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**President: Prince WAN WATHAYAKON
 (Thailand).**

AGENDA ITEM 62

Question of Algeria

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3537)

1. The PRESIDENT: In addition to the report of the First Committee on the question of Algeria, the General Assembly has before it a new draft resolution [A/L.220]. This is a conciliatory draft that, as I stated at the 653rd meeting, I hoped would be forthcoming, and it is now before the Assembly. It will be noted that it is co-sponsored by Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Italy and Peru—the six Powers which co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.167—and by Japan, the Philippines and Thailand—the three Powers which co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.166.

2. Under the circumstances, I should like to propose the following procedure: if there is no objection, we will proceed to vote on the new conciliatory draft resolution [A/L.220] and, thereafter, any delegation which wishes to explain its vote may do so. I shall read the text of the conciliatory draft resolution:

"The General Assembly,

"Having heard the statements made by the various delegations and discussed the question of Algeria,

"Having regard to the situation in Algeria which is causing much suffering and loss of human lives,

"Expresses the hope that, in a spirit of co-operation, a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found, through appropriate means, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

3. Is there any objection to the procedure I have indicated? I see none and, therefore, we will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Thailand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Ar-

gentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted by 75 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

4. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Costa Rica, who was absent during the roll call, wishes his delegation to be recorded as voting in favour of the draft resolution.

5. Mr. CROSTHWAITE (United Kingdom): I take great pleasure in announcing that the United Kingdom delegation wishes to rectify its vote. We shall also vote in favour of the draft resolution.

6. The PRESIDENT: Therefore the draft resolution is unanimously adopted.

7. U PE KIN (Burma): It is an observable and invaluable truth of nature that dawn or light follows dark or night and that sometimes human nature emulates nature itself. This is such an occasion. For approximately two weeks we have debated the question of Algeria in the First Committee. It appeared at times as though our debate was doomed to frustration and failure, while both France and Algeria suffered.

8. We had before us not one, but three draft resolutions, no one of which commanded the requisite majority. At one point in our deliberations, argument was so divisive as to make it appear that the world was separated in twain, politically, culturally and racially. The implications and the ugliness of that apparent division shocked many of us who participated on one side or another of the debate. It was indeed dark. Who among us could be satisfied with such a condition? Therefore an effort was made to clear the night, or at least to gray the dark.

9. No delegation among us would wish to say that it has achieved its purpose on this occasion, but surely most, if not all, delegations must feel that, in bringing to this body a draft resolution which commands the requisite majority, we have made progress. I do not wish to hide from myself, nor from my Government, the fact that the essence of what I proposed to the First Committee on 5 February [833rd meeting] with reference to the question of Algeria has not found favour in the Assembly. Nor do I wish, ostrich-like, to hide from the difficulties ahead. The difficulties are

real. The intensity of feeling on all sides of the issue indicates that maximum delicacy must be exercised if new irritations, new explosions and new dangers are to be avoided.

10. But real as the difficulties are, the resolution which this body has just adopted does make it possible for us to say that light follows dark, however gray the light may still be. We separately, and so often, speak of the United Nations Charter, and especially of those Articles and sections which we believe support our point of view. Although we are not devils, we can quote the Charter if the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose. But today, after a larger measure of unified action, it may be appropriate for me to conclude that we, together—not separately—are entitled to quote Article 1 of the Charter, particularly that section of the Article which declares that the United Nations should serve the international community as a harmonizing centre. The resolution adopted does just that.

11. That does not mean that we have sacrificed our principles. It does not mean that we believe that everything is sweetness because there is a little light. It does not mean that France has yielded on its dearly bought conception of the French Union and its Constitution of 1946. Nor does it mean that Algerian self-determination has been sacrificed on the block of spurious conciliation. The resolution which we have adopted does not mean these things. It simply means that Asia, Africa, Europe and the Western hemisphere—and all lands in between—shall seek common justice, shall have and shall use the time to find such justice, shall employ membership in the United Nations to further such justice and shall, in effect, attempt to make human nature a little more responsive to the light beckoning to us from Article 1 of the Charter.

12. We had wanted more than this resolution; in conscience, we could not take less.

13. In the light of these considerations, my delegation gladly accepts this resolution and looks forward to its outcome.

14. Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): My delegation voted in favour of this draft resolution with the firm conviction that both parties to this dispute—the great Republic of France, known for centuries throughout the world for its liberal outlook on life, and the great Algerian people, who have also inherited a great tradition, who are the proud inheritors of the Islamic tradition which has illumined the world—will find a way out of this difficult situation. We are certainly not unmindful of France's many liberal acts over the years, not only with regard to North Africa, but throughout the world. We also have great appreciation for the very considerate and sympathetic attitude taken by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have no doubt that most of us are convinced of his sincerity and his desire to be of the greatest help in the solution of this vexed problem. It is only fitting that we should pay him this humble tribute for the wonderful way in which he acquitted himself in the Assembly.

15. There is no doubt in my mind that the people of France, imbued with the traditions which they possess, will not turn a deaf ear to the cry of anguish which can be heard in Algeria.

16. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Algerians for the determination they have displayed, for their tenacity of purpose, for the sacrifices they have made in the cause of freedom. I am sure that the stand which they have taken can and will be appreciated by the

great French people. I do not doubt that there have been excesses on both sides. In a highly emotional issue of this type, excesses are bound to occur. But the time comes when friends of both sides must rally round and show a way out.

