



CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

Opening of the general debate

Speeches by Mr. de Freitas Valle (Brazil), Mr. Jamali (Iraq), Mr. Hoover (United States of America), Mr. Trujillo (Ecuador), Mr. Virissimo Cunha (Portugal) and Mr. de Marchena (Dominican Republic)..... 85

President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

SPEECHES BY MR. DE FREITAS VALLE (BRAZIL), MR. JAMALI (IRAQ), MR. HOOVER (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA), MR. TRUJILLO (ECUADOR), MR. VIRISSIMO CUNHA (PORTUGAL) AND MR. DE MARCHENA (DOMINICAN REPUBLIC)

1. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): Mr. President, I count it a great privilege to be one of the first to express to you my congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. Your services to the cause of peace, and especially your devotion to our United Nations, have long qualified you for the high office to which you have been elected and which, I feel certain, you will discharge with impartiality and skill.

2. I now turn my attention to the recent events in the Middle East which brought the world closer to a general war than it has ever been since the forces of Nazism were crushed by the power of the Allied armies. It is common knowledge that the alliance which it was possible to forge against the destructive might of fascist aggression could not be maintained in the years that followed the establishment of a wavering peace. This unfortunate circumstance is at the root of all the troubles which beset the world today.

3. The fact that the United Nations was never able to marshal sufficient military strength to ensure peace and security wherever a threat of aggression occurred or a breach of the peace was imminent has also contributed largely to the unsatisfactory state of affairs that endangers the very life of every human being all over the world. That is why we rejoice in the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force that has been set up to enforce the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on recent momentous occasions.

4. May I be allowed, at this juncture, to express the deep appreciation of my delegation of the initiative taken in this connexion by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada. Mr. Pearson has rendered a great service to the cause of peace with justice. We also agree heartily with the proposals made by the Secretary-General—whose outstanding performance of his duties is a source of pride to all the Members of

the United Nations—concerning the duties and functions of the Emergency Force [A/3289, A/3302]. And we hope and pray that this new experiment in world diplomacy may yet prove to be the nucleus from which will emanate the strength that will lend to this Organization the physical power which it has so sorely lacked.

5. While I am dealing with the questions connected with the situation in the Middle East, I must emphasize once again that no solution is apt to bring fruitful and lasting results if the very delicate and complex problems that lie behind the surface of the present crisis are not dealt with courageously once and for all. Two questions are of paramount importance in relation to the unstable peace in that troubled region of the globe. The first is the situation brought about by the forcible seizure of the Suez Canal, and the other is the relations between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbours. Since the Middle Eastern problems are going to be discussed during the eleventh session of the General Assembly, it would perhaps prove of great relevance if the United Nations were to approve certain directives that might serve as a basis for discussion on these two outstanding issues.

6. On the question of the Canal, a number of general principles have already been accepted by all the parties concerned. On behalf of the delegation of Brazil, I want to stress that we shall favour a solution to that problem that takes into account the legitimate interests of the users of that international waterway but that would in no way impinge upon the sovereignty of Egypt. We should also like to emphasize once again that we could under no circumstances condone any action from any quarter that would bar the right of free passage through the Canal to any country for any reason whatsoever.

7. The bases for a lasting settlement of the state of belligerency that has been prevailing since the days of the General Armistice Agreements between Israel and the Arab countries are more difficult to envisage and to formulate. A few principles, however, govern our attitude and, in our opinion, should be generally accepted.

8. First, Israel is a sovereign State with the same rights and obligations as those of all Members of the United Nations. Its desire to live in peace with its neighbours seems to us legitimate and conducive to a happy settlement of this thorny question. On the other hand, the grievances suffered by the Arab nations as a result of the emergence of Israel are only too easily understandable. Their reluctance to discuss peace with Israel on equal terms springs from these feelings of antagonism created as a result of the turmoil that has taken place in the Middle East since the Arab-Israel war. The period of time that has elapsed since those tragic days has not proved long enough to allow for the necessary moderation and clear-sightedness on the part of all the Powers concerned. We have, however, reached a crossroads on the general international scene that calls for an immediate and decided effort to settle all the

problems that might kindle the spark that may set off catastrophes of unforeseeable consequences. Great statesmanship is required now both from the Arab States and from Israel, and I feel confident that their Governments will prove equal to the tremendous task that confronts them.

9. It seems to my delegation that the greatest possible mistake we could make in this difficult moment would be to fail to analyse the deep underlying causes of all those disturbing facts. By its quick and decisive action, the United Nations may have prevented or postponed the dangers of a military conflict, but it cannot be said that the great pressures that created the conflicting factors have been removed. It is up to us all, in the Assembly, to put utmost frankness at the service of world peace and try, through it, to point out the causes of disturbances that must be removed before the basis for a lasting and just peace can be found.

10. There are very obvious economic motives behind all the phenomena we are trying to understand. It seems quite clear that most of the political and military pressures that were brought to bear recently on the international scene have been fundamentally at the service of the most basic economic needs of the different participants. On the one side, we see less developed countries, whose peoples cannot accept under-development any longer, in a frantic search for the means by which to accelerate their development process, entering different systems of military alliance in the hope of thus deserving a greater degree of help from the leaders or sub-leaders in those systems. On the other hand, we see the developed countries trying to perpetuate a system of international relationships that will guarantee for them in the future, as it did in the past, a virtual life-line of essential supplies to which their economies have become adapted through long periods and whose disappearance would entail readaptation hardships they are not psychologically or economically prepared to face. The very problems arising from the competition between the free enterprise group of nations and the centrally planned economies must be, in the long run, solved by the ability of each group to foster or speed up economic development.

11. With the President's permission, I shall now make a few remarks on the other event that has stirred the feelings of the whole world in recent weeks. I am referring to the action undertaken by the armed forces of the Soviet Union to quench and raze the legitimate aspirations of the gallant people of Hungary. During the debate that took place on this issue during the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, my delegation had the opportunity of expressing its opinion on this tragic event [569th meeting]. I only want to add that we are convinced that those who lost their lives fighting in the streets of Budapest did not die in vain. Their cause, which is the cause of freedom, cannot be destroyed by the sheer weight of power. Among those countries which are closely linked to the Soviet Union, a trend has been set which is irreversible. The sooner the mighty Russian nation recognizes this fact, the better it will fare in the long run, for the real and loyal friendship of free nations has always proved a better guarantee of security than any other form of influence or domination.

12. I shall now say just a few words about two important international issues, one on the European scene and the other in the Far East. Unity in Europe is an indispensable element to world peace. Unity in Europe can never be achieved without the reunification of Germany.

Conditions in the modern world have changed so radically with the advent of atomic power that the danger of a recurrent German aggressive spirit is no longer an important threat to the security of the countries neighbouring that once powerful nation. We recognize the special interests of the Soviet Union in the settlement of the German question, but we cannot admit that it would be in the interest of the Soviet Union to keep alive this issue and by so doing to block the natural peaceful development of progress in Western Europe. As regards the Far East, Japan has to play an increasingly important role in world affairs. To this end, it is urgent that Japan be admitted to the United Nations and that the manoeuvres that have so long impeded that action cease forthwith.

13. I have already mentioned the formation of the United Nations Emergency Force as a highly commendable development of far-reaching implications for the future effectiveness of United Nations action. It might be wise for the General Assembly to envisage certain practical measures to ensure the implementation of resolution 377A (V) paragraph 8, in order that the armed forces of every Member State might have, on a permanent basis, one or more units always available to the United Nations. These units, the size of which would be left to the discretion of the Member State concerned, could perhaps some day fly the flag of the United Nations together with their own national flag. The psychological effect to be derived if this suggestion were accepted would tend to create, on a world-wide basis, a feeling of greater respect for our Organization, and the requisitioning of troops in obedience to resolutions adopted either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly would come to be regarded as normal procedure.

14. During its history, the United Nations has never before been beset by so many problems of a political and economic nature. May I express the hope that, at the end of our labours, the world will say that the eleventh session of the General Assembly was worthy of the great hopes that mankind placed in it.

15. Mr. JAMALI (Iraq): The Iraqi delegation joins all other delegations in extending to the President its sincere congratulations on his election to the highest office in this world Organization. His charming personality, his deep love of freedom, his devotion to the cause of peace, his record of fine service in various capacities in this Organization and in other international gatherings, make him worthy of this very high distinction. May this eleventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, meeting under his leadership, prove to be a milestone on the path of freedom, justice, peace and prosperity for all people of the earth.

16. We take this opportunity to extend a hearty welcome and congratulations to all the nineteen new Member States which have been admitted to the United Nations. The Iraqi delegation has consistently supported the principle of universality in the admission of Members and has always maintained that the veto is inapplicable in connexion with the recommendation of States for membership.

17. While the delegation of Iraq expresses its best wishes to all nineteen new Members, we wish to express our very deep gratification that five sister Arab States are among the newcomers. An especially warm welcome from us is due to our sister States of Jordan, Libya, Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia. Among the newly admitted States there are some which have very cordial and friendly relations with Iraq. Our great friends

Spain, Italy and Ceylon belong to this category, and to these we extend a hearty welcome and our very best wishes. In the meantime we are glad to know that that great nation Japan will soon find its way into this Organization because of the Soviet consent to withdraw its veto.

18. We are meeting here—some seventy-nine nations representing various regions of the world and varied races, colours, religions, creeds, cultural backgrounds and economic conditions—as one human family devoted to one great objective, namely, that of preserving world peace and promoting the cause of individual and national freedoms for all mankind. It is only when conditions of peace and liberty are assured that we can work for the betterment of man by raising him from the depths of poverty, disease, prejudice and ignorance to the heights of prosperity, culture and international brotherhood.

