjoyed. There have been limited wars; free nations have been subverted and taken over; there has been the piling up of armaments, and there have been the rigidities of position which are imposed upon those who regard each other as potential fighting enemies. That phase may now

be ending. I believe that all four of the heads of Government who met at Geneva desired that result, and that each contributed to it. In consequence, a new spirit does indeed prevail, with greater flexibility and less brittleness in international relations.

79. There are some who find it interesting to speculate as to which nations gained and which lost from this development. My answer is that if the "spirit of Geneva" is to be permanent, then all the world must be the gainer. The "summit" Conference, if it is to be historic rather than episodic, must usher in an era of peaceful change.

80. It will not be an era of placidity and stagnancy in the sense that the *status quo*, with all its manifold injustices, will be accepted as permanent. It will be an era of change, and it will have its strains and its stresses. But peoples and Governments will renounce the use of war and subversion to achieve their goals. They will accept orderly evolution towards the realization of legitimate national aspirations. They will develop wider economic intercourse among themselves. They will increasingly respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and human effort will be dedicated to what is creative and benign. And our United Nations, too, will change. For, given goodwill and mutual confidence, many provisions of our Charter will gain new meaning and new vitality.

81. So let us strive together to bring these things to pass, so that when this Assembly meets at its twentieth session it will look back upon the decade which now begins and call it "the healing decade of true peace".

82. The Reverend Benjamin NUNEZ (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the people of Costa Rica, who have recently been obliged to take up arms in defence of their fine democratic tradition, and of a Government sworn to promote greater social welfare within the framework of deep respect for human freedom, I have the honour to present fraternal greetings to all the peoples and Governments represented in this Assembly, which we hope will be a memorable one.

83. On behalf of the people and Government of Costa Rica, I present cordial greetings to the President of the tenth session of the General Assembly, Mr. José Maza, whose constant devotion in the service of high ideals has been unanimously rewarded by the representatives of the 60 Member States of the United Nations, who at the same time rendered homage to the noble Chilean nation, that outstanding bulwark of democracy and social progress in Latin America.

84. On behalf of the people and Government of Costa Rica, I present greetings to the Secretary-General, with our applause for the work which he is so energetically and wisely performing as the chief executive officer of the United Nations whose duty it is to act upon the resolutions of the Member States. This greeting and this expression of gratitude is extended to each and every member of the Secretariat. By their unremitting and selfless toil they have deserved well of mankind.

85. This General Assembly is even more important on account of the atmosphere in which its debates will be carried on than on account of its agenda: that atmosphere is one of growing concern, mutual confidence and firm hope.

86. It is an atmosphere of growing concern owing to the oppressive uncertainty in the minds of the peoples as to the goals towards which their leaders may guide them. Will they be goals of destruction, death and barbarism, or of an active peace in which life can flourish

and the human personality develop to the full? Will they be sought along the path of endless privation which the peoples have been suffering through the centuries in consequence of flagrant injustices, or along those of the better use of the riches of the earth, and their devotion to the full satisfaction of man's needs? Will they be sought along the paths of enslavement of the human person to the despotic will of those who hold the reins of power, or through the sincere and effective recognition of human freedom and of the principle that authority derives from the free consent of peoples? It is a reply to these questions that history is awaiting both from the United Nations and from the leaders of each Member State. That is what the men, women and children of the whole world are awaiting, with anxious eyes.

87. It is an atmosphere of mutual confidence, because of the new spirit happily prevailing, particularly in those countries which, by reason of their enormous economic and military resources, bear the heaviest responsibility for satisfying the aspirations of the peoples. Distrust between nations as between persons, constant suspicions between men, tormenting doubt as to the underlying sincerity of treaties or declarations, have all hampered the progress of humanity because they have hardened men's minds and paralysed constructive action. Only a spirit of mutual confidence can put the peoples on the road to the achievement of their destinies. It is precisely this spirit with which the international atmosphere in which we are meeting today is imbued. On behalf of a small country, I must express my gratitude to those who in a gesture of generous understanding have decided to remove the obstacles to the free circulation of life through the arteries of mankind.

88. It is an atmosphere of stronger hope because the world has glimpsed infinite prospects of increased well-being. It is the hope that mankind will at last achieve its destiny. This hope cannot and must not be disappointed.

89. It should be put on record that this atmosphere has been produced precisely by the existence of the United Nations. This Organization was set up as an earnest of the promises made to the peoples and as the agent to complete the task for which mankind had already sacrificed so much. In it different currents of human thought and national experience have met together, sometimes in conflict, sometimes neutralizing one another, sometimes merging together in a common stream.

90. The last session of the General Assembly may well be considered as the dawn of a new era. As a result of its debates, certain resolutions were adopted on subjects on which agreement had not previously been obtained. Those resolutions set the course towards a better world.