17. I can assure the great people of France that the African and Asian nations have approached this question in a spirit of moderation, in a spirit of understanding, with no desire to make this problem complex or difficult and with a sincere and genuine desire to see the Algerian people free and, at the same time, to help France to maintain the worthy traditions for which its name has stood throughout the centuries.

18. We can only appeal to both sides to refrain from further acts of repression of any kind, further acts of coercion, and let goodwill prevail. The stage has now been set for negotiations. Negotiation can only proceed if there is a spirit of amity and goodwill.

19. A spirit of understanding has been created. Let this understanding, then, be real and genuine on both sides. Let both sides approach the problem as one of interest to both of them, a problem for which a solution must be found in the interests of both parties. If a solution is found, I have not the slightest doubt that it will be a great credit to the French Government. As I have always maintained and as I know from experience, we in Asia want friends. There is no doubt in my mind that the people of North Africa will value the friendship of France. They know the French people; they understand French traditions; and they speak impeccable French. Therefore, it will be natural for them to seek the friendship of the French and enter into alliances with them whenever necessary.

20. The world needs friendship, and I only hope that the great people of North Africa and the great people of France will understand that position and make a great contribution towards peace in the world.

21. The successful solution of this problem will ease the tensions of the world to a great extent and will lay the foundations of everlasting peace in the area.

22. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): In all sincerity, I cannot refrain from expressing my profound satisfaction with the draft resolution that we six Powers, which had proposed a solution in the First Committee, arrived at jointly with the three sister Powers, Japan, Thailand and the Philippines. And my satisfaction is the greater for knowing that this formula has gained the acceptance of the sister Powers of the Arab world and of the other parts of Africa and Asia.

23. After what was in every respect a notable discussion and what I might describe as a rather stormy vote, we should all congratulate ourselves upon this result. And since congratulations should be cut even shorter than speeches, I am going to tell you in a few brief words what this resolution, which has been adopted with such magnificent unanimity, means to me.

24. First, from the legal point of view, it means that each of the groups holding different opinions on the very serious matter of competence has maintained its own political position. What a wonderful thing it is, when human minds are divided on points of such great importance, to be able to say: "Let each one of us preserve his legal position but let us nevertheless be unanimous in any action which may be taken for the benefit of mankind!" What a serious thing it would have been if, by a technical disagreement, we had paralysed the magnificent humanitarian work of the

United Nations! Then, while each of us reserves the right to disagree on juridical points and safeguards the position which he stated during the discussion, there remain the following political advantages, advantages of high policy—and perhaps in so saying I am expressing the opinion of all delegations. In the first place, the way is opened to a possible solution, a practical solution, a solution which implies sincere, cordial and generous co-operation between France and the people of Algeria as represented by their three racial elements: the Berbers, the Moslems and the people of French origin.

25. Why? Because the Assembly has heard, and has been compelled to take note of, the solemn obligation undertaken by France which, in line with its honourable and glorious tradition, it is going to fulfil: namely, that there will be a cease-fire and negotiations will be opened with the belligerents, as Mr. Pineau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, so eloquently said; that there will be free elections—as the United Nations desires—without racial discrimination and with Moslems, Berbers and those of French origin on an equal footing, and that the elections will be supervised by democratic countries; and that later there will be negotiations so that this nation may develop with French influence and French co-operation.

26. I contemplate all this with enthusiasm. We shall leave on one side the question of how these historic discussions will bring about the resurrection of the former somewhat heterogeneous Algeria of 1830. Or are we witnessing the birth of a new national spirit, the result of French culture and French inspiration? All this, which is the work of history, and throughout history the work of God, Providence wishes us to leave in the hands of France and of Algeria itself.

27. There is, however, another political point of view for me, as an old and devoted—and hence respectful—friend of the United Nations. In this struggle, which has been going on between certain European elements and certain Arab-Asian elements under the impartial but anxious eyes of the Latin-American countries, which want to be the friends of all for the good of humanity, a moment has arrived—Mr. President, a fortunate moment under your auspicious guidance—when all these groups have been able to engage in that collaboration which is so necessary for the peace and progress of mankind.

28. But there is something more: I find that it represents a reconciliation of two elements which should never be divided, of two elements which have, perhaps, struggled against each other in history. The Mediterranean used to be called "*Mare Nostrum*", "our sea". Today we do not want it to be exclusively our sea; we hope that, through collaboration between Arabs, Latins, Anglo-Saxons and Americans, it can be said that the Mediterranean Sea is mankind's sea.

29. This co-operation is vital for us, because we consider ourselves closely linked to the Arab-Asian countries, as I have said, not only because many American peoples have thousand-year-old cultures, which possibly have their roots in the ancient cultures of Egypt or China, but also because we ourselves have received Arab-Asian influences through our Spanish heritage, and, lastly, because we are united to them in the magnificent adventure of freedom and independence.

30. Lastly, I am delighted with this resolution because I have always thought that in the ethics of the United States of America there was a most beautiful sentence,

the sentence which represents all the generous and co-operative spirit of that great nation: "Give him or give her a chance", they say—give every human being, every group, a chance. They must be given a chance, in the spirit of fair play, in this struggle for existence. And if, in accordance with this generous moral principle, every man, every people and every group is to be given a chance, why not the noble French nation? Inasmuch as this Assembly resolution gives France a great opportunity, I cannot speak of this question without emotion, recalling the bonds that have joined the Spanish and the Latin cultures. I am proud of my Spanish heritage, of my Inca tradition and at the same time of the humanistic influence of France.

