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General debate (continued)

**SPEECHES BY MR. ZAFRULLA KHAN (PAKISTAN) AND
MR. SUNARIO (INDONESIA)**

1. Mr. ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): Permit me to offer the President our most sincere felicitations on her election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We would wish also to congratulate the Assembly on having made that choice. In so doing the Assembly has secured a president who in her person combines not only the charm and the grace that go with her sex, but also great dignity and high intellect.

2. We also wish sincerely to congratulate the new Secretary-General on the assumption of his high office. We would assure him that we shall give him our fullest co-operation in the discharge of his heavy and high responsibility.

3. Two main evils continue to poison human relations and largely to nullify all effort directed toward the advancement of human well-being, physical, moral and spiritual, which is the ultimate object of all beneficent effort here below. These evils are political domination and economic exploitation of man by man. Until these are completely eliminated and replaced everywhere by complete political freedom and free and beneficent economic co-operation, all hope of peace and well-being is in vain.

4. The United Nations Charter makes provision for the progressive elimination of these ills. The preamble to the Charter recites the determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", and to that end "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". Among the purposes of the United Nations is the development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Considerable progress has indeed been made in both these spheres since these objectives were proclaimed in the Charter. The progress has been more noticeable in the economic sphere, as there has developed little friction over or opposition to what needs to be done. The limitation there is one of resources. In the political sphere too substantial progress has been made, but there the process has not been marked always by agreement and co-operation.

5. On the economic side, effort has been mobilized on a collective regional and even individual basis and has proceeded in many and varied directions. The activities of the Economic and Social Council are beginning to show wholesome results and are being progressively better appreciated. The reduction of tariffs, the promotion of freer trade, technical assistance, economic aid, the operations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Monetary Fund, the wholly beneficent activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the activities of other similar organizations and agencies are all directed towards that end. The Colombo Plan is an excellent instance of regional or group co-operation. All this effort, however, needs to be vastly expanded and intensified. The struggle against want, disease and ignorance must be waged constantly, unremittingly and on an ever wider scale.

6. One aspect that must be stressed is that the circumstances and needs of under-developed countries call for much greater emphasis upon economic aid than upon technical assistance. We trust that during the course of the present session special attention will be directed towards achieving this result. While, therefore, much remains to be attempted and achieved, that which has been done and is being planned deserves to be gratefully acknowledged and appreciated.

7. In our own case, in addition to the benefits ensuing from the kind of activity that has just been mentioned, we have recently been the recipients of aid and relief in respect of our urgent need of food, for which we are deeply grateful. This timely and generous aid has enabled us to tide over the emergency and to avoid grave distress that threatened to overtake a large section of our people. Special mention must in this connexion be made of the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which accorded us generous and speedy aid.

8. In the political sphere notable progress was made in the years that followed immediately upon the termination of the second world war. The Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon all achieved or made more absolute their independence. Since then Libya has been set up as an independent State, the Sudan has arrived at the threshold of independence and Somaliland has been promised independence in a matter of six years from now. Great Britain, which has set an example in this regard to the other colonial Powers, is continuing its effort to carry on the process in its West African colonies. The process has, however, been brought to a standstill elsewhere. Parts of Asia and the greater part of the vast continent of Africa are still held in political subjugation. We have been reminded of tensions that continue to threaten international peace. The situation in Korea, the Far

East and Europe are uppermost in the minds of most of us. Last year, on Korea, I said [395th meeting]:

"It does not seem to us that there are any insuperable difficulties in the way of bringing the conflict in Korea to a close on a basis which should be just, humane and honourable for all concerned. We hope that a settlement of that description may be reached during the course of this session of the General Assembly. We shall be ready to do our share in and make our due contribution towards converting that hope into a reality."

9. Fortunately this hope has been realized to the extent that an armistice has been concluded in Korea, and there has been a cessation of fighting on that front. But peace there, as elsewhere, continues to be precariously balanced. Our deliberations here and the decisions that we may reach will profoundly influence the future course of events. We pray that we may all be rightly guided so that what we say and what we do here will promote and foster peace and the well-being and happiness of men rather than further provoke ill will, strife and misery.