91. As the representative of a people whose Constitution has abolished the army, I should like to refer first to the unanimously adopted resolution on disarmament programmes and the control of atomic energy [*resolution 808 A (IX)*]. The nations showed clearly that they were weary of the armaments race, and, as an unprecedented feature of increased mutual confidence, unanimously agreed to procedures for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments. It is true that the implementation of this great resolution has proved difficult, but the important point is that the nations cannot now change the course which they set for history with this noble gesture so fraught with hope for mankind.

92. Secondly, there was the almost unanimous approval of resolutions to ensure the economic development of industrially under-developed countries [*resolutions 822 (IX), 823 (IX) and 824 (IX)*], to establish a world food reserve [*resolution 827 (IX)*] and to promote land reform in those parts of the world where the distribution of land was impeding its use in the service of man [*resolution 826 (IX)*]. The trend was towards building up a system of international solidarity in which countries both rich and poor, industrialized nations and those with limited means, joined together to settle the problems of material existence for all the peoples of the world, as a prelude to great achievements of the spirit. The United Nations thus affirmed its conviction that extreme poverty in any area endangers the peace of the whole world; that there is a close relationship between the satisfaction of basic human needs and the strengthening of universal collective security and the maintenance of human freedom.

93. Thirdly, and as it were deriving from the previous resolutions, it was resolved that the great resources of atomic energy should be pressed into the service of civilization. When the General Assembly decided to convene the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy [*resolution 810 B (IX)*], the world realized that the United Nations was taking seriously the intention to disarm and the duty of seeking the welfare of peoples.

94. Fourthly, there was the highly significant General Assembly resolution deciding that more time and importance should be given at this session to the discussion of the International Covenants on Human Rights [*resolution 833 (IX)*]. The ending of war and the filling of mankind's store-cupboards was not enough. That was merely the necessary prelude to a statement of the dignity of the human person and of communities. It was therefore felt that the consideration and approval of legal instruments affirming the rights of the human person and setting forth the fundamental right of self-determination of peoples should be expedited.

95. For all these reasons, it may well be said that the ninth session of the General Assembly was the dawn following a stormy night of resentments, mistrust and even hatred, and introducing a new era for a better world.

96. Once this atmosphere had been achieved, the logical consequence was the meetings at Bandung, San Francisco and twice at Geneva.

97. The African and Asian peoples who met at Bandung by that very act confirmed their entrance on the stage of history not merely as spectators but as actors, determined to give to their peoples a worthy economic, social and political life. Different views have perhaps been taken of the Bandung Conference. To a Latin American, it brings back nostalgic memories of Bolivar's dream when he gathered together the newly liberated peoples of Latin America at the Congress of Panama to enable them to decide their own destiny and define their responsibilities. And Latin Americans can only wish for the African and Asian peoples that the Conference of Bandung may be not only a symbol of their historical emergence, but a fact of infinite importance. It should be pointed out that the Bandung Conference gave its full support to the United Nations despite the fact that many of the participants are not yet Members of the Organization. It is therefore only reasonable that we should open our doors to these peoples,



who are looking to the United Nations as the true home of civilized humanity.

98. When the first atomic bomb fell in a torrent of destruction upon one people of the earth, the leader of a great nation said that so great a destructive force should have been placed only in the hands of angels. Now, when, only a month ago, the representatives of the 70 nations met in Geneva to plan ways of using atomic energy for human welfare, it could well be said that men, accepting the challenge of Heaven, were preparing in all humility to imitate the angels in spiritual excellence, and to use for the benefit of the inhabitants of the earth that great power which has so terrorized the human race. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held at Geneva, opened the true atomic age which was to be one not of death or annihilation, but of life and light. For the small peoples such as that which I represent here, a debt of gratitude has been created towards the powerful nations which are the masters of atomic energy, because they decided to draw aside the veil which shrouded those great conquests of science and to offer them without haggling or suspicion, to spread health, to multiply bread, to light up the world and to promote progress.

99. It is true that a conscious effort was made by the organizers of the conference held at San Francisco to commemorate the foundation of the United Nations, and by the participants in that conference, to avoid any subject which might have aroused controversy or animosity. But it is no less true that the conference was held in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding because such was the will of the peoples represented there, who wanted that atmosphere. Controversial subjects were avoided because everyone hoped that the conference would contribute in no small degree to the development of a different attitude in man, so that in future there might be no more controversial subjects, but only common problems to be settled by friendly effort on all sides.

100. This new attitude of mind was displayed to the world when the leaders of the peoples met in Geneva round the same conference table. We must not forget the names of those who, casting aside the heavy load of resentment and risking misunderstanding, gave the world grounds for hope and affirmed that war was not the only means of settling disputes between nations.

101. All these events, inspired directly or indirectly by the United Nations, have come to convince the world that there is no alternative to peace. War is being relegated to the past. War must be outlawed. The acceptance of the possibility of war is in itself an insult to the human intelligence. The only alternative which men are prepared to accept is peace, with all its vast responsibilities.