31. In my veneration and in my love, which is expressed in the beautiful Latin word *amor*, I have never made any distinction between my affection for France, for Italy and for Portugal and my deep-rooted and brotherly love for Spain.

32. I recall—as will Frenchmen and Spaniards too—the enormous influence which the great Spanish mystics like Saint Teresa of Avila, Diego de Estella and Francisco Suárez had on such great French thinkers as Bossuet and others, or the influence exerted by the Spanish dramatics Guillén de Castro and Ruiz de Alarcón on Molière, and the fact that the masterpiece of the French theatre deals with a Spanish theme, the mighty theme of Spain's greatest hero, the Cid. And then, in splendid reciprocity, France influenced us in Spain and in Latin America in that romantic movement to which I feel myself, as it were, united, a movement which we can never forget, because it lived for the sense of beauty and the dream of freedom.

33. Therefore, at this moment, when I see France restored to all the affection of the United Nations and to the place of honour to which its spirit of co-operation entitles it, I recall the saying attributed to Donoso Cortés that every man has two countries, his own and France, and I recall that the glories of France are sacred because they are the glories of humanity, and that we all venerate its wounds, which are no less sacred.

34. And so I say that this just resolution for mankind and for freedom gives France an opportunity to work for freedom and for the United Nations. An opportunity to *la France éternelle*.

35. Mr. ZEINEDDINE (Syria): The resolution just adopted was, as stated by the President, a conciliatory resolution, a product of the various opinions that were expressed during the debates of the First Committee by the sponsors of the three draft resolutions before the Committee and in particular by those who co-sponsored the draft resolution that was voted upon in the Assembly.

36. We voted for it because it is a compromise solution which does not give full satisfaction to any one side. We voted for it also because we believe that a compromise in which there is some loss is far better than the aggravation and the continuation of seething differences. We voted for it because it opens the way for a new hope of a new deal in Algeria between France and Algeria. Furthermore, this resolution has undoubtedly implied or stated certain basic factors influencing the Algerian situation which may be of real value in the future in the consideration of the problem.

37. First, the competence of the United Nations to deal with the Algerian problem was established beyond any reasonable doubt. The competence is a fact which

is now recognized by United Nations action. The Assembly discussed the Algerian question and the Assembly acted upon it, because it is of international concern. The Assembly did not, it is true, reach the point of suggesting any planned or previously ordained solution, but it has nevertheless indicated the way to a solution.

38. In our view, the parties to the Algerian question must henceforth negotiate in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This definitely excludes any unilateral action by either one of the sides most directly concerned. The law governing the Algerian question cannot be regarded as unilateral, for it is international, being the Charter of the United Nations.

39. This resolution clearly states that the Algerian question has to be dealt with—and a question has two sides, for otherwise, it would not be a question. Dealing with the Algerian situation in a spirit of co-operation, the resolution calls upon the two sides to go forward from the previous state of tension—of repression and resistance—to the peaceful path of co-operation, where they would act together. There can, of course, be no co-operation unless both sides take part for that purpose.

40. The way to co-operation is not spelled out by this resolution, but I think a clear indication as to the principal means by which co-operation and a peaceful solution may be realized has been given by the Committee in its discussions. Indeed, of the three draft resolutions with all their various paragraphs, the one which obtained, relatively, the highest majority was the three-Power draft [A/C.1/L.166], which spoke of "appropriate negotiations" as a means of achieving a solution. The delegations who supported the paragraph containing those words numbered fourteen more than those against it. This indicates the belief that this method should be practised as the principal means of achieving a solution.

41. I wish to stress this point—not, however, because it has any special interest from the point of view of principle, because no principle is directly involved in any negotiations unless the parties agree as to the basis on which they will negotiate. I wish to stress it, and to give it as a reason for voting for this resolution, because what happened is as follows.

42. The French Government, through its able delegation in the United Nations, suggested a process involving a cease-fire, election to the French National Assembly, and negotiations; that is to say, those elected to the French National Assembly from Algeria could negotiate with the French Government. On the other hand, we suggested a different approach to the solution of this problem, the gist of which is as follows: first, the formation of a provisional Algerian government, which would call for a constituent assembly to lay down a constitution for Algeria and, at the same time, start negotiations with France. Once the constituent assembly had been established, it should incorporate into the Algerian constitution safeguards for the legitimate rights and interests of the residents; and later on, through the duly elected and constituted authority of Algeria, such contractual relations might be established freely between France and Algeria in order to enable the two countries to co-operate.

43. The present resolution does not spell out either of these two policies, nor does it in any way contradict them. But in our view, by referring to "appropriate

means"—which, of course, includes the most appropriate means—it is to be understood that, during negotiations, these points of view will be considered with a view to establishing a procedure leading definitely to the full exercise by the Algerian people of its right of self-determination and independence, and of its equal right to enter into contractual relations with France so as to establish a process of co-operation, fruitful to both sides and freely agreed to by both sides.

44. These considerations were of importance. But this resolution brings with it—if not in its text, then by its very existence—a new state of mind; at least, I hope so. I should like to refer to this state of mind, because it motivated the attitude of many delegations. We have had debates—perhaps very heated debates. There was, in fact, at times a sense of complete opposition between the French stand and our stand; and I should like to recognize, if I as an opponent may do so, that the French delegation under the leadership of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France defended the French position in a masterly and a determined manner. But the conclusion of that debate resulted in a deepened sense that the two nations most directly concerned in this problem—the French nation and the Arab nation—should make a real effort to coexist in that area, and to coexist on a basis of friendship rather than on any other basis.