19. The human race is at the crossroads today. Either we must learn to live together, enjoying freedom, equal opportunity and brotherly love for all, or the human race will slip towards another world war which, with the new lethal weapons, may lead to our total extinction. We are told by those who know best that hydrogen and cobalt bombs make war on a large scale suicidal. None of the Powers which will use these weapons can attain victory. This, we hope, will make war between those Powers which possess these lethal weapons a completely unthinkable adventure. We may thus, in a way, be grateful for the contribution of these lethal weapons to peace. It is because of them, we believe, that another world war is an improbability, although not a complete impossibility. For, while a great war may not be initiated by the great Powers, we find that localized wars, such as the ones in Korea and Indo-China, the British and French assault on Egypt, the Israel invasion of Egypt added to its recurring attacks on its Arab neighbours, and the Soviet invasion of Hungary in order to support a régime contrary to the free will of the people—all these wars, although not immediately global in character, may sooner or later plunge us unwittingly into a world war. Thus, one should not minimize the seriousness and gravity of local wars or so-called “incidents” or “police measures” or “armed conflicts” initiated by the intervention and attack of great Powers against smaller ones, nor should we minimize the danger of war developing between smaller States which identify their interests with one great Power or another. In other words, the danger of global war should always be present in our thoughts, and we must exert all our efforts to eradicate all causes of war, whether they be local or global. We must wage a war on war.

20. We can always trace the causes of war to human passions and emotions, emanating from a deep sense of injustice, persecution, exploitation, and the domination of one people by another on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to passions and emotions stemming from pride, a desire for domination, expansion and exploitation, and a feeling on the part of one people of supremacy over another.

21. It is one of the major functions of the United Nations to help in the eradication of those passions and emotions emanating from injustice, persecution, exploitation and subjugation by promoting the causes of justice, freedom, and a fair deal for all. It is also the function of the United Nations to address itself to some of its Members and invite them to appreciate the change in the spirit of the times and to realize that those passions and emotions that emanate from pride, conceit,

arrogance and desire for supremacy and domination—emotions that contribute to prejudice and narrowness—are outmoded and do not suit this age of science and fast communications that have brought the nations of the globe so close to each other as practically to annihilate distance between east and west, north and south. Those emotions are certainly a relic of the past, and two world wars were fought to save humanity from their harmful effects.

22. One of the great services of the United Nations, sometimes not appreciated by outsiders, is that it checks unbridled emotions and provides an opportunity for reasoning and fair play to avert wars or to check them at an early stage of their inception. The United Nations and its methods certainly must prevail in the world if humanity is to avoid a greater catastrophe.

23. Those of us who have been associated with the United Nations from its very inception in San Francisco in 1945, realize the great evolution and metamorphosis through which the Organization has gone. The United Nations has had its periods of trial and error. It committed some grave blunders, but it also has to its credit some great achievements, with the result that today it has come of age. It has gained much in stature and importance.

24. As to membership, we are now nearly eighty Member States—almost twice the number of States that first met at San Francisco. As to importance, the United Nations has become the focus of the attention of all mankind, which expects it to be a centre for settling international conflicts and promoting the cause of freedom, justice and prosperity for all.

25. The United Nations is very fortunate indeed in having a Secretary-General whose ability, integrity, courage and humanity are recognized by us all. Mr. Hammarskjöld personally has contributed much to the dignity and effectiveness of the United Nations. He symbolizes the spirit of the Charter.

26. This is a time when the world has been deeply shaken by Israel aggression, by the French and British attack on Egypt, and by Soviet intervention to subjugate the people of Hungary—events that brought us to the brink of a third world war. It is time for us to think and to analyse the world situation objectively and positively. Then we must decide to settle the world's greatest problems by peaceful means; we must be guided not by selfish interests but by unselfishness, not by a desire for domination but by a spirit of co-operation and fair dealing, not by hatred but by brotherly love, not by prejudice but by tolerance and, above all, by respect for law, justice and human rights. Let us be willing, each and every one, to see the other side's point of view, and try to remove the fundamental causes of war and conflict among nations.

27. I wish now to dwell briefly on the crisis in the Middle East, since that is one of the most explosive regions of the world today. The present crisis in the Middle East emanates mainly from the thwarting of the Arabs' desire to enjoy their full freedom and independence and to guarantee the integrity of their territories and their rights to their own homes and lands. Once these legitimate rights and aspirations of the Arabs are realized and the Arab world is freed from foreign pressure and intervention, the Arabs will move much quicker along the path of national unity, democracy and social progress. Arab aspirations were initially hindered by the penetration of the British and French into that area after the First World War, by their appli-

cation of nineteenth century colonial methods of "divide and rule," and by their introduction of Zionism and the bringing in of Jews from outside Palestine with the intention of uprooting the legitimate Arab inhabitants of that country.

28. The Arabs struggled bitterly against this foreign domination between the two world wars. Iraq and Egypt achieved their independence and sovereignty before the Second World War; Syria and Lebanon towards the end of that conflict; and Jordan a few years later. The independence of Libya, Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco followed very recently.

29. In the meantime the great Palestine tragedy was brought about by the great Western Powers, as well as by the Soviet Union, through the United Nations—that tragedy which led to the uprooting and homelessness of nearly one million Palestinian Arabs, Moslems and Christians alike. The Soviet Union had played practically no part in Arab affairs between the two world wars. But since the Second World War, besides taking part in the establishment of Israel by voting for the partition of Palestine, it also began to enter the Arab world, with a view to establishing itself therein.

30. Today the problem of the Middle East consists of three major factors: first, the desire of the Arabs to be completely free and independent; secondly, the restoration of Arab rights and of justice in Palestine and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arab refugees to their own homes; thirdly, the conflict between Western Powers, which desire to perpetuate their influence in the area, and the intention of the Soviet Union to penetrate the Middle East. The Arabs have no aggressive intentions towards anybody. They only wish to enjoy complete liberty in handling their own affairs and achieving their national unity.

31. As for liberation and independence, the Arab world still has an account to settle with the Western Powers, and especially with France. France is directly responsible for precipitating the invasion of the Suez Canal and for inciting Israel to invade Egypt. France is moved by its grievances against the Arab world because of the Arabs' sympathy for their Algerian brethren in the latter's struggle for freedom and self-determination. It is a sad situation that, in the era of the United Nations, the freedom of peoples and human rights—including the right of the self-determination of peoples—should be denied by a country like France, which is supposed to stand for *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. France denies these very principles to the Algerian people. Algeria has been bleeding for over two years for no reason other than the desire of its people for freedom.

32. It is a sad fact that France is using forces and ammunition of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to crush the freedom-loving Algerians. Thousands of Algerians and many Frenchmen have lost their lives and homes because of French atrocities. Millions of dollars are being wasted daily in the Algerian war.

33. Is it not possible for the French authorities to learn from the experiences of Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco, and to bring about an immediate cease-fire in Algeria, in accordance with the United Nations Charter? It would be only right that France should change its policy of force and destruction for a policy of peace and negotiation in accordance with the advice of its best thinkers. It was all the more shocking to every peace-loving man in the world to hear of the kidnapping and arrest of the five Algerian leaders, who not only were the guests of His Majesty the Sultan of Morocco, but

also were on a peaceful mission known to France beforehand. In capturing these leaders, France showed no respect either for the rule of ancient chivalry or for international law.

34. We wish to appeal to France and to all the freedom-loving Members of the United Nations to appreciate the human tragedy in Algeria and to put an end to the ruthless methods of naked force being used by the French authorities, against the better judgment of many noble French citizens.

35. Algeria presents the world with a problem affecting international peace and security. It would not be right to accept the claim that the General Assembly is not qualified to deal with the subject of Algeria because Algeria is an integral part of France. How did Algeria become an integral part of France? France itself passed a law which provided that, overnight, 9 million Algerians should be considered Frenchmen and that their country, which is larger than France itself, should be considered part of metropolitan France. To admit such a claim would be nothing but a renunciation of our obligations as Members of this Organization, whose duty it is to promote the cause of freedom and justice for all the peoples of the world. The United Nations must therefore recognize its obligation under the Charter, must deal with this serious problem, and must intervene between France and Algeria and bring a peaceful settlement to a bleeding area.

36. I turn now to the Palestine tragedy. The name "Israel" has become synonymous in the Middle East with aggression. A British and French alliance with the Israel aggressors against Egypt will not help in settling the affairs of the Middle East. Israel came into existence as a result of United Nations resolution 181 (II) of 1947. That resolution was most unjust to the Arabs, taking away from them a precious part of their country in order to establish Israel. In spite of that fact, Israel found it appropriate to uproot the Arab population, the legitimate inhabitants of the land, through massacres like that of Dair Yassin, in which the entire population of a village—men, women and children—was annihilated. Then, with the help of arms from Czechoslovakia, the new-born Israel not only established itself in territories allotted to it by the United Nations resolution of 1947, but also annexed the best part of the remaining territories allotted to the Arabs in the partition plan, including Western Galilee, Lydda, Ramla, Jaffa and Beersheba. The capture of these territories by the Israelis was effected in the same manner as their invasion of the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula in their recent act of aggression. Whatever land they grab they claim as their own, disregarding the resolutions of the United Nations and ignoring the rights of the legitimate Arab inhabitants of the country. Armistice lines were imposed on neighbouring Arab States by the sheer force of power politics and Czechoslovak arms. These lines were never supposed to be final and were never supposed to prejudice the right of the Arabs to lands which were allotted to them by the partition schemes or to their homes in Palestine.

37. Israel repeatedly declares that it will not yield Arab territory. The result is that one million Arab refugees continue to live in a state of misery and destitution, for no reason other than Israel's defiance of human rights and United Nations resolutions.