102. But this peace cannot be just any kind of peace. Both its name and its essence are of infinite majesty, and not to be smirched by those who are trying to establish not a peace of life and harmony, but a peace of death and fear. The peace which the world must choose is that which flourishes on the achievement of social justice, the full exercise of human freedom and the splendid revelation of truth.

103. This peace, based on social justice, implies in many cases a generous change in the existing economic order; it will everywhere demand a daring, sincere and effective effort to obtain decent living conditions for all human beings as the condition of their full spiritual

development. It calls for a joint assumption of responsibility by rich and poor peoples alike; it demands recognition of the right of all peoples to use their national resources and wealth within the framework of international economic co-operation.

104. This peace, based on the full exercise of human freedom, calls for self-government and self-determination of the peoples of the world who have proved their capacity to stand alone as independent sovereign nations. It demands that where a people has proved in the past its ability to exist as an independent nation, it shall have that sacred right restored to it. It demands that peoples shall be able to express themselves freely and choose for themselves, in open discussion, the type of political organization they want and the statesmen they prefer. It demands an end to the farce of governments which declare themselves the holders of mandates from the people, when they are in fact imposed by force from inside or by the overthrow of national dignity by some external power.

105. This peace must be founded on the untrammelled expression of truth and human thought. It cannot, therefore, be established where the citizen is persecuted for expressing his thoughts, for submitting to that searching of the spirit in the quest for truth which has always been the great incentive to the human soul. This peace requires free communication between human beings and the unrestricted circulation of information, and it must also recognize the right of human thought to soar spontaneously towards the achievement of the reign of truth.

106. This peace demands that when we speak of the free world, we shall consider as part of it only those governments which champion freedom and which at the same time allow their citizens to enjoy freedom; that when we speak of the free world we consider it free only in so far as it devotes itself to the achievement of social justice, the zealous exercise of human freedom and the triumph of truth.

107. The United Nations is showing the world the path to such a peace. Its purposes are identified with that reality, and the constant activities of its organs and its staff are directed towards this end.

108. The United Nations has had the wisdom to accept as co-workers in this immense task the regional organizations set up by nations united by ties of culture and by the common problems confronting their peoples. One of the foremost among these is the Organization of American States, entrusted by the inhabitants of our continent with the task of enforcing the rule of law as the standard of conduct in the relations between American States, strengthening democracy and raising standards of living and education, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. Twice this year the Organization has proved its capacity to act speedily and effectively, enforcing law where the peaceful relations between sister nations were threatened by violence. Costa Rica, as the first beneficiary, is deeply grateful for this achievement.

109. Still in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with the purposes of the Organization of American States, the Central American nations have produced their own systems of closer co-operation, and set up the Organization of Central American States. In that area, the United Nations had already, through its Technical Assistance Administration, given particular attention to promoting and directing the project for the



economic integration of Central America. We may hope that the action of this Central American regional organization, strengthened by the help afforded it by all the nations of the world in the form of technical assistance, will ensure a better life for the inhabitants of that region.

110. We do not believe that the existence of regional organizations will weaken the world structure of the United Nations. Relations between the organizations and the definition of their respective spheres of action should be governed by the principle of hierarchical solidarity, in the sense that the lesser organization should be allowed to achieve the purposes which lie within its capabilities, and that only when the achievement of those purposes is beyond its means should the larger organization intervene. This grading of functions and responsibilities will have the wholesome effect of contributing to human well-being.

111. Now that it has been in existence for ten years, it is desirable that the United Nations should review its achievements. In so doing, it would be as well to review the Charter and make any changes which past experience may have revealed as necessary, which new circumstances have shown to be desirable or which the aspirations of mankind demand. We should take advantage of the foresight of the founders of the United Nations and convene a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.

112. I should like to echo the sentiments of the distinguished representative of an Asian country, and repeat that what matters at this time is not so much a review of statutes as a review of minds. There is a feeling among religious peoples that some mention should be made in the Charter of the name of God. It is to be hoped that, when the Charter is reviewed, this wish will be remembered. But what is more important than the mere mention of the name of God is that there should be a determination to direct the work of the United Nations, and the efforts of all of us who work for the achievement of its purposes, to the development of a deep sense of responsibility which can measure and judge human actions in accordance with the holy and inviolable principles of God's law.

113. On one of the walls surrounding the United Nations, visitors may read the biblical text: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; . . . neither shall they learn war any more." On the occasion of the opening of this tenth session of the General Assembly, let us once again dedicate our minds to this ideal.

114. Mr. FAWZI (Egypt): For the first time in years — eight years or more — the General Assembly convenes in an atmosphere marked by a definite undertone of hope for world peace. Among the antagonisms, fears, suspicions, intrigues, encroachments and clashes which are upsetting the existence of the world community of nations, we discern that hope.