10. But the situation in Korea and in the Far East is not the only source of tension that threatens peace. In fact, in both cases it is but a symptom and manifestation of the basic evil to which I have just referred. In other words, that evil is the denial of the brotherhood of man—of all men, whatever the colour of their skins, white, dark, brown or yellow—and the arrogant assumption that certain sections of mankind are entitled as of right, to exercise domination over other groups of their fellow-beings. This is a doctrine that we repudiate and abhor. In our view, the exercise of such domination is an affront to human dignity which constitutes the gravest single threat to the maintenance of peace and the establishment of beneficent co-operation between different sections of the human race, irrespective of whether this domination manifests itself in Korea, in Indo-China, in Tunisia, in Morocco or elsewhere. It is a cancer that is constantly eating away a large part of the fruits of all beneficent human efforts. We are convinced that there will never be established peace upon earth or goodwill among men until those who, once a year, sing sanctimoniously of the heralding of such consummation demonstrate effectively, through their policies and conduct, the full, complete and utter acceptance of the equality and brotherhood of all men. We have had declarations in plenty, but these declarations—often couched in noble and high-sounding language—are far more often belied than honoured in practice. Until this disparity between our declarations and our conduct is eliminated we cannot hope to see established peace upon earth and goodwill among men. We have been exhorted:

"Why do you say that which you do not? It is greatly displeasing in the sight of God that you say that which you do not."

11. We heard yesterday [434th meeting] with satisfaction a clear statement of policy on behalf of the Government of the United States about the main problems with which we shall be called upon to deal during the present session. That statement breathes a spirit of conciliation and conveys an eagerness to march forward towards the achievement of the goals set out in the Charter of the United Nations. We welcome it as such. There is much in that statement that we can emphatically endorse. We note with par-

ticular gratification the reaffirmation on behalf of the Government of the United States of the belief expressed in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed, and also of the belief declared by that greatest of American presidents, Abraham Lincoln, that there is "something in that Declaration giving liberty not alone to the people of this country but hope to the world for all future time".

12. Mr. Dulles went on to assure us:

"No peace can be enduring which repudiates the concept that government should rest on free consent, or which denies to others the opportunity to embrace that concept."

13. If I may say so without impertinence, I have long admired the lofty views and noble concepts of Mr. Dulles. I have often had occasion to repeat the words with which he inspired us in San Francisco two years ago. He said on that occasion:

"Dignity cannot be developed by those who are subject to alien control, however benign. Self-respect is not felt by those who have no rights of their own in the world—who live on charity and who trade on sufferance. Regard for justice rarely animates those who are subjected to such grave injustice as would be the denial of peace. Fellowship is not the mood of peoples which are denied fellowship."

14. Yesterday again we were deeply affected when he appealed—specifically to one set of leaders, but I have no doubt generally to all of us—to recognize that:

"love of God, love of country and the sense of human dignity always survive. Repressive measures inevitably lead to resentment and bitterness and perhaps something more. That does not come about by artificial stimulation; it comes about because the Creator has endowed all human beings with the spark of spiritual life".

It is true that Mr. Dulles qualified himself. He said:

"But our creed does not call for exporting revolution or inciting others to violence. Let me make that emphatic. We believe that violent change usually destroys what it would gain. We put our hopes upon the vast possibilities of peaceful change."

But what if peaceful change in the desired direction is resisted and blocked by those in a position of domination and if matters of peaceful change are sought to be put down by repression?

15. Speaking of Indo-China, Mr. Dulles said:

"The pretext, until now, has been that the Associated States of Indo-China were mere colonies, and that the communist war was designed to promote 'independence' . . ."

and went on to affirm:

"It is no longer possible to support such a pretext. The French Government, by its declaration of 3 July 1953, has announced its intention of completing the process of transferring to the governments of the three Associated States all those remaining powers that are needed to perfect their independence to their own satisfaction."