38. The status of the refugees is in itself a main cause of political unrest in the Middle East, in addition to being a great human tragedy and a great moral prob-

lem for which this Organization is directly responsible because of its lenient attitude and ineffective measures as regards Israel. In addition to all of the injustice and misery which Israel has brought to the Arabs of Palestine, it continues its aggression against neighbouring Arab States, attacking with full military force, destroying homes and villages, and killing hundreds of Arab men, women and children—Moslems and Christians alike. Israel's pretext for its military action is that it is retaliating for what is no more than individual infiltration through the armistice lines by refugees collecting fruits from their own farms on Israel's side of the barbed wire. Israel has on several occasions been branded as an aggressor by the Security Council. With no punishment imposed, its armies continue to attack neighbouring Arab States over and over again.

39. The United Nations and the Powers responsible for the creation and existence of Israel never came to the help of the Arabs. When, at last, the Arabs bought arms behind the Iron Curtain in order to defend themselves, the entire Western World was aroused. Zionist propaganda capitalized on this purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia, from which Israel was the first to acquire arms.

40. It is high time that the United Nations should awake to an appreciation of the true situation in the Middle East and to realize that the remedy for the Middle East situation does not lie in adding new injustices to past ones already incurred by Israel with the implicit consent of the great Powers. By condoning Israel aggression by their recent vetoes in the Security Council, the United Kingdom and France made no contribution to peace and stability in the Middle East. The United Kingdom and France, in joining the Israel aggression, provided an opportunity for the Soviet Union to interfere in the affairs of the Middle East—a fact which will turn the area into a field of open conflict between East and West and endanger world peace.

41. The Israel leaders have often spoken of peace, but only as a cover for their aggressive intentions. Each wave of propaganda for peace has been followed by an aggressive attack on one Arab State or another. The continuation of trouble in the Middle East, accompanied by falsified and perverted Zionist propaganda in the great Western capitals, seems to provide an alibi for raising funds for Israel. These funds, which are raised under the pretence that they will serve humanitarian purposes, are diverted to the purchase of arms, ammunition and jet planes with which to attack the Arabs.

42. It is the view of my delegation that the Palestine problem is the key to all the Middle Eastern situation. This problem may be dealt with in one of two ways. The first way is by peaceful means in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which requires the return of all the Arab refugees to their own homes in Palestine and the complete restoration of their political rights in their own country, Palestine. The second is to leave it to power politics and expediency, which may start a tug of war between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, each taking sides not according to right and justice, but according to self-interest and temporary political gains. That policy may very well precipitate a third world war, with its disastrous consequences to all mankind.

43. Israel's dastardly invasion of Egypt and its expansionist designs prove beyond all doubt that that is the greatest source of danger to peace and stability in the Middle East. It is the view of the Iraqi Government that the Middle East can have no peace or tranquility, and

that world peace will always remain in jeopardy, unless and until Arab rights in Palestine are completely restored and until the Israel danger is completely removed from the Middle East.

44. If the world is to avoid a conflagration in the Middle East, the Palestine problem should be settled according to law and justice, and the rights of the Arabs of Palestine should be recognized and restored accordingly. We appeal to all Members of this Organization who have world peace and stability at heart to help by deeds and not merely by words in restoring right and justice to Palestine.

45. I turn now to the aggression against Egypt. The Middle East situation reached its most critical phase by the premeditated Israel invasion of Egypt and by the British and French attack on the Suez Canal. The whole world was shocked by these events. Iraq, which is united to Egypt by ties of brotherhood, is directly concerned with Egypt's national integrity and security. We consider any aggression committed against Egypt as aggression directed against us. Iraq was deeply shocked by these aggressions which breached the peace in the area and brought the whole world nearer the brink of a third world war. This aggression weakened the authority of this Organization and dealt a blow to cherished friendships and alliances amongst nations.

46. Iraq has always maintained that Egypt's right to nationalize the Suez Canal was indisputable and hoped for a wise, fair and peaceful settlement between the parties concerned. It was quite feasible to guarantee freedom of passage through the Suez Canal for all non-belligerent ships while respecting the complete sovereignty of Egypt over the Canal. We thought that the six principles unanimously adopted by the Security Council in its resolution of 13 October 1956 [S/3675] were to form a basis for peaceful negotiations. We were stunned to hear of the United Kingdom's and France's ultimatum to Egypt. The matter became much more serious when it was found that the United Kingdom joined France not only in condoning Israel aggression, but also in what seems to have been a plot by which Israel was to occupy the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula. Did the honourable gentlemen leading the affairs of those two great Powers think of the fate of the 200,000 Palestine Arab refugees in the Gaza strip when they condoned Israel aggression?

47. We believe that the United Kingdom and French methods in dealing with Egypt are reminiscent of nineteenth century imperialism. No Power in the world today, no matter how great, is entitled to take the law into its own hand. The United Nations should be the chief organ which settles disputes amongst nations. For this we are grateful to President Eisenhower's initiative in making the United States delegation take immediate steps to bring the issue before the United Nations.

48. Now that the grave "error" has been committed, it is only right that those Powers which attacked Egypt should immediately withdraw their forces from Egypt. They should also make it abundantly clear that they do not support the Israel aggressive action and should join with the rest of the freedom-loving world in seeing to it that Israel immediately withdraws behind the armistice lines. By this, and only by this, can the United Kingdom and France comply with the spirit of the Charter and show their support and respect for this Organization.

49. One of the main causes of tension in the world today is communism. Communism uses ruthless methods

in subjugating peoples and denying freedom to individuals and nations. One of the striking political phenomena after the Second World War has been the expansion of Communist régimes by sheer force in many parts of the world.

50. We would have no quarrel with communism and Communist régimes had they left other peoples alone. But one look at the map since the Second World War shows us that the Soviet Union has already absorbed the territories and peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. And recent events in Hungary and Poland show us that these two countries and others have been brought under Soviet influence and subjugation, not by the free will and choice of the people, but by naked, brutal force. We also know that by the same method of Soviet intervention the communization of the mainland of China was brought about. The partition of Korea, the partition of Viet-Nam, and the partition of that great country, Germany, are perpetuated by Communist régimes. The peoples of the non-Communist world, who are anxious to see that respect for individual liberty and the right to free political opinions and free religion are held as sacred, are entitled to fear this Communist infiltration and domination, which has made them prepare for self-defence against a possible Communist onslaught. This, in turn, has led to a race in armaments on a scale hitherto unknown in human history. Soviet intervention in Hungary demonstrates a source of danger of great magnitude to world peace. It shows that communism intends to maintain itself by naked force and to crush freedom wherever it is found.

51. If this policy of the Soviet Union persists, it may lead to the great catastrophe which all the world wishes to avoid. Talk of peace and disarmament has no meaning if we do not abolish the causes of war, and the causes of war consist primarily of the denial of freedom, justice and democracy to individuals and nations.

52. May we appeal in the name of humanity and peace to the Soviet Union and to all countries dominated by Communist régimes to see to it that the nations of Eastern Europe, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, shall enjoy freedom. May we appeal to them to see to it that all Asian peoples, who were colonized by czarist Russia, whose cultures and religions have been suppressed and who have been subjected to Russification, enjoy their freedom and independence just as Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon do.

53. The world is awakened to fight Western colonialism. Since the end of the First World War, Western colonialism is gradually dying away. We sincerely hope to see its end. Communism, on the other hand, is much deadlier than Western colonialism, for it destroys its opponents and deprives them of the right to raise their voice.

54. May the world at large enjoy a freedom guided by democratic laws and procedures. May freedom of individuals and nations supplant colonialism, whether it be in its outmoded nineteenth century Western form or in its modern Communist form. For world peace to have any meaning, it must be based on freedom, democracy and social justice.

55. In order to restore confidence among the nations and to guarantee that this Organization shall be an effective body to promote peace, we wish to make the following suggestions:

56. First, we must reaffirm our faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, agreeing on the definitions of

the terms used and giving them the same connotation. Words like "peace", "justice", "democracy", "freedom" must be well defined so that "democracy" will never mean dictatorship of the few, "freedom" will never mean submission to the dictator's will, "peace" will never mean the death of human liberty, and "pacification" will not mean the brutal subjugation of peoples. We must see to it that when we use the terms of the Charter, there is no equivocation and no difference in understanding. It seems that we all pay lip-service to fundamental human rights, but when it comes to application it is easy for us to suppress them. If we are loyal Members of this Organization, we must see to it that we subscribe to the same tenets and principles upon which this Organization is founded.

57. Secondly, the Members of this Organization in all their international dealings must accept one standard of morality for all peoples, and one policy should be adopted by us in meeting similar situations. Our judgement of situations and our actions to deal with them should emanate from scruples and principles, and should not depend on self-interest or expediency. If a certain situation is deplored in Europe or America and action is taken to cope with it, the same attitude should be taken for a similar situation arising in Asia or Africa.

58. The Iraqi delegation wishes to address an appeal to our Western European colleagues to forget their old attitude of supremacy to Asia and Africa and to enter a new era of brotherhood and co-operation. When we find African and Asian nations united against a certain European domination in Asia or Africa, it is depressing to see European nations sometimes united to preserve that domination. If freedom and self-determination are good for Europe and America, they should be valued for Africans and Asians as well. If the application of democracy is good for Western Europe, it must be promoted for the peoples of Asia and Africa. One set of standards must be developed for all humanity, irrespective of race, colour, creed, or geographical position. One of the tragedies of our time is that we apply different standards to analogous situations, as it suits our interests.