45. The attitude displayed by the French delegation in that respect is rather encouraging, and I wish to say that it is our earnest desire to see co-operation replacing, in the future, policies of domination or preponderance; and that, instead of a spirit of power, we would sense a spirit of friendship, to which we would then respond.

46. The friendship between the people of the Mediterranean area—as well as between the rest of the people of the world—is a boon to all peoples; and we have a sincere hope that a new attitude will be shown in dealing with the Algerian problem, and that that problem will be dealt with in a spirit of justice and liberty.

47. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): The debate on the Algerian question in the First Committee was, to my mind, very illuminating. Apart from the fact that it very clearly demonstrated the point of view of the people of Algeria and that of the French Government, it gave evidence of the further fact that here in the United Nations we can discuss our difficulties and give our points of view, and still keep in mind that there is always a way to find a solution through compromise and goodwill.

48. This was clearly exhibited in the draft resolution which was submitted at the last moment, and which had the honour of being moved by none other than the President. It has been demonstrated that, with a spirit of co-operation and a spirit of justice towards all peoples, we can always arrive at a position whereby world peace and international security can very well be preserved.

49. My delegation voted in favour of this resolution because, in the first place, the resolution is a fair one and, secondly, it shows clearly, in its preamble, that the General Assembly has "discussed the question of Algeria". Once the General Assembly has discussed a question, it means that the General Assembly has taken cognizance of the question; and, once the Assembly has taken cognizance of a question, it means that it has assumed jurisdiction. The third reason for our having voted in favour of the resolution is that, in

the second paragraph of the preamble, it is very clear that the Assembly took note of a "situation" in Algeria. The word "situation" has its own significance because it appears in more than one place in the Charter of the United Nations, and in the Charter it is given more importance than even a dispute. Once a situation exists, it is a political situation; and once there is a political situation, that political situation assumes an international character by the fact of its falling not only within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, but within the jurisdiction of the Security Council as well.

50. In its operative paragraph, the resolution refers to ideas which I should like to emphasize. First, it speaks of "a spirit of co-operation", and co-operation can only take place between two or more persons or parties; the prefix "co-" means "with", and it has no other meaning. I am not suggesting definitely that this would mean co-operation between France and the people of Algeria: let it be France and the people of Algeria; let it be France and the United Nations; let it be France and the people of Algeria and the United Nations. Whatever solution is worked out, the Assembly expresses the hope that there will be a spirit of co-operation. Secondly, the operative paragraph speaks of the solution to be sought as a peaceful one, and we are all here trying to secure peace; it says that the solution should be democratic, and democracy is the very essence of the Assembly and of all our Governments—without democracy it is impossible to have a real Government which functions for the good of the country, and without democracy we could not have the General Assembly, which is the embodiment of the United Nations and which debates all its problems, situations and questions in a spirit of democracy; further, the paragraph indicates that there should be justice in the solution, and once there is justice everything can be accomplished, particularly if this justice is manifest. In addition, the solution is qualified as having to be in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. These are the considerations which compelled my delegation to vote in favour of the resolution. If I may be permitted to do so, I should like to add a few words.

52. When we participated in the debate on the question of Algeria, and when this question was first brought before the United Nations [*A/2924 and Add.1*], our aim was by no means to have any dispute with France or with anyone else. Our primary aim was to bring about a happy solution to a situation in Algeria which is causing human suffering and a loss of human lives. This should be the primary aim of every Member of the Organization, which was established for the purpose of arriving at happy solutions and of preserving world peace and international security.

53. This resolution—or any resolution, even if drafted in the strongest possible terms—can be fruitful only if the people who are directly concerned with the resolution act upon it with wisdom, and are most careful in its application. The fact that this resolution was adopted unanimously has its significance; and its significance, I am sure, will be realized in the first place by the French Government. We rely on the wisdom of the French Government; we rely on that Government to take into consideration the fact that, in a matter such as this, where a resolution has been unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, France will benefit

the interests of both Algeria and France by bringing about a happy solution. We hope that, before the twelfth session of the General Assembly, we shall hear that the situation in Algeria is taking a direction which follows the wishes and the political aspirations of the people of Algeria, and which is to the utmost satisfaction of the French Government; if that takes place, we shall be very happy to see, for the first time that, through the General Assembly and through the United Nations—which are really united in this case—we are able to achieve something of great importance, which is the aim of the Organization.

54. Mr. JAMALI (Iraq): We are very happy indeed, Mr. President, that, under your Presidency, a resolution on Algeria has been unanimously adopted this morning. I wish also, on behalf of my delegation, to express our appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Belaúnde for the excellent manner in which, as Chairman, he directed the work of the First Committee on this subject. There is no doubt that his generous spirit, his wisdom and his experience meant much to us, and it is that spirit which led to this unanimous and happy conclusion.

55. I wish to join Mr. Belaúnde in saying that this resolution represents a great event, although not because of what it contains. What it contains certainly does not satisfy any of the parties concerned. But it is a great event because it shows that, by a spirit of compromise and a spirit of goodwill, very conflicting points of view may be brought to a happy unity and thus co-operation can take place. We definitely feel that this resolution is a beginning. We hope that the spirit of unity and the spirit of harmony demonstrated in this resolution will find its expression in Algeria itself.