16. We sincerely welcome that development. Is it, however, an instance of the efficacy of peaceful change? France, which had readily agreed to transfer the sovereignty of these States to an aggressive Japan, was not

willing, after Japan had been defeated, to acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of the people of Indo-China. Hence the violent struggle. It is because of that violent struggle that the French Government has at last been compelled to make the declaration of 3 July 1953. That declaration is no evidence that France is inspired by the desire to promote liberty and independence through peaceful change: it is proof of the success of violent struggle.

17. Should there be any here who might be disposed to question the validity of that contention, we would draw their attention to the situation in Tunisia and Morocco, with which we have been confronted over so long a period. Here is a people with a glorious history and proud traditions, keenly sensitive to its present inglorious and humiliating plight of dependence, which is seeking to win back the independence of which it was stripped by France in the latter half of the last and the early part of this century. The people and its sovereigns have been engaged in a process of seeking to achieve their perfectly legitimate objectives through negotiation and peaceful change. What has been France's response? Repression and more repression. What has been the reaction of the Western Powers? Indifference.

18. France takes its stand upon so-called treaties and seeks shelter behind Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. As regards treaties of the character of those relied upon by France, permit me to repeat a few observations that I made last year during the course of my statement in the general debate. I said then [395th meeting]:

"Another weapon which it is sought to press into service for the purpose of bolstering up this outmoded and immoral system is some provision in a treaty or convention directly imposing or indirectly introducing the relationship of domination and dependence.

"In every instance of the kind that has so far come to our notice the treaty or convention was the result of the use of aggressive force or was secured by coercion or in circumstances which left the other party little choice in the matter. Most treaties and arrangements of this type are also vitiated by the consideration that they purport to have been entered into on behalf of the dominated people by some ruler or functionary who was compelled or persuaded to barter away the birthright of the people in return for some benefit, exemption, indulgence or consideration—substantial or illusory, granted or promised—for himself or his family.

"Such a treaty or convention, however solemnly expressed, can claim no validity whatsoever. It merely attests to a breach of trust on the part of the ruler or functionary who purported to enter into it and a procurement and abetment of such a breach on the part of the dominant Power in whose favour it was executed . . . no arrangement can, in our view, claim moral validity, which is not arrived at between the representatives of a free people occupying a position of equality *vis-à-vis* their opposite numbers and subject to no pressure or coercion of any description."

19. Assuming, however, that the treaties are valid, where does France stand in respect thereof?

20. The Tunisian treaty guarantees full internal autonomy to Tunisia. France has, in effect, torn that part of the treaty to shreds. The guarantee has proved to be a snare and a delusion. In fact, the struggle of the

Tunisian people today is aimed at securing the implementation of that part of the treaty.

21. In the Moroccan treaty, France pledged, among other things, to lend constant support to His Sherifian Majesty against all dangers which might threaten his person or throne or endanger the tranquillity of his states. The way in which that pledge has been honoured is manifest from the fact that His Sherifian Majesty is today an exile and virtually a state prisoner in Corsica. The French Resident-General has declared that that is the culmination of a series of events over a period of ten years, which has proved that French co-operation with the Sultan is no longer possible. That is true only in this sense: that France is determined to perpetuate the political dependence of Morocco, and the Sultan had dedicated himself to the task of restoring independence to his people.

22. I turn now to the question of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. That matter was exhaustively discussed last year in the First Committee and the General Assembly. It is not necessary to go into it again at this stage. It may, however, be observed that there has been noticeable an increasing tendency on the part of those who have established for themselves a position of domination to seek to resist any discussion of the evils and abuses of such domination by pressing into service the provision contained in Article 2, paragraph 7. We shall advert to this aspect on an appropriate occasion when this question may again be raised. Suffice it to say here that Article 2, paragraph 7, cannot be used to defeat the very purposes of the United Nations Charter.