115. The permanent members of the Security Council, whose unanimity was taken for granted and, in fact, was considered to be the corner-stone of the United Nations — but whose quarrels, instead, have been badly shaking the world — are presently endeavouring to restore at least a *modus vivendi* among them, a *modus vivendi* which would give more of a chance to peace and less of a chance to war. Our prayers and our whole-hearted support accompany these and all related endeavours.

116. We shall be looking forward anxiously to a new era of co-operation in the spirit of the Charter, not only among the permanent members of the Security Council but, equally, among all the Members of the United Nations, all the nations of the earth. Such co-operation, based on the freedom, the dignity and the worth of human beings, would exclude the threat and the use of force for the settlement of international disputes and would firmly establish the rule of law in international relations. For the alternative, one need only look at the haggard face of the world in which we live today: confusion and uncertainty all round; a mad armaments race; an Asia and an Africa heavily studded with fires, either ranging or potential; and a Europe spangled with many acute and explosive problems.

117. Foremost among the sources of the troubles of our present-day world is an unhappy trinity: die-hard colonialism, contempt for human rights, and the dangerous rivalry between the two big blocs — one centring around Moscow, and the other around Washington.

118. This ominous rivalry has been a constant source of worry to everyone since the time it took shape and became increasingly active — almost immediately after the end of the Second World War and the signing of the United Nations Charter. It would be idle, however, to spend time and effort in determining who is responsible — or relatively more responsible — for this rivalry, and in pinning the blame for it on one or the other country, or on any group of countries in particular. What we are especially concerned with are the results which have already followed and which are likely to follow in the wake of that rivalry.

119. It is true that we do not wish — nor does the United Nations Charter wish — that there should be agreement between these two big blocs at the expense or to the detriment of the rest of the world. It is also true that we do not wish to see another partition of the world among two or more Powers, like those of times gone by; or a new, twentieth-century edition of the nineteenth-century partition of Africa among several big Powers; or any more of those scandalous war-time deals and horse-trading, in which the pawns were whole peoples and whole countries. Yet we do not cherish the sight of much of the world already being dragged into and enrolled in the membership of one or other of the two blocs, each of which is feverishly busy trying to draw into its orbit the countries which remain uninvolved in the struggle, which are keen on making their own decisions and safeguarding their own ways of life, and which sincerely believe that certain relationships inevitably spell disaster for the weaker partner and mean a loss of freedom and the recurrence of foreign domination.

120. Parallel to this — and, wittingly or unwittingly, conspiring with it — is die-hard colonialism, which does not want to be aware that its time has passed and that it must either get out or be kicked out. Unfortunately for all concerned, wisdom does not always prevail in this respect, and the result is that strife, bitterness and hatred often get the better of co-operation, harmony and love between the many millions of human beings involved. By contrast, it is fortunate that the history of our times records several great and wise decisions in this regard — most notably those relating to India, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and to the former Italian colonies. We wish to trust that similar decisions will soon be taken regarding the non-self-governing coun-

tries in North Africa, whose people cannot be made to forget the countless promises made to them during and after the war and must not be denied their natural right to self-determination and independence.

121. One might say that France has, in this connexion, been giving some signs of its awareness of modern times. But one feels impelled in truth to state simultaneously that that is still a far cry from matching the avalanche-like momentum already gained by the urge for freedom all over the world and the determination of all men no longer to be slaves. It is good that France is moving forward; it is bad that it is so slow.

122. One steadfast and great friend of France was reported to have been sought out recently by France's Premier to talk about "the nightmarish problem faced by France in North Africa". He listened courteously for a while, and then horrified the French Premier by asking a question: "But why do you not just free all your colonies?"

123. Indeed, why do not all colonial Powers free all their colonies? Can any mass of pretexts, can any legalistic formulae obliterate, in the false brilliance of their spuriousness, the divine right of man to be free? I am, obviously, speaking here of and against all types of foreign domination, in whatever form or under whatever guise — be it in North Africa or West Irian, be it in whatever place, east or west or north or south. We wish to believe that this was the real intent of the resolution which the Senate of the United States of America adopted on 14 July 1955, the day before President Eisenhower left for the Geneva meeting. This important resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas millions of people in Europe and Asia are living in subjection to a totalitarian imperialism; and

"Whereas the domination of free peoples by an aggressive despotism increases the threat against the security of all remaining free peoples, including our own; and

"Whereas the people of the United States cherish a heritage and tradition of freedom and self-determination; and

"Whereas it is appropriate that the Congress give expression to the desires and hopes of the people of the United States:

"Therefore be it resolved

"That the Senate proclaim the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of alien despotisms shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain peace; that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that the sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them all in accordance with the pledge of the Atlantic Charter."

124. The Bandung Conference expressed itself in more universal and more explicit terms when, in its unanimity, and speaking for nearly two-thirds of the world's population, it adopted the following resolutions, which I take leave to put on record here:

"The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation.

"The Conference was agreed:

"(a) In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations was an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

"(b) In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

"(c) In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and

"(d) In calling upon the Powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

"In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa, and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay."