59. Thirdly, we believe that the United Nations must set up an advisory board, a sort of "brain trust", to supervise the conditions of world peace and prescribe measures to promote it. This board could consist of some ten to fifteen members, of the best-qualified men in the whole world—qualified for their high-mindedness, erudition, integrity and international spirit. International problems are usually dealt with by each of us from his own national angle. Such a board, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, could make impartial objective reports about world situations and about human progress on the path of freedom, prosperity and social justice as they affect world peace, and at the same time, warn against sources of danger that threaten world peace. It should be a sort of radar for the United Nations.

60. Fourthly, we believe, as events have proved, that a strong police force from nations other than the big Powers should be available to enforce or supervise the enforcement of United Nations decisions. We believe that the main cause of the death of the League of Nations and the weakening of the prestige of this Organization is that they adopted resolutions which were left unimplemented.

61. Fifthly, all subjugated peoples of the world, whether they are ruled by old-style colonialism or are under the domination of Communist régimes, must ob-

tain their liberation and enjoy the right of self-determination, as well as the right to free political thought, cultural independence and free worship.

62. Sixthly, the United Nations Charter needs to be revised at least on the following points:

(a) The rule of unanimity in the Security Council should be abolished. The veto has often been abused, and we believe that it represents a sort of dictatorship, which is not compatible with the sense of equality and democracy which we must promote among nations.

(b) The permanency of the membership in the Security Council should be reconsidered, and some standards must be set whereby the qualifications of a permanent member should be prescribed. Some States which are not among the permanent members may deserve to become permanent members if these standards are applied. Serving the cause of peace and freedom must be one of the first criteria which should entitle Member States to permanency in the Security Council.

(c) The number of members in the Councils of the United Nations must be increased to keep pace with the increase in the membership of the United Nations. Fairer geographical distribution of these seats should be made.

(d) Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter should be re-drafted in such a way as clearly to authorize the General Assembly to discuss the conditions of dependent peoples and their readiness for independence and freedom.

63. Seventhly, war should be outlawed completely, and any Power that initiates military action should be branded as an aggressor against which sanctions should be applied. There are no problems, no matter how grave, that could not be settled peacefully by negotiation, mediation or arbitration.

64. Eighthly, disarmament should be effected after complete agreement on the application of the fundamental principles of the Charter is achieved, especially among the great Powers. Any disarmament to be effective must be subject to a full system of inspection, including the freedom of the skies which the President of the United States proposed.

65. Ninthly, money saved from disarmament could be dedicated to raising the cultural and living standards of the under-developed peoples. The United Nations specialized agencies must be well financed to further extend their services to needy countries.

66. We attach great importance to a proposal we made at the tenth session [522nd meeting, para. 126] for the establishment of a United Nations university which will prepare for political leadership, drawing from all nations. Such a university would provide the world with like-minded political leaders who might contribute much to the cause of world peace.

67. These points, in our view, may contribute much to world peace and to the efficiency and effectiveness of this Organization. Before doing that, however, we need to purify our hearts and minds. We need self-examination. We need absolute honesty, unselfishness and brotherly love; we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us. We need to change from within. We need to achieve a peace based upon truth, brotherly love and justice, and not the peace of death that will result from the application of the hydrogen bomb.

68. Mr. HOOVER (United States of America): Mr. President, the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, has asked me to express to you his deep regret that he could not

be here to deliver this message himself. May I also convey Mr. Dulles' congratulations to you, our distinguished friend from Thailand, as the new President of the Assembly.

69. The General Assembly meets at a time when the world community is beset with many problems. Some of them are of the greatest gravity. In a short space of weeks we have been confronted with two challenges to world peace.

70. The United Nations has played a vigorous role in the critical events of the past few weeks in Europe and in the Near East. It has responded rapidly to focus world attention on the issues involved. It made just and practical proposals for peaceful solutions. The world cannot but heed the moral force for peace that it has demonstrated during recent weeks. The United Nations has shown its dedication to the principles of its Charter and its ability to move swiftly to the defence of those principles.

71. As the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower said in his address to the people of the United States on 31 October 1956:

"As I review the march of world events in recent years, I am more deeply convinced that the processes of the United Nations represent the soundest base for peace in the world."

The basic purpose of the Charter is peace with justice. The United States is convinced that the United Nations is the best instrument for achieving this end. Peace alone is not enough, for without justice, peace is illusory and temporary. On the other hand, without peace, justice would be submerged by the limitless injustices of war.

72. In the past few weeks the United Nations has acted promptly to preserve peace with justice. But its efforts cannot be judged merely by its resolutions. The test is compliance with its resolutions.

73. In Eastern Europe, the United Nations actions to deal with the tragic situation in Hungary are still unheeded. Soviet forces have not been withdrawn. We now hear shocking reports that the barbarism of mass deportation is being inflicted on the Hungarian people. We cannot remain silent while Hungarian men, women and children are forcibly deported because they dared to express their patriotic feelings in defiance of their Soviet oppressors. That is why the United States believes that the Assembly must take an immediate initiative to meet this tragic situation. This matter requires the urgent attention of the Assembly. The United States will support such changes in the Assembly's schedule as may be necessary to permit this vital matter to be considered as a matter of priority.

74. The Secretary-General's request for the admission of United Nations observers into Hungary has been rejected. This means that we must redouble our support of his efforts. At the same time, we must give urgent consideration to the next steps the United Nations can take. The brutal suppression of freedom by alien domination will leave an indelible mark on the conscience of the world.

75. In the Middle East, we welcome the statements of co-operation which have been made in response to the call of the United Nations to cease military operations, to withdraw armed forces and to implement the United Nations Emergency Force.

76. There have, however, been suggestions of introducing so-called "volunteers" into the Near East. Such action would be clearly contrary to General Assembly

resolution 997 (ES-I), adopted on 2 November, which was supported by sixty-four Members. It is the clear duty of all, including those who engaged in hostilities, to refrain from introducing forces into the area of the recent hostilities, other than those of the United Nations Emergency Force.

77. Certainly, no State should compound the difficulties of the United Nations in restoring the peace. Introduction of external forces into the area of hostilities would clearly hamper the efforts that are now being made, and in fact would be a threat to the United Nations forces now entering this area. The United Nations would be obligated to take appropriate action. President Eisenhower has announced that the United States would fully support such action.

78. When the United States introduced its "cease-fire" draft resolution [A/3256] on 1 November, Secretary Dulles, speaking here at the 564th meeting, said that a mere cease-fire and a return to the prior state of affairs would not be good enough. He pointed out that the violence had arisen from a highly disturbed and in many respects provocative situation, both in relation to the Suez Canal and the Palestine armistice. He emphasized that unless we could do better than go back to the old and troubled state of affairs, neither peace nor justice could be assured.

79. The United Nations demonstrated its capacity to rally world sentiment against the use of force. It is much harder to rally the same amount of sentiment in favour of remedying the injustices which breed the resort to force. Yet, unless we can get at the fundamental causes of these frictions, we can only make limited progress towards solving the problems of a lasting peace.

80. For this reason, the United States, on 3 November, submitted to the first emergency special session two draft resolutions designed to come to grips with the causes of unrest in the Middle East. The first [A/3273] has to do with the Suez Canal. In 13 October the Security Council adopted a resolution [S/3675] containing six governing principles designed to furnish a framework for a solution that will assure both international confidence and effective operation. Nothing has happened to change the basic proposition that, with due respect for the sovereignty of Egypt, the users of the Canal must be given the assurance of free and undiscriminatory passage under reliable and predictable conditions, insulated from the politics of any country.

81. What is now needed is to give effect to these fundamental principles. We therefore proposed the draft resolution which would establish a committee to work out measures to reopen the Canal; to prepare a plan, in consultation with the countries concerned, for its operation and maintenance; and to assure free passage through it in accordance with the 1888 Convention.¹ We believe the committee should be established promptly and begin its work as soon as possible.

82. The United States also submitted a draft resolution which would provide for the establishment of a committee to consult with the parties to the General Armistice Agreements and to make recommendations regarding a settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel [A/3272].

83. We have acted promptly to deal with the emergency created by the outbreak of hostilities. The arrival

of the first contingents of the United Nations Emergency Force should now make it possible to implement without delay the remaining recommendations of this Assembly, particularly those relating to the withdrawal of forces.

84. We must now act with equal promptness and unity to facilitate a settlement of the problems which gave rise to this emergency. New efforts are also needed to resolve the economic and social problems in that area. The crisis there has diverted our efforts from the tasks of building for the future. There are many things that can be done to help the peoples of that troubled region towards the standard of economic and social life to which they so deeply aspire. We do not have to wait for the ultimate settlements. Indeed, we would be mistaken to wait. Co-operation on such problems as water, irrigation and trade, and on well-planned development and modernization programmes, can all help to build the foundations for peace. We have a chance for a fresh start. Our aim should be to establish the foundation of a durable peace and stability in the area.

85. In August 1955 Secretary Dulles described some of the things which would be needed. He mentioned several specific things that could be done. He said: "If doing that involves some burdens, they are burdens which the United States would share." Today, I can here reaffirm the willingness of the United States to do its full share in support of a sound programme.

86. I should also like to speak briefly on two of the other items which will come before this session of the Assembly.

87. The first of these is the International Atomic Energy Agency. We can be heartened that the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, signed in this hall on 26 October 1956 by over seventy nations, has reached the stage of ratification. This has been a major advance for the international community, which has been accomplished by a process of discussion and negotiation. It brings closer the day when the atom can be put to work as a truly international servant of humanity. The United States believes that a committee of the Assembly should negotiate with the new Agency a draft agreement bringing it into appropriate relationship with the United Nations.