56. What we want is a solution, not a resolution. We hope that this resolution is only a preface to the solution of the question of Algeria. May harmony, goodwill and the spirit of the Charter prevail in settling the Algerian problem.

57. My delegation certainly is not satisfied with this resolution because we had hoped that the word "self-determination" would be explicit rather than implicit in the resolution. We also wished that the negotiations of the Algerian nationalists with France would also be explicit and not implicit. But we hope that this implicitness will not deprive it of the effect of explicitness. We would certainly like to see the right to self-determination of the people of Algeria recognized. We would like to see negotiations between the Algerian nationalists and France take place on the basis of equality and friendship.

58. We supported this resolution, first of all, because it represents the true spirit of the United Nations and, in the second place, because it represents the true elements which we think are most vital. First, it establishes the competence of the General Assembly to aid in conflicts anywhere in the world. Wherever there is bloodshed, wherever there is lack of harmony among nations, the United Nations can and should take part in order to provide a favourable atmosphere. In the second place this resolution certainly is in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

59. This, in our view, is quite satisfactory. I do not think any Member here wishes to have anything but the spirit of the Charter prevail in Algeria and I am sure that France, a great Member of this Organization, cannot divest itself of the spirit of the Charter in its relations with Algeria.

60. We want to appeal to all nations represented here to recognize that a new nation—the nation of Algeria—has been born and now wants to take its place among nations. It wants recognition. We should all appeal to France, the nation of great liberal tradition, to recognize this fact and assist the progress of this new nation coming into existence and becoming one of us here. We appeal to France to appreciate the spirit of the times and to realize that the days of one people's ruling over another are gone.

61. We live in a new age, the age of freedom for all and independence for all, ruled by the spirit of co-operation and integration, but nothing can be done without recognizing the fundamental basis of independence and the right to self-determination.

62. We believe that the policy of "pacification" as applied to Algeria is not conducive to peace or harmony. We should like to see this policy changed and the policies of mutual recognition, co-operation and understanding replace this policy of bloodshed and terror in Algeria. We should like to appeal to France to see to it that the spirit of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* is actually, literally, applied to Algeria and that the Algerians and the French meet each other and deal with each other on the basis of these noble principles.

63. Certainly, once these principles are accepted, France will recognize the individuality of Algeria, the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence. Then Algeria will become a sister-State of France, an ally of France, and will not remain a subservient people under French rule nor an enemy and alien people. We wish to see a new era dawn between France and Algeria. We certainly appreciate the spirit of goodwill expressed by the French delegation in the Assembly on the question of Algeria. We appreciate their presence, their taking part in the discussion, and we certainly respect their point of view, although we disagree with them fundamentally. We were very sincere in what we told them and we believe in their sincerity. Let us come together. Let us understand each other. Let them see our point of view; we are not anti-French when we speak on behalf of Algeria. We want harmony and fellowship to prevail between us; we want the spirit of freedom to prevail in this world and certainly France would be so much the greater if it recognized the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence.

64. We sincerely hope that the day will come when France will come to the General Assembly, as it did in the case of both Tunisia and Morocco, to propose Algeria for membership in the Organization.

65. Mr. CARBAJAL VICTORICA (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): In stating the reasons which have induced us to support the resolution, we should like to express our complete satisfaction at the spirit which has prompted the entire Assembly to vote unanimously in favour of it. We ourselves do not think that, in explaining his vote, anyone can attempt to give a personal sense, scope and meaning to the decisions taken. In the Assembly, we should bear in mind an infallible rule in the interpretation of laws: namely, that the formula adopted is independent of those who vote for it and should be regarded as the result of the general feeling of the Organization.

66. Nevertheless, I must state a few conclusions which fully explain why Uruguay voted as it did. We were glad to vote in favour of the resolution and we did so without any reservations. I think that the deci-

sion of the Assembly proves that there is no reason to suspect that there are any groups within this representative world body which are organized for the purpose of supporting ideas inconsistent with truth, law and international justice.

67. The discussion which took place proves that all nations are subject to persuasion; that here no specific group of nations will ever be able to say that it will not count in advance on the support or opposition of the other delegations regarding the ideas which it is presenting. I for my part should like to emphasize the extreme importance I attach to the fact that political democracy, human rights and the principle of the self-determination of peoples are not regarded as Western principles which the East cannot share or as a course which the East may lay down as a challenge to the nations of the West. In my opinion, this decision and the spirit that prevailed during the debate in the First Committee have made it abundantly clear that all these principles are the foundation of the legal system of the United Nations Charter, which it is the duty of all Member States to safeguard by their decisions.

68. With respect to the substance of the resolution, I shall only say that it is very similar to the text which Uruguay proposed to various delegations, with this one difference: we pointed out clearly what we regarded as "appropriate means", namely, the cessation of hostilities, a cease-fire, an exemplary election with full guarantees to enable the Algerian community to express its political wishes, and then negotiations.

69. We were also pleased that the draft resolution, which speaks of the principles of the United Nations Charter, refers clearly to the purposes, too, for Chapter I of the Charter refers to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, and the purposes include human rights, fundamental freedoms and the need to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

70. If the draft resolution referred only to the principles, it would have seemed as if the purposes were being disregarded.