125. The wound of North Africa continued, however, to go from bad to worse, the infection spread and deepened, until the whole ugly thing began nastily to smell and to scream more than it had ever done before. Conspicuous among the news that we had the misfortune to read in this regard was that which appeared on 24 June 1955, in which mention was made in a matter-of-fact way that some members of the great North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is plausibly considered by many to be the most powerful alliance which has ever existed, had given priority to France to obtain helicopters for combating the Algerians and had thus given expression to the solidarity among the members of that organization.

126. A fine solidarity, that, among the members of the mighty North Atlantic Treaty Organization! Solidarity for what? For the maintenance of colonialism and tyranny. And against what? Against the effort of the Algerians to regain their freedom. It was felt at the time that more disgraceful news could not be read anywhere or at any time. But even that modest hope was to be disappointed, and for some time now we have been reading of French armed forces belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization being fully equipped and, in their hundreds of thousands, rushed to North Africa to accomplish the inglorious but luckily impossible feat of nipping its freedom in the bud. No wonder that some, even of the usually wide-throated capitals, found this a hard pill to swallow.

127. Then followed the letter addressed to Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the United States of America, by Mr. Robert Murphy, United States Deputy Under-Secretary of State, in which he wrote:

"In the absence of Secretary Dulles from the Department, your letter 19 August 1955 has been referred to me. Your letter states your conviction that, in making helicopters available to the Government of France for use in Algeria, the United States Government contradicts its own public statements of policy concerning our friendship for the peoples of the under-developed countries . . .

"... As your letter indicates, the decision to make helicopters of American manufacture available involves grave and difficult problems."

Mr. Murphy furthermore expressed the view that the NATO forces diverted to North Africa should be returned to Europe as soon as possible, and he added:

"I share your belief in the importance of the United States attitude towards the aspirations of dependent peoples."

128. I should like here to recall that, in dealing with human rights and self-determination, the Asian-African Conference expressed itself in the following terms:

"The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

"The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights."

129. This sacred right of peoples and nations to self-determination was readily and fully taken note of by Egypt when, on 12 February 1953, it concluded with the United Kingdom the Agreement on the Sudan, in which it expressed its firm belief in the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination and the effective exercise thereof at the proper time and with the necessary safeguards. Egypt is doing and will continue to do everything it can to ensure for the Sudanese people, in pursuance of the Agreement, the proper atmosphere for expressing their wishes in full freedom, and it will not tolerate, condone or acquiesce in any interference with this freedom of expression.

130. In the light of this, and of the principles and ideals in which we profoundly believe, we feel both impelled and entitled to expect and insist that all the nations of the world be not denied the exercise of the right to self-determination, and that co-operation supersede domination whenever and wherever the choice has to be made between these two types of international relationships.

131. This applies in a particular way to the painful, backward and inhuman situations which prevail in the continent of Africa. No less than for all other subjugated peoples of the world, we claim for the non-self-governing peoples of Africa a recognition — actual, speedy and to the best interests of all without exception — of their right to self-determination.

132. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was perfectly right when, in his report to the present session of the General Assembly, he wrote:

"... too little attention has been given to planning and study that may help the international community to meet the emerging problems of the continent of Africa in a spirit consonant with the aims of the Charter" [A/2911, p. xiii].

133. While speaking of self-determination and of human rights, one cannot but think of the Arab people of Palestine. With the same unanimity, the same deep conviction and the same straightforwardness with which the Conference of Bandung expressed itself on all other questions relating to the freedoms and the dignity of men, the Conference declared its support of the rights of this ancient and noble nation.

134. The motley hordes of invaders who came from many parts and formed the spearhead of world political Zionism thrust against the heart of the Arabs are still on the loose, defying both decency and law and, even until yesterday, have occupied still more lands and more positions to which they have no title whatsoever. This is their usual pattern of complete contempt and disdain for everything and everybody, United Nations and all. We never had, nor do we have now, any aggressive intentions against anyone; but we have not the slightest intention, either, to submit to aggression by anyone.

135. We who are Arabs who live in the Middle East and who see at closer range blood gushing until now from the heart of the Arab nation of Palestine, are firmly standing by the full and actual recognition of the rights of this nation; and we derive comfort and added courage in this respect from the rapidly swelling numbers of the righteous and the wise who rally to the standard of justice and decency, and whose eyes are no longer blinkered by the invaders' insidious propaganda.

136. The Arabs of Palestine shall not for much longer submit either to living in the part of their country which is still occupied by the invaders and thus falling victims to discrimination and to genocide, or otherwise to living outside their homes in unfathomable suffering and humiliation and at best being asked to sell their souls and the dearest things to them in life for a few pieces of silver and to carry their own cross to their doom. In truth, if our generation is not to be stamped with everlasting shame, the Arabs of Palestine must live again in dignity and in the enjoyment of human rights. No amount of clever and deceptive eloquence, no process of mental prestidigitation, no acrobatics of argumentation, no manoeuvres, no temptations and no threats — none of all this — can hide the stark reality about Palestine, or deflect us from our unflinching resolve to see that justice, unequivocal and undiluted justice, be done by its lawful people. We merely want that the Arab people of Palestine be given their rights. No more; but no less.