88. Secondly, the problem of disarmament will come before the General Assembly when the Disarmament Commission submits its progress report. Prevention of nuclear warfare is the concern of every nation and every human being. Yet the production of nuclear weapons continues, and the terrible threat of nuclear warfare still hangs over mankind. The failure to reach agreement is not a failure directly chargeable to the United Nations. Neither is this failure any reason to give up hope or to slacken our efforts. We must seek to make progress on any front we can. The United States will continue to seize every opportunity for reaching a genuine accord. But we must not be trapped into confusing tempting promises with genuine proposals. The core of the problem continues to be the question of establishing an effective inspection and control mechanism. Any disarmament plan is unsatisfactory unless it is accompanied by means of verifying that the parties are in fact living up to their promises. The Soviet Union, so far, has avoided committing itself to an effective programme of inspection and control. The United States has agreed to such a system. Those States that possess the potential for nuclear warfare have the heavy responsibility of bringing this threat to an end within

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

the authority of the United Nations. The United States here rededicates itself to that great task.

89. The tasks that lie ahead of the United Nations are momentous. In seeking peace with justice, it must find means of providing for peaceful change. The United Nations must assist legitimate changes to take place; but it must also strive to prevent these changes from shattering the peace or from harming the legitimate interests of others. The increasing interdependence of nations is as much a fact of international existence as is the pressure for change. It is the task of statesmanship to guide change into channels which are both peaceful and just.

90. In striving to reconcile conflicting claims and interests, we may sometimes have to make progress slowly. In some cases we may have to adopt partial or temporary solutions. We should not become discouraged when, for the time being, the best we can achieve is a truce or an armistice. We must look at our problems with a sense of the possible and a determination to find it.

91. The United Nations faces the challenge of these tasks with growing strength and vigour. The recent admission of nineteen new Members has given our Organization new vitality and scope. I particularly welcome the representatives of Morocco, Tunisia and the Sudan, who have most recently joined us here.

92. There are other nations, however, particularly in the Far East, which are qualified and should be here. Japan has been excluded by the vote of a single State. We hope that speedy action may now be taken to pave the way for Japan's entry at the earliest possible moment. The Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam are also fully deserving of admission and should be brought in without further delay.

93. The United States continues to oppose the seating of representatives of the Chinese Communist régime, which stands indicted for aggression by the United Nations, has demonstrated on many occasions its contempt for this Organization and has otherwise acted in defiance of the Charter.

94. The growth of the Organization from fifty-one to seventy-nine Members has not been reflected in the size of such important bodies as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In the Security Council the Asian countries have never been adequately represented. Now, with the addition of six new Asian Members, this defect must be remedied without further delay. Likewise, the ten new European Members would justify more representation for the European region. In the circumstances, it would seem desirable to add two non-permanent seats in the Security Council. It is also reasonable to increase the membership of the Economic and Social Council, perhaps by four seats.

95. The past year has also seen a major growth in the role of the Secretary-General. By steady and devoted effort, he has contributed in many ways towards resolving serious issues. The part he has been playing, especially in the Middle East, shows how much the Secretary-General can contribute to world peace. The United States wishes to record its thanks and congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld, both for his devotion to his task and for his personal competence as a man of peace.

96. In recent weeks the United Nations has also shown its vitality in creating new instruments for peace. A historic step has been taken in forming a United Nations Emergency Force to secure and supervise the ending of hostilities in the Near East. This United Nations Force

has had to be speedily improvised. The experience in forming and operating it will be invaluable for the future. But it emphasizes the need to develop the collective machinery essential to the maintenance of international peace and security.

97. The growth of the United Nations in response to concrete challenges has shown its vigour as an institution. The task of improving its capacity to settle disputes peacefully and to facilitate just change by peaceful means is never ending. We certainly have not exhausted the resources of the Charter for these purposes. For example, there is ample machinery available to adjudicate international legal disputes. Yet this machinery is seldom used. Only thirty-three States have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Other countries have generally refused to adjudicate their disputes when asked to do so. If the rule of law is to be established, we must not only have the law and the tribunals; we must also establish the habit and custom of being bound by law according to the judgement of an independent tribunal.

98. These are grave times. They call for the exercise of the utmost restraint and judgment on the part of all nations. They call for imaginative new approaches to the ancient problems of just and lasting peace.

99. Our goal must be a world in which nations and peoples can live side by side, whatever their internal political, economic and social systems, without fear and with real hope for self-fulfilment. The United Nations can be an agency of inestimable value in helping to work toward this goal. We cannot ask if it will succeed in its job. We must make it succeed.

100. Nothing could be clearer than the fact that a more effective United Nations serves the interest of every nation. We must strive to develop institutions through which the rights of all nations can be respected and justice can be secured in peaceful ways. Let us join together here to build a bridge from the past to the future, across which we can walk together in a new spirit of confidence.

101. I assure you that the United States will be untiring in this task.

102. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your well-deserved election by the General Assembly at one of the most critical moments the United Nations has known, when every gift of intellect and heart is required if this Organization, which came into being after the Second World War, is not to be discredited or destroyed by passions and interests rebelling against the rule of law.

103. Your election to the Presidency of the eleventh session of the General Assembly is an act not only of justice, but also of reparation; it represents the choice of a person who can guide this delicate organism with vigour, tact and wisdom so that at the conclusion of its work it will have written a fresh chapter in its successful history, thanks to your efforts and to our co-operation.

104. I also take this opportunity to thank you and the members of the Government of your great country for the courtesy shown me when I visited the capital of Thailand and was able to see the great efforts being made to endow Bangkok, one of the fairest cities of the Far East, with all the amenities of modern civilization. Thailand shows the fruits of a tremendous effort which is deserving of mention as an example to other peoples in a similar situation.

105. When we celebrated the tenth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco, none could have imagined that a year later our Organization would be undergoing one of the severest tests that could confront a social institution which is still in the experimental stage and which is designed to introduce new methods of international life so as to ensure the security of States, peace among peoples and the extension of the benefits of modern scientific and technical achievements to all men, without distinction of race, nationality or economic situation. We were filled with hope, and we believed that all our problems would be effectively solved by means of peaceful negotiation; we hoped that the bloody and painful lesson of the last two wars would not be forgotten by the generations that suffered from them. Then suddenly the atmosphere of international peaceful coexistence became troubled, and a rapid series of mistakes, which have inflamed men's feelings and brought to the surface the flotsam and jetsam of past moral shipwrecks, brought us to the verge of a conflict that, if not promptly settled, may well be the beginning of a tragedy whose consequences would be incalculable.

106. The conflict in the Middle East and the cruel armed intervention of which Hungary has been the victim both spring from the same cause: the violation of law by the use of force.

107. During the two emergency special sessions of the General Assembly that have just been held, we have heard aggression denounced by almost all the peoples of the earth. In this world forum, accusers and accused have had an opportunity to state their views, and an exhaustive analysis has been made of the deplorable events in Egypt and in Central Europe.

108. I consider that the debates have clarified the historic process through which we are living with a sensation of tragedy. The resolutions that have been adopted seem to interpret the feelings of the majority of Governments and peoples, who will not be deceived as to what party or parties are responsible for the fact that the two conflicts or either one of them are not yielding to the satisfactory solution which all desire in the hope that the effectiveness of the United Nations as an organization for the maintenance of peace will not be seriously impaired.

109. No one is any longer misled by sophisms, half-truths or lies, because in the modern world we have sources of information that cannot easily be obstructed and also because we are endowed with a mysterious intuition that inevitably leads us to truth and right despite any apparent temporary ascendancy of evil.

110. The United Nations does not yet have an army to support it or to enforce its resolutions. This is because the great Powers which were to organize it could not reach any agreement, even though they are members of the Military Staff Committee, which is situated in this city and which was established by the highest military authorities of those Powers. The United Nations in truth can exercise nothing more than moral force, and that, unfortunately, has gone unheeded by those who have recently taken the short cut of violence and lawlessness, disregarding the recommendations for wisdom and calmness heard from this platform.

111. The United Nations has succeeded in obtaining a cease-fire in the Middle East, but unfortunately the massacre in Hungary has not ceased. Perhaps in that unhappy country, the home of one of Europe's oldest cultures, we shall find ourselves in a few days con-

fronted with a *fait accompli* and be unable to do more than mourn the cruel fate which has befallen a people worthy to live in freedom and the enjoyment of all human rights.

112. In the Middle East, after the cease-fire and the effective withdrawal of the invading armies, many problems will remain to be solved in connexion with the Suez Canal and the conclusion of peace treaties between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries. The United Nations and the countries directly concerned in this conflict will thus be required to exert their utmost efforts to achieve a durable peace based on respect for the rights of all parties.

113. The events of the Middle East and in Hungary serve as a lesson that from now on problems and questions such as those which are at this time threatening world peace must not be allowed to become permanent or be left in suspense, since at the most unexpected moment they may arise like monsters threatening to destroy the well-being of nations and seriously to obstruct the peaceful development of mankind.

114. The United Nations has three fundamental aims: the political aim of safeguarding world peace and security; the economic aim of promoting the economic development of all the peoples of the earth, of raising their level of living and of enabling all men to participate in the advances that have been made in the conquest of the forces of nature; and the social aim of mobilizing all individual and collective energies so as to achieve a social development matching the economic development. These political, economic and social aims are the reasons why there is a United Nations, for such aims, being of universal scope, can be attained not by a single State or group of States, but only through the co-ordinated efforts of them all. These three aims are closely inter-related, but, despite the attention they deserve from our Organization, progress, particularly in the political field, is very slow.

115. We do not yet have reason to be proud of the successes of the United Nations, for at every step we encounter difficulties, and we are satisfied with temporary solutions that do not eliminate the underlying causes of conflict. We cannot get to the root of these causes without impairing certain interests which, although inconsistent with the welfare of humanity, are sacrosanct because they appertain to certain Powers. One of these problems is the self-determination of peoples or, in other words, respect for the personality of groups of human beings who, owing to the circumstances of history and in some cases the hazards of geography, are under the domination of States which do not believe in self-determination, simply because they consider it prejudicial to their own interests.