71. I must now go into the interpretation of the resolution, without violating that infallible rule concerning interpretation to which I referred previously. I have been assured that the authors of the text did not mean to claim that this matter should be governed by the principles of the Charter and not by the purposes of the Charter. It is clearly understood that it will be governed by the Purposes and Principles of Chapter I; although the text reads "in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, it is tantamount to saying "in conformity with the spirit of the United Nations Charter".

72. For that reason we voted for the text in the form in which it was submitted and in so doing we followed the spirit of the whole Assembly.

73. I cannot, however, fail to take this opportunity to stress one essential problem: that of the interpretation of domestic jurisdiction, the so-called reserved questions.

74. In any problems involving human rights, the fundamental freedoms of peoples or the principle of the self-determination of peoples, domestic jurisdiction and reserved questions cannot play the part they have been given by the letter of the Charter for the protection of sovereign States because they do not apply to such problems.

75. Respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the development of peaceful relations based on respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples are duties imposed on all Member States by the letter and spirit of the Charter.

76. Once again, therefore, we emphasize the point of view we supported, in very good company, during the discussion in the First Committee. I do not say that all the delegations which voted in favour of this resolution share our opinion, for in matters concerning human rights, fundamental freedoms and the self-determination of peoples we have heard them maintain in hard, rigid, absolute terms the theory of the incompetence of the General Assembly.

77. I think that a study of the entire Charter will show that neither in the Purposes and Principles nor in the part that describes the competence of the General Assembly can there be the slightest doubt that this representative world body is competent to consider these problems and to make recommendations about them.

78. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): In my statement on 13 February in the First Committee [845th meeting], I ventured to suggest that we should include in the draft resolution then under discussion some useful provisions of the draft resolution which had been submitted by Japan, the Philippines and Thailand [A/C.1/L.166].

79. I also ventured to suggest that it would be helpful if the sponsors of the various draft resolutions could try to agree upon a single text. For that reason, my delegation wishes to express its particular satisfaction that, thanks to the persistent efforts at reconciliation made by the sponsors of the two draft resolutions adopted by the First Committee [A/3537], as also the efforts of other delegations, it was possible to work out a compromise text for which we were all able to vote.

80. My delegation hopes that the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly will help to expedite an effective solution of the problem which has concerned us here—a solution which, as stated in the text, will be “a peaceful, democratic and just solution” designed to promote the welfare of all the inhabitants of Algeria and of the great French nation.

81. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): The Portuguese delegation wishes to state that, on voting for the present resolution, we maintain the same views which we expressed in the First Committee [846th meeting]. Therefore, our vote does not prejudge our position in the question of competence, but it merely recognizes that the resolution is an expression of the hope and wish that exist in the hearts of all peace-loving Governments and peoples of the world.

82. Mr. KASE (Japan): My delegation had the honour to sponsor jointly, together with eight other delegations, the draft resolution which has just been adopted unanimously. A part of the draft resolution was based on the three-Power draft resolution submitted to the First Committee [A/C.1/L.166], of which we were also one of the co-sponsors. I would like, therefore, to make a very brief statement at this juncture.

83. At its 846th meeting, the First Committee adopted, after a somewhat acrimonious debate, two draft resolutions on Algeria [A/3537]. There were some differences between the two, but they were both

the product of good will—a sincere desire to bring about a speedy and satisfactory solution of the Algerian question. That meant that there was a common denominator, so to speak, of good will and that led us to believe that it should be possible to harmonize the two draft resolutions and work out a suitable compromise to meet the exigencies of the situation. I said “compromise” because, without compromise, it is impossible to overcome the differences which often confront us.

84. The spirit of compromise is the magic key of diplomacy which opens the locked door of stalemate. Indeed, it is that key which again helps us to emerge from the dark room of confrontation into the bright hall of conciliation. Let me, on this occasion, express our gratitude to the six Powers, which together with Japan, the Philippines and Thailand sponsored the draft resolution [A/L.229] for their co-operation in meeting us half way. And—I hope I am not violating United Nations etiquette in saying this—I should like to thank also the eminent representatives of Iran, Mexico, Guatemala, and other distinguished representatives, for their indispensable contributions towards bringing about this compromise. We owe the happy culmination of the negotiations to these men of good will. I assure you, gentlemen, that there never has been a group of more honest brokers—they are more honest than even the proverbial honest brokers.

85. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France for his statement before the First Committee [830th and 831st meetings], and to our Arab friends for their moderation.

86. At the same time, I believe that we should not forget the great debt which we all owe to Mr. Belaúnde, the distinguished Chairman of the First Committee.

87. My delegation is extremely gratified that the United Nations has dealt with the Algerian issue in this manner. At one stage in our deliberations, we feared that the United Nations was to remain a house divided against itself on this grave issue. That would have been damaging to the prestige of our Organization and, consequently, derogatory to the cause of peace. Anxious to prevent such a development, my delegation tried, in its humble manner, to ameliorate the situation, and it feels now more than rewarded by the results of the joint effort ably undertaken by our distinguished colleagues. Thanks to the compromise, the United Nations has recaptured its sense of mission, regained its power of imagination, and reaffirmed the unity of purpose among its Members.

88. In my intervention before the First Committee [840th meeting], I stated that the question of Algeria was a moral issue. I believe so firmly. It is with that belief that I appeal earnestly to the parties to the conflict to settle their differences amicably, upholding the Charter of the United Nations.