23. France goes on talking of reforms, mainly in the municipal sphere. What are the aim and essence of these much-vaunted reforms? The purpose of the so-called reforms is to secure for the territories' French nationals, who are in no sense citizens of the States and who constitute only a negligible proportion of the population, a representation of 50 per cent in the municipal councils and the so-called consultative assemblies. These reforms amount to a fraud on the people of Tunisia and Morocco and would deprive those people in perpetuity of liberty, freedom and dignity in their own lands. That, in effect, is France's reply to the process of peaceful change.

24. When the matter came before it last year, the General Assembly expressed confidence that, in pursuance of its proclaimed policies, the Government of France would endeavour to further the rights and liberties of the peoples concerned, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. During the period that has since elapsed, France has demonstrated how misplaced was the Assembly's confidence. The Assembly expressed the hope that the parties would continue negotiations on an urgent basis for the purpose of developing free political institutions. France has throughout sought to suppress freedom and free political institutions. The principal crime of the Sultan of Morocco, so unceremoniously deposed and removed, was that he would not repudiate the principal political association in his domain which had declared as its objective the country's complete independence. The Assembly appealed to the parties to settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and to refrain from any acts likely to aggravate the present tension. France's reply to the appeal has been shootings, gaolings and the deposition of the Sultan.

25. What chance is there left for the vast possibilities of peaceful change, in which Mr. Dulles expressed his faith yesterday? The situation in Tunisia and Morocco is tense and is fraught with possibilities of grave developments. A remedy and a solution must be urgently sought, found and applied.

26. In dealing with the question of Tunisia and Morocco, both in the United Nations and outside it, we, for our part, have made full allowance for France's difficulties and its quite understandable sensitiveness on the subject. France has itself recently passed through the soul-searing experience of foreign domination. Its own experience should impel it to seek an early solution to the problem of Tunisia and Morocco, consonant with the dignity and traditions of France and the values to which it subscribes, and giving full effect to the perfectly legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the two former States to be complete masters in their own lands. The minimum that is needed is a clear declaration, in the terms of France's declaration of 3 July 1953 on Indo-China, that France intends to complete at an early date the process of transferring to the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco such remaining powers as are needed to perfect their independence to their own satisfaction. The declaration should be accompanied by an immediate substantial measure of advance towards the achievement of that objective. Such a step should constitute a pledge for what may still remain to be done and should be a proof of an honest desire to do it as soon as possible.

27. We hope that there may still be time to resolve this conflict in friendly co-operation between the parties more directly concerned. But we also fear that it may soon be too late. After all is said and done, what is it that distinguishes the case of Indo-China from the case of Tunisia and of Morocco? The peoples of these two States have been much closer to France than the people of Indo-China has been. They have, for good or for ill, imbibed French culture to a much larger degree than has the people of Indo-China. Does not, then, the difference lie only in this, that, while the people of Indo-China has carried on an armed struggle over a number of years, the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco have throughout sought an honourable settlement through peaceful changes?

28. This is a dangerous comparison. The peoples of these two States feel so frustrated that they may soon be convinced that there is no other honourable course left open to them except one of violent struggle. It is true that they lack the means of embarking upon such a struggle, but it may not be long before such means become available. When a people is driven to desperation, it ceases to count the cost.

29. If France does not recognize and put into effect its obligations in respect of the full self-determination of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco, will it not deserve the moral condemnation to which Mr. Dulles gave expression yesterday [434th meeting] concerning "governments which exert themselves without reserve to the creation of ever more powerful means of mass destruction, which tolerate no delay and spare no expense in these matters, and which, at the same time, are dilatory, evasive or negative towards curing the situations which could bring these destructive forces into play . . . ?"

30. Mr. Dulles declared yesterday that the United States, and others also, have their contributions to make and their obligations to fulfill, including their obligations

in relation to Non-Self-Governing Territories. He stated on behalf of the Government of the United States that the United States was prepared to show in itself the spirit which it invokes in others. We heartily and sincerely welcomed that declaration and shall eagerly await and appraise the contribution that the Government of that great country and other governments who think alike with it, will make during the course of this session towards fulfilling their obligations to the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco.

31. In his statement yesterday, Mr. Dulles said:

"Southeast Asia affords the Soviet leaders a chance to give substance to their peaceful words and we anxiously await their verdict."