137. Among the most serious breaches of the Charter figure conspicuously the extremes to which the protagonists of race discrimination have gone. The resolution adopted in this connexion by the Bandung Conference reads as follows:

"The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which formed the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man."

"The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustained their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged itself to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it."

138. I have referred already in my present statement to some of the unfortunate results which have followed upon the constant differences between the two big blocs. I ask leave to mention some of the other results which



have followed upon these differences. The shutting until today of the door of the United Nations in the face of 21 applicants, practically all of whom are worthy of membership in this Organization, is a regrettable matter to the extreme, and has obviously nothing to do with the stipulations and the spirit of the Charter, but has everything to do with manoeuvring for position.

139. In connexion with this question of membership in the United Nations, Egypt particularly regrets the denial of this membership to its Arab sister States, Jordan and Libya; and it earnestly hopes that soon not only these States but also all other worthy applicants will be admitted to membership and allowed scope for making the great contributions which undoubtedly they will be able to make and which are direly needed for the work and the revitalizing of this Organization.

140. The same thing may be said about the control of armaments stipulated for in Article 26 of the Charter and the application of the provisions of Article 43 and other related Articles of the Charter. We also earnestly hope that all the other obstacles and the rivalries which beset the road to putting the Charter fully into effect will soon be removed. This would be infinitely better and would be looked upon as a more serious and more responsible action than trying to amend the Charter without having gone even a reasonable part of the way towards the application of its excellent Articles and stipulations.

141. It will be a festive day indeed when, in connexion with such vital matters as membership, control of armaments and agreement on forces to be put at the disposal of the United Nations, the stipulations of the Charter which we already have are put into force. It will be an equally festive day when nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons are prohibited and the new and great sources of energy exclusively used for peaceful purposes, when the bulk of weapons of mass destruction are effectively brought under control, and when co-operation in the economic and cultural fields is better guided and more intensified. All this would be more on the positive and constructive side of international life, more like the Charter of the United Nations, than running after amendments and embellishments. For our part, we would much rather have a living Charter which is not amended than even an amended Charter which is not living.

142. After more than ten years from the day the Charter and the United Nations saw the light, we have yet in real deeds and not in mere words — I am quoting from the preamble of the Charter — “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”. I would have been spared the necessity of saying much of what I have said today were they honoured, were they put into effect.

143. May the coming years see us all better inspired and more resolved, and blessed throughout them with a good harvest, a copious harvest of worthy deeds.

144. Mr. DIAZ ORDONEZ (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): Five years ago I had the honour to address the fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, when I was head of the delegation of my country, the Dominican Republic. Since then, I have not taken any personal part in the interesting debates of this distinguished international institution, and it is only indirectly, through the Foreign Ministry of my country, that I have been able to follow

from a distance the difficult, complicated and laborious progress of this Organization, upon which humanity gazes with anxious and fearful faith.

145. On returning to this solemn gathering, entering once again this great laboratory of international political thought, where noble and courageous ideas are struggling to make righteousness prevail, to ensure the certainty of moral and material peace, and to achieve lasting and permanent security, it is only natural that I should draw a comparison between the United Nations of yesterday — since everything that lives has its yesterday, its today and possibly its tomorrow — and the United Nations of today.

146. We must all recognize the merits of the tremendous work which has been accomplished during the last five years by the United Nations. Its dynamic nature has proliferated in more and more activities; its indefatigable enterprise has created new agencies, its efforts have spread to ever wider horizons. For all these things this honourable institution deserves the gratitude and applause of the nations of the world; but activity, initiative and effort are all the more praiseworthy in proportion as they attain the goals which they set out to attain.

147. The greatest brains of our time in the political, economic and scientific world have contributed the best of their intelligence to bringing about the success of the immense project inaugurated by the Charter of the United Nations, which was signed in San Francisco a little more than ten years ago. No other attempt ever made to solve the vital problems of nations was begun with more determination, or was aided by better men and a more united goodwill than this one. Consequently, if the United Nations is still far from achieving what was and continues to be its supreme aspiration, this is not because it has lacked the co-operation of the best minds, or because its servants, with true devotion to duty, have been grudging of their valour, resolution and loyalty.

148. It is possible that the underlying cause of the situation to which I refer is rooted in the very document which served as a birth certificate for the United Nations. I refer to the Charter signed at San Francisco.

149. The founders of the United Nations, that is, those who signed the Charter in 1945, were honest enough to foresee that their work could be improved on, since no work of man is endowed with absolute and lasting perfection. It was for this reason that among the provisions of Chapter XVIII of the Charter, under the heading “Amendments”, they included Article 109. And in obedience to this wise display of foresight, the General Assembly, on 27 November 1953, at its eight session, adopted its resolution 796 (VIII), requesting the Secretary-General to prepare certain documentation for the purpose of facilitating, during the tenth regular session of the General Assembly, the consideration of the question of calling a general conference for the aforementioned purpose.