89. I wish to conclude this short statement on a note of hope—hope for a better world, a world of concord and conciliation, not of strife and struggle, a world of progress and prosperity, not of destruction and devastation. It is our ardent prayer that the step we have just taken may prove to be a significant step forward towards the realization of a bright new world of enduring peace.

90. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly has just adopted a resolution which closes the debate on the Algerian question. The First Committee discussed the matter for ten days. All

opinions were expressed, and the whole question was thoroughly discussed. From this debate there has emerged a set of principles which have been affirmed by speakers on both sides and which have been directly or indirectly included in the conciliatory resolution which our Assembly has just adopted.

91. Accordingly, the debate has shown the keen interest of all delegations in the unfortunate and serious situation in Algeria. It has also shown that the delegations as a body are opposed to violence, to war and to repression that our Organization is opposed to the settlement of any conflict, including the conflict in Algeria, by force; and that all the delegations are in favour of a peaceful settlement, by means of direct negotiations on a really democratic and sincere basis, of the dispute which has unhappily set the Algerian people against France since November 1954. The debate has shown with absolute clarity that the General Assembly of the United Nations affirms the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and invites that people and France to settle their dispute among themselves, in all freedom and dignity. In our opinion, the relations between France and Algeria are developing in a new direction. We consider that the door is open for the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to freedom. All that remains now is for France and the Algerian people to discuss the methods and stages of that freedom, taking into account the realities of the French and the Algerian positions and the mutual and legitimate interests created by the fact of their 127 years of coexistence and their separation only by the Mediterranean. The door is open for co-operation between France and Algeria on the basis of recognized rights and of a dignity that has been degenerated.

92. My delegation, opting, as Tunisia has always done, for conciliation with regard to methods, once the principles had been proclaimed and recognized, finally voted in favour of the draft resolution because, as a compromise text, it took into account, either directly or indirectly, all the principles of the Charter and proposed all the methods indicated therein. That was why the draft resolution met with our consent. But the main reason for that consent was our confidence that the generous principles which have inspired France for so long—the principles of the liberation of peoples, of respect for the intangible rights of man would finally and forever prevail over the desire for domination; because in France wisdom and reason always triumph in the end over folly and error.

93. Tunisia's experience has proved this. I would express the hope that the methods which enabled France and ourselves to settle our old dispute, will be used to settle the dispute between France and Algeria. It is now the turn of France to speak. I would express the hope that France will be able to go beyond the letter of the resolution we have just adopted, beyond the paragraphs, the words and the commas, and will grasp the general meaning of the debate that took place here on the substance of the question; that meaning is the unanimous desire of Member States for a settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter, reached by the methods laid down by the Charter, that is to say, by genuine negotiation with the real representatives of the Algerian people. I hope that we shall not be obliged to discuss the Algerian question again at the twelfth session. That is our confident hope. I would also express the hope that the Algerian people, having regained its freedom and being the master of its fate, will soon rejoin the free world in maintaining and defending the

international peace and security and the principles for which it has fought so long.

94. Mr. BEN ABOUD (Morocco) (*translated from French*): First of all, my delegation wishes to thank the General Assembly for the spirit of co-operation and goodwill that has been shown by all delegations. We should like to extend our special congratulations and sincere thanks to the President of the General Assembly for the spirit of conciliation and flexibility with which he has guided our deliberations. We are grateful to Mr. Belaúnde, the Chairman of the First Committee, whose generosity of mind has been a beacon of inspiration to us in choosing the right path, that of normal principle, of conciliation and of brotherly love among all delegations. We also thank the French delegation which, by its presence, facilitated the work of the First Committee, made known the views of the French Government, and thus filled all our hearts with renewed hope.

95. We are also grateful to the African-Asian group for holding aloft the torch of evolution from the old to the new order, for which we would make any sacrifice that might be required of us. We also appreciate the praiseworthy and sincere endeavours of the Latin-American delegations, which have spared no effort to reach a compromise. We are fortunate in finding ourselves seated among the representatives attending the First Committee, all of whose statements reflected goodwill, objectivity and concern for truth.

96. The resolution is a compromise; that is to say, it is a human work. It has not achieved perfection, but it has reconciled existing views. We welcome it, and in a spirit of conciliation, in recognition of our limitations and in appreciation of the extent of our powers, we were glad to add our vote to the unanimous decision of the delegations present here.

97. This resolution will help to pave the way for conciliation by means of bilateral negotiations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The solution is now in the hands of the parties concerned. My Government has never lost confidence; it has always remained in contact with France, because we have always fostered the hope that France and ourselves would reach a solution acceptable to both. The examples of Morocco and Tunisia give us conclusive proof of this.

98. My Government is ever prepared to extend its hand to the French delegation, which has always treated us fraternally, and with which, as we have often said, we have felt ourselves to be members of the same family. But although the solution we reached this morning is a compromise, that does not mean that the resolution disregards the tenor, letter and spirit of earlier draft resolutions, beginning with the eighteen-Power draft [A/C.1/L.165] and after the three-Power draft [A/C.1/L.166] ending with the very moderate draft resolution proposed by the six Powers [A/C.1/L.167]. The most important point for my delegation is the trend of the debate in the First Committee. It was a closely argued, strictly objective debate, which showed the importance which the whole world attaches to the Algerian question as an example of transition from the old order to the new. This discussion was essentially democratic; it was frank, and it gave an opportunity for hearing all points of view; opinions of all kinds were heard with a concern for the truth which does credit to all the delegations which discussed the Algerian question in the First Committee.