May I be permitted to conclude by observing that North Africa affords France and the other Western countries a chance to give substance to their noble and high-sounding declarations? We anxiously await their verdict.

32. Our last observation is: "Our praise is due to God, the sustainer of all the universes."

33. Mr. SUNARIO (Indonesia): Allow me to start by offering you, Madam President, on behalf of my Government and delegation, my sincere congratulations on your election to this high post. I am confident that the General Assembly will profit by your wise and patient leadership, which will undoubtedly reflect credit on your country, for which Indonesia has great esteem and with which it is so happily linked by friendly ties. We rejoice with the Indian nation on your election to the Presidency and, as Asians, we rejoice in the election of the first Asian woman to this high post.

34. As we, the sixty Member States of the United Nations, meet in this august hall to begin the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly, we are faced once again with a wide range of important and complex problems. In view of past precedent, these problems will undoubtedly be discussed and debated in all their details and complexities, in the light of the existing world situation. It is always this background—that is, the prevailing atmosphere or climate of international relations—which determines or at least influences the decisions on problems with which we are dealing. It seems to my delegation of immeasurable importance, therefore, to take due consideration of the pressure which the world political climate exerts on the solution of problems in general, and those entrusted to the care of the United Nations in particular. This implies a consistent readiness to encourage every trend towards any favourable atmosphere which could contribute towards alleviating our collective task of settling peacefully the recurrent sources of international friction, for no recommendations or decisions we may adopt here can serve as satisfactory and durable solutions so long as unsatisfactory political, economic and social conditions exist in the world.

35. The ideological conflict between the great and powerful nations is a heavy liability in this respect. In recent years, it has cast an ominous shadow over the proceedings of this General Assembly. It has, I am afraid, often forced the Assembly to take decisions which were based solely on the conception of a cold war. I think it must be self-evident that such decisions are not only unhealthy, but can contribute little to peace, better understanding and co-operation among nations.

36. Real as the cold war conditions may be, we must not forget that these are abnormal conditions. There

lies the danger that for those who are most directly concerned, and whose thinking, perhaps inevitably, is guided predominantly by this abnormal situation, such a situation has become normal, with all the consequences thereof in their attitude towards the manifold problems before us. And those who constantly try to remember that these are abnormal times and who endeavour to detach themselves from the cold war preoccupation or fever without taking sides, run the real risk of being misunderstood, if not indeed, thought to be abnormal.

37. These nations, however, of which Indonesia is one, because of their natural position and propensity are willing to run that risk in trying to remain outside the cold war. Complete detachment or splendid isolation in the modern world is, of course, as impossible as it is undesirable. We are, indeed, in the privileged position of being able to play actively a humble but independent part in seeking the middle road for mutual conciliation and understanding which, I believe, is still badly needed in the efforts of the United Nations to solve the cold war problems which have imposed such a heavy burden on the shoulders of all nations, great and small, whether or not embroiled in this world sickness.

38. The present Government of Indonesia reiterated, in its declaration to the Indonesian Parliament, that the independent and active foreign policy of its predecessors at achieving world peace would be continued. It should be borne in mind that Indonesia's independent policy is not a policy of passive neutrality or neutral passivity. Viewed from the point of its objective as outlined just now, it is only logical that Indonesia cannot but pursue an active independent policy in world affairs. It is an activity not imposed by one of the two opposing parties, but an activity wholly independent of either of them and aimed at seeking a solution acceptable to both parties. In this way, conflicts with all their unwanted consequences may be avoided and the clear atmosphere created which is so badly needed for realizing our common ideals, as laid down in the United Nations Charter.

39. The role of these nations which pursue an independent policy—these so-called "neutral" nations—is known to this General Assembly. On many occasions these nations have contributed, individually and collectively, towards mediating or finding solutions when the gulf between the great Powers seemed at its widest.