150. And for this reason also, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, addressed his note of 25 July 1955 [A/2919] to the Member States, drawing their attention to paragraph 3 of Article 109 of the Charter and informing them that the provisional agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly would include an item entitled “Proposal to call a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter”. The Secretary-General concluded by listing

in this note the documentation which he had prepared in conformity with resolution 796 (VIII).

151. No matter how serious — as they most certainly are — certain other subjects before the tenth session of the General Assembly may be considered, there is no item that demands more immediate attention than this one, because no other item is of such importance to the world and to the very existence of the United Nations itself. We are all aware that this subject touches a sensitive spot. We are all aware that the four simple words "review of the Charter" produce a hostile reaction in certain quarters. But it is necessary that I refer to this subject, because although the United Nations has done a great deal of work and achieved some positive results during the past five years, it is no less certain that, with respect to the fair, logical and scientific revision of its Charter, it has made absolutely no progress since 1945 and its movements have remained frozen like those of a paralytic, while the waters of time have flowed onward in their course throughout a whole decade.

152. On the other hand, when the founders of the United Nations — including the "Big Five" — signed the Charter, they thereby confirmed the complete validity of all its texts, including, naturally, Article 109. Consequently the signing of that Charter, including Article 109, constituted a recognition of the fact that revision was possible, and a moral and material obligation to respect this possibility. And I am not aware that any formal reservation was made with respect to this Article.

153. To postpone a problem is not to solve it. To close one's eyes in order not to see a conflict does not eliminate or diminish it. There is no material peace where there is no moral peace, and there is no moral peace where there is no justice. It is the request, demand, claim, supplication and entreaty of our Charter that it should be enabled to become more and more equitable every day.

154. If justice, peace and security are aspirations which increase in proportion to the cruelty of war, then no generation of mankind has ever been in more urgent need of such moral and material consolation than the people of the twentieth century. And, paradoxically, the people of the twentieth century are living closer to the threat of physical destruction than any other generation in the entire history of our planet. The more they need and seek for peace, the more they are beset and threatened by war. The greater and more lasting the peace they seek, the more destructive and ferocious is the war they find. The implacable neutrality of science, which places the inexhaustible arsenal of its secrets at the service of both pacifists and militarists, seems to permit the best and greater part of its inventions to be snatched up by the latter than by the former.

155. In days gone by, groups of nations and States had a complex function. They served equally for common defence, collective aggression, or for the establishment of balance-of-power systems which in the long run always proved unstable or temporary. Peace was a commodity which could be sold, purchased, or negotiated. In a word, none of the alliances or associations between States had, as its final purpose, the establishment of peace without asking a price, without setting time-limits, without imposing coercive conditions.

156. It is the people of today, labouring under the burden of great wars, who have forged the concept of

peace as a right which men should enjoy as naturally and freely as light and air. It is the people of the Americas in particular, the free men of the Americas, who seem to have welcomed, and tried to preserve, this simple, humane and precious idea.

157. In this century of great wars, we have witnessed two tremendous efforts to associate States for the main purpose of peace: the establishment of the League of Nations and that of the United Nations. The League of Nations, born in the first post-war period, was unable to withstand the powerful tidal wave of the Second World War. Today, the United Nations is the mast which holds aloft, against threatening gusts, the flag of universal faith and hope.

158. Before and after the establishment of these two great organizations, regional units were formed, based on local geographical and political factors, which sought simultaneously to promote the success of the great organizations and to further their particular interests. Bolivar, the founder of countries and unifier of nations, worked to this end in Latin America and began the movement toward a union of Spanish American countries which culminated in the Treaty of Union, League and Perpetual Confederation signed in Panama on 15 July 1826 by the representatives of Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Central America. This initial act on the part of the liberator has borne fruit in ten inter-American conferences, held in Washington, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Havana, Montevideo, Lima Bogotá and Caracas respectively, which have shaped the unity of the political thought of this hemisphere, characterized by peaceful solidarity and the cardinal principle of non-intervention.

159. If we compare what is happening in the Americas with what has happened in the world at large, we shall arrive at the following conclusions: the League of Nations, created by the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, was formed of and by the group of victor nations of the First World War, and the United Nations, created by the San Francisco Conference, in June 1945, was formed of and by the group of victor nations of the Second World War. That is to say, both international institutions came into existence as improvised groups of victors, which expressly excluded the vanquished and even nations which were merely neutral or displeasing to them. For this reason, neither ever possessed, nor possesses, the necessary conditions of stability for a genuine world organization. The ideas of universality and discrimination are absolutely incompatible with one another. Consequently, these international institutions devoted themselves to organizing victory — their victory — rather than to organizing peace. I do not think that this road will ever lead to a peace without a victor, to a general, truly universal, indivisible peace, having the character, functions and permanence of something belonging to everybody and intended for everybody.