116. It is true that there are peoples which are not yet ready to guide their own destiny, but for the most part these peoples do not ask for self-determination. Nothing poisons the international atmosphere in the modern world so much as this systematic, unjust refusal of requests which are put forward in a peaceful manner and which should, in recognition of such an incontestable historic fact as the decay of the colonial system, be wisely and generously granted, so that peoples which are truly deserving of the opportunity might be enabled to set themselves up as sovereign States. Those peoples would then become the friends and partners of the former colonizers, their erstwhile masters and guides, and universal progress would ensue.

117. It is generally recognized that the relatively good feature of colonialism was that it brought to backward, undeveloped and primitive areas the civilization of the colonial Powers. It was by that means, often a cruel means, that a common denominator of civilization could be extended to the ends of the earth.

118. Material backwardness and primitive cultures remain in only a few places in certain continents. Most of the territories administered by foreign Powers have already reached a stage of maturity which renders them capable of self-determination. Let us then nourish the hope that the Administering Powers will recognize that the time has come to give up their colonies and confine the exercise of sovereignty to their own territories. Only thus can a beginning be made towards the equality demanded by all the peoples in this era of universal democracy.

119. In the economic field the United Nations has achieved successes which otherwise would not have occurred, or at least would have been long in coming.

120. If we study carefully the work done by the Economic and Social Council, the regional economic commissions, the Technical Assistance Board, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, we must admit that there has been considerable progress. This does not mean, of course, that the assistance given to the under-developed countries has been sufficient for all their needs. The task is a tremendous one, which has only been begun.

121. With the solution of the difficulties in the way of stabilizing the prices of raw materials and of investing capital in such countries and for such undertakings as really need it, the foundations will have been laid for the genuine independence of the under-developed peoples.

122. The economic activities of the United Nations are being carried on satisfactorily, and if, this year, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) comes into operation, in accordance with the recommendations of the experts in the matter and the wishes of the less developed countries, satisfaction will have been given to one of the great desires of the poorer countries which for lack of sufficient means have been unable to develop their economies.

123. This year, during this session, we shall be studying the interim report [A/3134] of the *Ad Hoc* Committee which examined the replies of all the Governments with regard to SUNFED, and I feel sure that this new agency, for which so many delegations, and in particular those of Latin America, have striven, will shortly come into existence and begin to function.

124. Great progress has also been made in the social field, thanks to the efforts of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. It may justly be said that the greatest and most successful experiments and studies in the field of contemporary sociology have been due both to this world Organization and to the specialized agencies. We can say with complete confidence that the scope of our social action is increasing from day to day and that there is scarcely any region in the world where the benefits of the United Nations do not make themselves felt. As greater impulse is given to the development of the community, the nations will strengthen and the development of their energies will be more balanced, thus avoiding the disequilibrium between economic and social development which is so frequently encountered.

125. The task in the social field is an arduous one but it has been tackled with energy and we believe that, within a few years, we shall see the disappearance of a number of ills which prevent mankind from obtaining the full enjoyment of its rights. The eradication of disease, the cleaning up of unhealthy areas, the provision of a balanced and full diet, assistance to mothers and young children, universal education, social security, comfortable, hygienic and attractive dwellings and institutions, work for all in conditions which provide the necessary time and leisure to enjoy the good things of life—all these are measures which will transform the social atmosphere and give opportunities to all.

126. The work of the United Nations, although not completely realized as yet, deserves general commendation. Its work in the social field is being performed in unity and co-operation between all its Members, benefits from their experience, and deserves their encouragement. In the fulfilment of its social objectives, the United Nations can already point to achievements which are splendid realities and justify the greatest hopes.

127. The group of countries forming part of the American continent may be proud of the work done during the last fifty years, particularly in the field of international relations and social justice. These countries emerged into a life of political independence with little or no preparation, and many of them were the victims of unpleasant experiences. Fortunately, our countries managed to overcome the remnants of colonialism and to undertake a new life with enthusiasm and a strong will to succeed.

128. We have succeeded in providing a legal foundation for the relations of this great family of States which have realized that it is not only their duty, but also in their interest to live together in friendship, not only for reasons of geography, but because they realize that they have the same destiny and the same needs, and that they can assume an identical role in the great task of forging the destiny of mankind and play their part in world history.

129. The Organization of American States, which is becoming more and more effective in this hemisphere, is linked with the United Nations and performs a regional function of a new kind and one not so far practised in other continents. The legal, economic and social problems of our continent have factors in common with those of other parts of the world, but it is undeniable that the people of America have been able to give them a special character which distinguishes them from those of Europe or Asia, for instance.

130. We are doing our best to strengthen the American regional system, because we believe that it is in this way that we can collaborate most effectively in the work of the United Nations. As Members of both organizations, our countries are constantly endeavouring to strengthen the bonds between two bodies which supplement each other in the pursuit of a common ideal.

131. Particular social problems of America, such as the Indian problem in some regions, deserve our most serious concern. The United Nations has paid close attention to these matters and, thanks to its technical assistance, appreciable progress has been made.

132. Every citizen of the American continent cherishes the idea of a great continental fatherland. This idea is closely linked with the hope for a world organization. However, we have a long path to tread before nation, region and world organization can coexist harmoniously as essential factors of a world unity.

133. Our flourishing industries, our rich agriculture and the increasing development of our trade will make this continent a strong bulwark of law and the most effective defender of freedom and democracy.

134. "The Charter of the United Nations is an admirable code for international coexistence"—said Mr. Camilo Ponce Enríquez, in his Message to the Nation, on assuming office as President of Ecuador on 1 September of this year. "But the Charter requires amendment," he continued, "to eliminate provisions which are too political or too absurd, such as giving more weight to the negative vote of one member of the Security Council than to all the votes of the other members. A greater voice should be given to the medium-sized and smaller States."

135. To meet, at least in part, this need for revision, the delegation of Ecuador, in association with other delegations of Latin America, and with the delegation of Spain, has presented three proposals for amendment, in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 108 of the Charter. The first of these [A/3446] is aimed at increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the number of votes required for action by that body. The second [A/3139] aims at increasing the membership of the Economic and Social Council, and the third [A/3140] is a proposal to increase the number of judges on the International Court of Justice. The authors of these proposals have felt that it is essential to increase the number of representatives of Member States of the United Nations in the bodies I have mentioned. The world Organization now has a membership of seventy-nine States, and it does not seem fair that only six of these States should be non-permanent members of the Security Council, that only eighteen should be on the Economic and Social Council, and fifteen on the International Court of Justice. When our Organization consisted of sixty Members only, such a limited membership may have been acceptable, but today, when the United Nations is happily assuming a more universal character, we believe that it is essential to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council to eight, the membership of the Economic and Social Council to twenty-four and the number of judges of the International Court to eighteen. This would enable the new Member States to satisfy their reasonable ambition to obtain a seat in these bodies and to co-operate in their work.

136. My delegation believes that the draft resolutions which are to be presented deserve the support of this Assembly. We shall also be presenting a proposal for an increase in the size of another very important body, the International Law Commission, for the same reasons as I have already indicated.

137. The Organization has decided to constitute the United Nations Emergency Force to secure and supervise a cessation of hostilities in the Middle East and has appointed General Burns to command it. The Force is to be provided by States which are not permanent members of the Security Council, and, we think, preferably by those which are at a distance from the scene of conflict. This United Nations Force has been established to perform a police function exclusively, and some Governments have already offered small contingents which are on their way to Egypt. I have been instructed by my Government to place at the disposal of the Secretary-General of the United Nations a small contingent which may consist of something between 100 and 500 men. My Government also intends to comply with resolution 1006(ES-II) of the General Assembly requesting the

co-operation of all Member States in providing effective assistance to refugees from Hungary.

138. Ecuador is prepared to receive Hungarian families, particularly those engaged in agriculture, and to provide land and facilities to enable them to start work with good prospects of success. We are also prepared to welcome a number of Hungarian children to whom we shall offer a new country and a new home in the Ecuadorian family.

139. Ecuador believes that its duty as a Member of the United Nations not only imposes upon it the formal obligations stated in the Charter, but also requires it to practise democracy in its international relations and within its territory, in order that its people may enjoy full political, social, economic and cultural rights.

140. In their 134 years as a Republic, the people of Ecuador have demonstrated their rejection of tyranny and their clear and firm democratic feelings. Today, Ecuador can stand before the world as a country which has come of age, because it practises and lives democracy in its daily life. In Ecuador, the human person is respected, there is full freedom of information and all Ecuadorians are equal before the law. All political parties have free play, and public opinion may be freely expressed.

141. In fulfilling honestly its obligations to the people which elected it, the Government of Ecuador is also fulfilling honestly the obligations imposed upon it by the Charter, and is endeavouring to achieve within its territory the highest standards of civilized communal living. Ecuador is therefore able to speak freely today on legal and political matters, without laying itself open to the charge that it expresses an international version which is at variance with the national reality lived by its people. When the Government of Ecuador condemns aggression, it is because Ecuador is not and has never been an aggressor nation, and when it defends the freedom of the Hungarian people to have the Government which the majority selects, it does so because Ecuador has a Government freely elected by the Ecuadorian people.

142. It is in times of trial that one learns to know men and institutions. I should not like to conclude without expressing my admiration for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who is bearing with exemplary dignity and untiring efficiency the heavy responsibilities we have laid upon him. The delegation of Ecuador wishes to express its sincere thanks to him and to the devoted officials who have accompanied him in recent weeks.