99. We have all profited from this; we have profited from the constructive contributions of the French delegation, from the no less valuable contributions of other delegations and from the spirit of conciliation which so patently imbued our work. We have shown that, although we were not prepared to bargain over questions of principle, we wished to make every effort to reach a solution in a spirit of flexibility, compromise and conciliation, so as not to precipitate too abruptly the rapid change which Algeria requests in its desire to pass from the old order to the new order of freedom.

100. The trend of the votes in the First Committee was for us a mirror of international conscience. It demonstrated the general support and recognition of the legitimacy of a struggle for freedom. It also demonstrated recognition of the principles of the right of peoples to self-determination and of respect for fundamental freedoms. It demonstrated recognition of the importance of the idea of negotiation wherever a dispute exists, and especially in the case of an armed conflict between two different entities. It gave us an idea of the support that delegations to the United Nations would give to peaceful methods, and of the preference of each one of us for those peaceful methods over military action. Throughout this debate, we all showed an adequate knowledge of the Algerian problem. The unanimous desire to discuss this problem is one of the most encouraging signs of our times. The crux of the Franco-Algerian dispute lies, as we have already said, in the expressed will of subject peoples to pass from the old order to a new spirit which, we fervently hope, will serve as the foundation of a new order in the very near future. The French are firmly convinced of this truth. Even from their point of view, nothing great can be accomplished without clashes and pain. And sometimes it is the clashes and the pain that make us great.

101. I would recall here some ideas expressed by Emile Boutroux, a French philosopher. He said that the meaning of evolution everywhere, whether it took place within one nation or throughout the world, was expressed by the existing conflict between rigid law, or the transitory and ephemeral order of things, and conscience, moral awareness and a yearning towards freedom.

102. It is in this spirit that our delegation has seized its opportunity as a Member Nation to contribute to the solution of a problem which is undeniably a painful one, but which bears the seeds of freedom and of encouragement for future international co-operation.

103. The unanimity shown in the General Assembly is a proof of the sympathy of all delegations for the struggle of the Algerian people and for the praiseworthy efforts of the French Government.

104. Every people has its genius. France fully understands the deep meaning of every word uttered by our delegation. We know very well that reason, in the sense of the Latin word "*ratio*", or rational reason, is an attribute of French culture. We know very well that the Christian foundations of the French soul have always been imbued with love. The Algerian people also has its own genius. It is a genius which is impregnated with the Arab-Moslem culture and civilization, in which the order of Hebraic law was later inspired by Christian love; the two orders merged into the combination of knowledge, law and love which is the religion of Islam. These two peoples have everything to gain from free collaboration, with a view to building a new civiliza-

tion. All civilizations complement one another, and new civilizations are born through the accumulation of all struggles for freedom throughout the world.

105. The concept of freedom has hitherto had a somewhat painful connotation. The United Nations is aware of the triangle that has existed to this day, with Asia, Africa and the Middle East in one corner, Europe in the second, and the United Nations in the third. Asia, Africa and the Middle East have taken advantage of the existence of the United Nations to bring to it their complaints against the old order and their aspirations towards a new order. It is our fervent hope that this triangle will be replaced by a new one, in which the spiritual East and the rational West will exchange technical assistance and mutual aid through the United Nations.

106. Accordingly, in all the questions discussed in the United Nations the Moroccan delegation will make its contribution in the most intellectual and sincerest sense in order that it may help to the best of its abilities and to the extent allowed by the span of human life in building a new civilization which, we are sure, will soon come about and which will satisfy body and soul and the most profound rational and metaphysical aspirations of mankind towards the hope for a future world better than that in which we now live. We therefore thank all delegations for showing a spirit which has already opened a window on a radiant future.

107. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): First of all, I should like to associate myself with the tribute paid to the spirit of conciliation which has dominated the latter stages of this debate.

108. The reason why the resolution was adopted unanimously was that it does not prejudice the question of competence. The resolution makes no recommendation, but confines itself to expressing a hope. That made it possible for many delegations to vote in favour of it including the Belgian delegation, which considered that the Organization was not entitled to intervene in a question such as that of Algeria. Other delegations which do not share our views have tended to allow sentimental considerations to prevail over juridical ones. The Belgian delegation, for its part, has adhered to the position from which it has never departed. Any institution which disregards its statutory law surrenders itself to arbitrary rule and compromises its authority.

109. Attempts have been made to justify our Organization's intervention in the name of the principle of the self-determination of peoples. This principle is indeed enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and it is no less dear to us than to others. On many occasions throughout its history, the Belgian people has fought its freedom and independence. If that is anti-colonialism, may I be allowed to say that no one has the right to claim to be more anti-colonialist than we are. But it is not enough to invoke the principle of self-determination to justify disregard of a formal provision of the Charter which determines the Organization's competence.

110. The resolution that has been adopted refers to statements made during the debate. These include the statements in which the French Minister for Foreign Affairs outlined the programme which his country is carrying out. It is not for us either to approve or disapprove of that programme. We are neither responsible for doing so nor able to do so. It should be noted, however, that it would scarcely be possible to conceive,

in the present circumstances, of a procedure more liable to guarantee the free expression of the aspirations of peoples. In the opinion of the Belgian delegation, such a programme fully justifies the hope, expressed in the

resolution, that a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.