160. The Americas have adopted different and more advanced procedures. The inter-American system, in the broad, noble and peaceful sense of the phrase, did not rise spontaneously like a ghost from the battlefields, bringing the scars and bloody bandages to the conference halls and still carrying upon its shoulders the dead bodies of the vanquished. It arose from the bloodless field of the international American conferences and the consultative meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the different republics of the hemisphere. To create this system, its members did not have to present imposing records of military service, nor were any of them stopped at the

door and asked whether they were victors or vanquished. It was simply enough for them to be free men and to love the peace of the Americas and the peace of the world.

161. Inter-Americanism was not created in haste, nor following a feverish military crisis, nor in an atmosphere still reeking with the smoke and sweat of the battlefield; it was not created with discriminatory prejudices between great and small, greater and less, nor with distinctions between permanent and non-permanent members nor shackled with the iron manacles of the veto, the instrument of unilateral policy. Inter-Americanism was born of that process of prudent slowness in which time and experience collaborate like wise counsellors. Within its framework there is neither great nor small, nor any situation in which one Member State can impose its own will, directly or indirectly, on all the others. Within this system the democratic principle of majority rule can freely exercise its equalizing function. A child of peace, it advances towards peace with filial loyalty and in a spirit of democratic equality. As an international institution, the Organization of American States does not look to the past, where there are no differences for it to adjust or punish, but to the future, for it is only in the future that we can and ought to find a better world.

162. The United Nations must really unite in a desire to review the Charter and bring it up to date. This Charter must not continue to enforce the discriminatory practice whereby some nations can be condemned to exile and prevented from being heard in the very forum where the destiny of the world, and therefore their own destiny, is being decided. These distinctions between great and small Powers, between permanent and non-permanent members, and these authoritarian councils where the desires and interests of all can be fettered by the will of a single, privileged, permanent member, are incompatible with the spirit of the age and with our present conception of States. If the great wars of this century were waged for the salvation of democracy, what is the United Nations making of the principle of majority rule? Who will uphold the claim that the minority, reduced to its minimum of a single unit, should continue to impose its will on all the rest?

163. It is well that the rights of majorities and the rights of minorities should be adjusted freely according to their just and proportionate shares. However, the alternative, which is what we are now witnessing, is nothing but the confirmation in power of a despotism which has overflowed national boundaries to become an international force. This is not what the nations intended, when they met in San Francisco in 1945 to draw up their Charter. And if that huge gathering of victors, out of the necessities of the moment and in order to capitalize their victory, acted wrongly, it is now time for them to revise their Charter so that it may better serve the interests of the moral and material peace of mankind.

164. The democratic world did not engage in the bloodiest of all wars so that a single will could impose its despotic wishes upon all nations by making use of the very instrument that was forged for purposes of world peace and equal and lasting justice. If the United Nations, bearing on its escutcheon the blot of the veto, is being used for these purposes, it is either because it has reversed its historic function, or because its founding Charter is defective, or because these two reasons together are conspiring against its reputation, against its stability, and against its very existence.

165. If humanity today meets with injustice, let us endeavour to make sure that this injustice cannot be imputed to the Charter of the United Nations. Let us recognize that it is frequently attributable to other causes. We are prepared to tolerate, for example, the fact that an important New York newspaper should have chosen the time when the Dominican Republic was honourably fulfilling a debt of humanity and friendship towards a friendly people by contributing several hundred thousand Dominican pesos — which are worth exactly as much as the same number of United States dollars — to the victims of the recent floods in the United States, that it should have chosen this time to launch a violent attack on my Government and others. Yes, we can tolerate this situation, since the Press is free, and any one is free to assess the facts and see them or not see them as they are, and free to remember or not to remember the history of my country. But let us not resign ourselves to hearing the same or similar remarks made about our own Charter, merely through want of just and timely amendment.

166. The Dominican Republic, as a founder Member of the United Nations, has at all times been faithful and loyal to the Charter. The ideas I have expressed here are not aimed to satisfy any nationalist interest, but are an attempt to do honour and contribute improvements to the basic document which was drawn up by the peoples of the United Nations for the purpose of guiding them in the search for universal peace, progress and security. These are the plain reasons which have led the delegation of the Dominican Republic to advocate the establishment, at this tenth session of the General Assembly, of an *ad hoc* committee to make a calm and impartial study of the revision of the Charter, a study which will no doubt culminate in the convocation of the General Conference envisaged ten years ago in Article 109.

167. My delegation, representing one of the Governments which has willingly fulfilled, and continues to fulfil, its responsibilities to the United Nations, offers its full and disinterested assistance in pursuing the aforesaid purposes. In so doing, it proposes to demonstrate its devotion to the United Nations Charter and to help make that instrument as nearly perfect as possible, in the interests of universal justice, peace and security.

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*