143. Mr. VIRISSIMO CUNHA (Portugal) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I have already had the privilege of paying my respects to you from this rostrum and I take pleasure in doing so again today.

144. This is the first time that Portugal has taken part in the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly. On behalf of the Portuguese Government, I have the honour of addressing the Governments of the peoples of every climate, every race and every belief who are represented here.

145. In my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs, I feel the weight of my responsibility, but as a Portuguese I feel at home here, for reasons which I shall explain later. I have already had occasion to point out that my country was kept out of the United Nations for ten years. I mention the fact now only to explain why I shall confine myself to statements of principle in this introductory speech in the general debate, without going

into the details of the problems that have been raised and discussed here in the course of the last ten years. Later, there will be an opportunity in the Committees or in the plenary meetings to state and define the position of the Portuguese Government with regard to these problems.

146. For the time being, I feel that my speech should be short and no more than an introductory statement. As people sometimes have a wrong impression of my country, I feel that I shall be contributing to the supreme purpose of this Organization, to fuller understanding among its Members, if I explain who we are. The Portuguese have been accused of dwelling very often on their history. It is not an accusation; it is the recognition of an attitude that is, I believe, not without wisdom, which, indeed, is why we adopt it. The present is a continuation of the past, its extension towards the future. Who then can claim to have shaped his future if he has not reflected on his past, so that he can continue what is good and avoid repeating what was bad?

147. In the last analysis, a nation, like an individual, is a combination of instinct and reason. What we call civilization is no more than the effort to subordinate our impulsive and uncontrolled actions to the wisdom of reason. Fundamentally, civilization must be humanistic rather than technical.

148. My country is proud that it was able in the course of its history to pass the torch of western civilization to other parts of the world. That torch was lit in Greece, illuminated Rome, and then was miraculously preserved by the Arab world during the centuries of darkness that followed the fall of the Roman Empire. Finally it went round the world, thanks to the European voyages of discovery, in which Portugal played an outstanding part and which permitted the fruitful meeting of western civilization and the ancient civilizations of the East and of America.

149. Since then, we have always been a missionary country, and we have remained so to this day. For centuries we have sought to enter into contact with almost all the peoples represented here. While I would not claim that these relations have always been disinterested, we may say that we have scattered fruitful seeds. It is evident that we have also gained inestimable advantages from these relationships with other peoples—the ability to get along with the most varied peoples, to understand them and to establish ties of genuine human co-operation. We have never thought of ourselves as superior or inferior; we consider ourselves as equals. That is why I said a moment ago that as a Portuguese I felt at home in the Assembly, among the representatives of countries with which Portugal has been acquainted for over 400 years.

150. While I do not wish to dwell continually upon my country's past, I feel that our history proves that Portugal is, I would venture to say, a Member of the United Nations by right of birth, for it has prepared itself for centuries for this moment at which I declare the firm resolve of the people and Government of Portugal to co-operate loyally in the great work that the United Nations is building here.

151. We are, above all, a people who love peace. Our experience has given us the wisdom to understand that war begets only war and settles nothing. We are in favour of the pacific settlement of disputes and arbitration, a principle embodied in the Constitution of my country. We are for negotiation, for the exchange of ideas and opinions, for respect for treaties, for we be-

lieve that in this great world there is room for all peoples, whatever their race, creed or ways of thought. That is why we are sure that the only way to attain universal understanding is to respect the creed, race and ways of thought of others. To attempt to impose our views on others, even without resort to violence, would constitute an invasion of the frontiers of the mind and therefore almost an act of aggression. There will be no peace unless the idea is wholeheartedly accepted that every country has the right to live the political life its people desire. We are against aggressive, selfish and arrogant nationalism, but we are nationalists, because we are a nation. Any policy which disregards or underestimates the indestructible strength of sound and natural nationalism is, in our opinion, doomed to failure. It is not a realistic policy; at best it is utopian and at worst it would be catastrophic because it would lead to war. Wars are not solely the consequence of deliberate offensive action; lack of understanding and intolerance can also cause them—and have done so.

152. There is another fact I wish to mention, a fact which is essential for a real understanding of Portugal: our talent for unification. In our territories people of differing race, language and religion live side by side. For centuries all these people have constituted a homogeneous national unit, without discrimination on grounds of race, origin, colour or on any other pretext. All are Portuguese, all enjoy the same national status, and from generation to generation we have striven to develop in all the same sense and ideal of Portuguese nationhood. The effort has been successful.

153. I would emphasize that this is not a recent development. On the contrary, it has been in progress for centuries. In this connexion, I should like to cite a report presented to the King of Portugal in the early seventeenth century by one of the chief organs of the Portuguese administration of that period. The report says that the Government's overseas provinces are in no way distinct or separate from the Kingdom, that they do not even belong to it by union, but that they are members of that Kingdom, in the same way as the European provinces, so that a person who is born and lives in Asia, Brazil or Africa can be just as much a Portuguese as a person born or living at Lisbon. For us then this is not a recent doctrine, for the report I have quoted dates from 1612.

154. I should like now to make special reference to a great country, whose very existence furnishes the finest proof of the sense of universality which dominates Portugal's history. I refer to Brazil, to whose formation Portugal devoted its best efforts and which today constitutes with Portugal a great community, the Luso-Brazilian community, formally established three years ago by a treaty between the two countries which is unique in history and which represents a splendid reality. The community was created through the centuries by long experience of life side by side, and out of it has grown an indestructible friendship and an identity of language, customs and ideas which might serve as an example of understanding between peoples.

155. In addition to many other questions which will long engage the attention of the Assembly we will have to settle two particularly urgent problems, the questions of the Middle East and of Hungary. It is hard to imagine that the United Nations will have more important problems to consider and try to resolve, for these are fraught with consequences and involve grave responsibilities.

156. To settle the problem of the Middle East, which is, in fact, not one problem but a tangle of extremely difficult and complicated problems, we will have to seek to devise solutions that go to the heart of the matter and provide a basis for a stable and viable equilibrium in that storm-racked area. In the Middle East, urgent and extremely acute problems have arisen which must be settled without delay, and to that end I welcome as a very salutary and plainly necessary measure the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force.

157. But it would be an error to believe that the United Nations will complete its task by solving these urgent problems if it does not also remedy the underlying causes which have brought them into being. It is essential that an effort should be made to study the causes in order to find adequate and balanced solutions that will satisfy the legitimate interests involved, many of which are unquestionably international in scope. In dealing with the problems of the Middle East, we must above all be realistic and view the problem as a whole, keeping constantly in mind all the factors involved and making no judgment out of this context, for otherwise we shall inevitably go astray.

158. As regards the problem of Hungary—that heart-breaking affair which has shaken and still shakes the conscience of the world—it is my earnest hope that the United Nations will find feasible means of remedying the immense evil that has been done and re-establishing as a living reality the essential principle of non-intervention by other States in the internal affairs of any nation. Unless that essential principle is held sacrosanct, international life is impossible. The situation is still worse when intervention is coupled with violence—and violence of so terrible a kind.

159. In conclusion, I should like once more to affirm the desire of the Portuguese people and Government to live in peace, a peace where justice, respect for law and respect for national sovereignty prevail. The United Nations can rely on the efforts of the people and Government of Portugal to achieve that end.

160. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): If we review the activities of the United Nations since the days of San Francisco, we realize that never before has mankind been so deeply concerned with the question of peace, this peace which we have not yet been able to achieve despite all our efforts and despite the material we have collected and examined in the hope of offering this great achievement to future generations. The fact is that the human and natural elements in our difficult task of reconciling various aspirations, ideals and interests are so prominent that we are at times dramatically made aware of our shortcomings, of obvious areas of disagreement and of lack of comprehension.

161. How, then, can we achieve peace? That is the main concern of the delegation representing the Dominican Republic at this eleventh session of the General Assembly, which is attended by the largest number of Member States in its history—the old founder States, like our own, those which joined later, and the new Members which are to offer us their much-needed co-operation, inasmuch as we agree that the universality of the United Nations, one of our long-standing hopes, is one of the main objectives of the Charter.

162. Yet the task of achieving peace has its price and is beset with thorny problems. The price must be paid in respect of any human endeavour and the thorny problems will arise because no path is ever entirely smooth.

The peace that we all long for and that would fulfil the yearning of millions of human beings throughout the world has implications and a meaning of considerable importance for the world today; it could be achieved through joint and sincere efforts if each one of us were to act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and develop his capabilities and if nations, like men, and States, like individuals, attained such a degree of social equilibrium and tolerance that they could discharge their domestic obligations without neglecting their foreign obligations and meet their international responsibilities without projecting their domestic policies into the outside world. What I have described is, in short, the good neighbour policy, which has already been proclaimed in the American continent—that admirable solidarity in efforts to promote the common good and the respect for human dignity and for the principles governing modern society and the international community.

163. Can it be that, instead of promoting peace, the material advancement of peoples corrupts peace, undermines and saps its very foundations? When we examine the achievements of our century and realize the existence of tremendous forces equally capable of mass destruction and of creation, all we can do is utter our desire for peace, a desire surely cherished in all the States which are aware of the responsibilities that would have to be borne in the event of another world war.

164. We are living in crucial times. The emergency meetings of the United Nations, precipitated by the events in the Middle East and Hungary, show how, through the United Nations, solutions can be worked out that are preferable to dramatic and irretrievably extreme action. The Charter itself mentions international co-operation and refers to the standards of conduct and ethics by which normal relations between countries should at all times be governed.

165. The Dominican delegation appears before the Assembly sharing the concern felt by all, because we can neither ignore the interdependence of nations and the universality of the international community, nor believe that a conflict of international proportions would fail to affect us. For this reason, people no longer think in terms of isolationism or neutralism, except as a means of concealing other designs, but on the contrary try to explain their position and policy in such a way that everyone knows with whom he is dealing.

166. All this has brought us to the conclusion that today, and in view of the way in which problems were dealt with during the emergency sessions, we are faced with a choice: on the one hand there is extremism, barbarity, the cruel treatment of defenceless masses calling for their freedom and rights, the enslavement of peoples whose name will always live in history and the enslavement of civilized nations with outstanding traditions, jealous of their patrimony and skill; on the other hand, there are the aspirations to a sensible form of self-determination, free of extremism and realizable by peaceful and normal means, democracy and all that it implies, the determination to conduct foreign policy according to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to contribute to world order by measures unaccompanied by schemes of political and ideological domination.

167. For these reasons, we wholeheartedly supported the desire of the Hungarian people for freedom, a desire which has already been expressed by the Dominican people, its Congress, its Government and its social

groups; for these reasons we also sympathized with the process of democratization in Poland, beheld with revulsion the repressive measures taken as a result of events in Poznan and were shocked by the grim tragedy of Budapest, that city flowing with blood and destroyed by the tanks of the army dispatched from the sinister walls of the Kremlin by the machinery of communism, which in our day has enacted the crudest scenes of contemporary history.

168. General Hector Bienvenido Trujillo, the President of the Dominican Republic, recently sent the following message to the President of the Assembly of Captive European Nations:

"I have the honour to refer to your message in which you, as the President of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, request the co-operation of the Dominican Government in the adoption of measures which will put an end to Soviet aggression in Hungary and give effect to the provisions of the General Assembly resolution of 4 November [1004 (ES-II)].

"I hasten to inform you and the other members of the Assembly of Captive European Nations that the Dominican Republic condemns wholeheartedly the violation of the United Nations Charter by the Soviet Union and will support unreservedly any action the object of which is to restore the sovereignty of the Hungarian people and to ensure respect for its inherent rights as one of the communities having the finest democratic traditions in the history of Christian civilization.

"The Dominican representatives to the United Nations have received instructions to support the suggestions made by the Assembly of Captive European Nations and to join in any move toward restoring to the Hungarian people its right to self-determination and implementing effectively the principles of the United Nations Charter, so grossly violated by the aggressive forces which are endeavouring to enslave man and to destroy the foundations of international order and human coexistence.

"In accordance with the policy adopted by Generalissimo Trujillo after the meeting of envoys, the doors of our country remain open to all Hungarian citizens and to any persons from other countries subjected to Communist barbarity; in our country they will always have an opportunity of working in full freedom and of co-operating with my Government in its efforts both to strengthen the country and to promote world peace, and to preserve and defend the institutions and principles which constitute the culture of the Western peoples.

169. That is why we pay our respectful tribute to the Hungarian heroes of the resistance, whose undying memory will live in the hearts of all who love freedom, and we take this opportunity to state that the Government of the Dominican Republic has decided, and has already informed the competent departments of the United Nations Secretariat, that it is prepared to welcome thousands of Hungarian refugees in a genuine desire to alleviate the situation in which they find themselves at this time at the frontiers of their subjugated country.

170. We submit that it would be intolerable if communism, by direct intervention with forces of the Soviet Union, were to impose on the Hungarians a Government which they do not want, particularly after they had indicated their intention of shaping the policy of

their country along lines more in keeping with universal democracy. It is on that ground that the great majority of the General Assembly based itself in expressing disapproval of the Soviet intrusion in Hungary, for this is far from being a domestic question of the Hungarian State or one of those political changes which are so common in many countries. The difference defies analysis, and there is no point in dwelling on it.

171. The world today rejects ideological interventionism by communism; *a fortiori*, it rejects communism supported by force. Therefore, the United Nations seeks to convey, by an expression of majority opinion, the idea that there are many other ways of making a country the ally of another, of making normal relations fruitful; instead of contributing to the formation of centres of dissension, one should, on the contrary, work to the utmost for coexistence protected by peace and the principles of international equality and co-operation.

172. For us the United Nations has been and will continue to be the only possible forum for the joint consideration of the problems of our generation. That is why we are so happy that at the present session nineteen additional Member States have been seated which, with the few that are still outside our ranks—among them Japan—constitute the long dreamed of, almost utopian, expression of that perfect association, which has been moulded by the needs of our civilization. We congratulate them.

173. Among the States recently admitted there are some, however, which cannot but receive our special congratulations. They are Spain and Italy: Spain, the protagonist of the great epic of America, whose blood, language, religion and traditions we proudly carry in our hearts and for which the Dominican Republic, as its first-born, feels so much affection; and Italy, the source of our Latin heritage, whose friendship for us, and that of its people, its children, have been so constant.

174. The agenda of the eleventh session includes delicate, difficult items with important political angles, and other items which help to justify to public opinion the existence of the United Nations. We have always believed that the United Nations should not be judged by its behaviour in dealing with or solving international problems which, because they affect the supreme political interests of Member States, sometimes are, by their nature, not amenable to immediate action on the part of this association of nations. Many people see only the vetoes in the Security Council, and think that the resolutions are not binding or that there is no way of enforcing them, that the machinery of the United Nations is no better than that of the old League of Nations because it has not been able to restrain the recklessness and ambitions of some States.

175. Nothing could be further from the truth than that kind of thinking. The United Nations, by the very nature and temperament of the Charter, is a uniform whole whose objectives are clearly set out in the Preamble. In the social, economic and legal spheres, in research into the indices of our civilization, in the work of many agencies, in the interchange of data and of comparative statistics, it has achieved considerable, even un hoped for, progress. What we should like to emphasize, most of all, is the personal interchange which enables men of all countries and races, origins, creeds and religions to know virtues and faults, things which cannot be measured but which, in the long run, enable us to evaluate problems and help to guide Governments and peoples.

176. For example, there is the progress achieved in technical assistance, on which the hopes of many under-developed communities rest; if we look at the records of other specialized agencies, we find in all their plans, in their results, experiments, studies, failures and successes, a solid conviction of success in obtaining what is best and in constantly doing something more for the welfare of the world and its inhabitants.

177. Finally, let us look at Chapters XI and XII of the Charter: they govern the treatment of dependent territories and entitle us to raise banners of triumph, for under the Charter new States have been created, self-government has been granted or foreshadowed, and, finally, within a few years, in 1960, we shall witness the attainment of independence by Somaliland and of self-government by Western Samoa, Territories which have been influenced by the Charter and which, through the collaboration of their peoples and administrators, have succeeded in mapping out their future political destiny.

178. After all, the United Nations is but the work of men and we have to expect to suffer from human weaknesses. It is for all of us to strengthen the United Nations and not to abandon it to the mercies of unrestrained emotions, the shocks of Marxist ideologies, or excessive nationalism, devoid of understanding and realism. The exercise of authority under the law and of respect for the inherent rights of man will help to make more tangible all that is proclaimed by "the supreme law of the international community".

179. This session of the General Assembly is dominated by the grave problems of the Middle East and Hungary, and it is not too much to say that there is a tendency towards much greater aggravation of certain difficulties in areas with reference to which the United Nations has included items on its agenda at the request of some of its Member States. Let us hope that, with a real understanding of the more urgent matters, those genuinely deserving priority, we shall be able to consider them with clarity of judgement, and that those others which tend to arouse or accentuate differences will be dealt with in a truly calm spirit. That, at any rate, is the consideration which will guide the delegation of the Dominican Republic in the consideration of the items on the agenda.

180. In connexion with the present conflict in the Middle East, we should like to stress that, now that the General Assembly has made the necessary recommendations for its settlement in the spirit of the Charter and now that a cease-fire has been attained in that region, all our efforts and all our energies should be combined to put a speedy end to that situation; it should certainly not be exploited for the purpose of introducing new

elements of discord which might precipitate a conflict of greater proportions.

181. My country wishes to express its thanks to the whole General Assembly for bestowing upon it the honour of selecting its representative as Chairman of the Fourth Committee; it is but a recognition of the constant attention we have given to such problems both during the sessions of the General Assembly and during the four years in which the Dominican Republic has served on the Trusteeship Council. The delegation of the Dominican Republic is confident that it will do justice to this proof of esteem, which comes primarily from the Latin-American group, now more than ever united on important United Nations problems.

182. I should also like to say that our membership for another year in the Economic and Social Council has enabled us to maintain our working association with the other States represented on that important body. In the Economic and Social Council, the Dominican Republic has been faithful to its ideas of social development, and of the existence of an inalienable right to social advancement, and to a reasonable policy of understanding for the various economic problems of the world.

183. Since our country is developing its own natural resources; since social law in the Dominican Republic is being promoted under the immediate direction of the leader who is our guide and inspiration; since advanced social and labour legislation has been adopted; and since our country is supported by a solid and stable economy, which is reflected in the excellent state of its finances, we naturally welcome the guidance given by the Economic and Social Council and, in spite of the magnitude of its schemes, devote ourselves to the great work it is doing for the benefit of mankind.

184. In keeping with these ideas, we assure the General Assembly that the delegation of the Dominican Republic is prepared to serve with enthusiasm the cause of peace, that our position will always be inspired by that ideal, and that, whenever the whole world looks to the United Nations for something tangible from its deliberations, we shall approach the intricate aspects of the maintenance and development of international orderliness with more hope than pessimism and with more conviction than despair.

185. The Government of the Dominican Republic hopes for peace, for a lasting peace, with guarantees, with respect for every State, with relations based on a worthy concept of coexistence. Finally, it hopes that the United Nations, in this hour of uncertainty, will be guided by the supreme demands of justice and right and will find the roads that lead to the happiness of all mankind for which we yearn.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.