40. An obvious example is Korea. The very basis of the agreement ending the fighting in Korea rests largely on the availability of "neutral" nations, acceptable to both sides, to perform valuable and important services. In fact, it was a great "neutral" nation of Asia, supported by the overwhelming majority of this General Assembly, which, through sincere effort, made perhaps the decisive contribution in eliminating the last remaining obstacle to the conclusion of an armistice agreement in Korea which may lead to the unification, independence, peace and prosperity of its people.

41. The role which "neutral" nations can play in the interests of peace should, therefore, not be underestimated. We feel, indeed, that this General Assembly benefits greatly from the existence of "neutral" powers in its midst. We are confident that our services in the cause of peace will be needed, not only by the world in general but by the great Powers themselves. It is on the basis of this conviction that Indonesia, being in

this privileged though often difficult position, will continue its policy for peace, for goodwill and understanding among all nations, and among the great Powers in particular. We are convinced that only by taking up this stand will we be able to contribute something constructive towards the elimination of the present abnormal situation, with its detrimental effect on peaceful progress and on the development of friendlier and healthier relations among all the nations of the world.

42. As regards the solution of the Korean problem, as it is known to this General Assembly, Indonesia is in favour of a round-table type of conference, where not only the belligerents will participate, but also non-belligerents closely interested in a Far Eastern settlement who could contribute towards its peaceful consummation, for this question should not only be considered from two opposing viewpoints, but from all possible angles, if a just and durable solution acceptable to all parties concerned is to be achieved.

43. Towards that end, consistent with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, my country will seek to co-operate with all Member States.

44. If we take a moment to ponder over the present post-Korean armistice period in which this General Assembly meets, we should note with a sense of satisfaction that there exists a rather different and more favourable atmosphere than was discernible when the General Assembly met one year ago. Indeed, since about the beginning of this year, there seem to have been indications that the cold war tensions are abating in a manner that raises once more the hope that the peoples of the world may soon enter a new era of better and more normal relations among all nations in this, so divided a world. That this hope has not been frustrated in this Organization is to be ascribed, I think, to the sincere efforts of the Member Nations in this Assembly. Some encouragement in the right direction was made in the course of our deliberations during the second part of the last session of the General Assembly, in April of this year. The Armistice Agreement in Korea on 27 July of this year was a worthy crowning of these collective and sincere efforts for peace.

45. Indonesia shared in the world rejoicing on that happy occasion. We rejoiced not only because the Armistice Agreement brought an end to the terrible bloodshed in Korea and, to the people of Korea, opened the door to peaceful reconstruction, but also because we saw the spirit of peace and mutual conciliation emerge victorious over the destructive spirit of war—hot or cold. That was indeed of great significance.

46. Although the debate during the third part of the seventh session concerning the composition of the political conference as called for under the terms of the Armistice Agreement, was not wholly satisfactory to all those concerned, we cannot fail to observe that the hope of all for future understanding has not been abandoned in our continued efforts for peace in that part of the world. It only demands continued perseverance and patience in attaining our common goal, no matter how unsatisfactory or even disappointing temporary situations may seem. We should not fail to take advantage of every opportunity to sustain and enhance the favourable turning point in recent world events, which saw its significant expression in the Korean Armistice Agreement. In our combined efforts, which exclude no one who can sincerely contribute to peaceful settlements, and with a realistic and enlightened appraisal of the

moving forces toward universal peace, we should be able to continue our work, seeking the co-operation of all sides. Sustained by the new rising spirit for peace in the world, this General Assembly meets in a year of decision, a year of decision for the many problems of war or peace in many parts of the globe, in the West as well as in the East.

47. Apart from Korea, there is another problem which though ever-more frequently merged in the ideological conflict, has a grave urgency of its own. That is the dangerous spectre of conflict raised by the continued domination of one people by another. Indonesia stands firm in defending the rights of all peoples still dependent and oppressed. Wherever and whenever peoples and groups, deprived of their inalienable rights, are fighting for justice, we will never hesitate to support their cause.

48. In the speech commemorating the eighth anniversary of Indonesia's independence, the President of Indonesia emphasized the following:

"The source which causes conflicts among nations and therefore should be abolished as soon as possible is colonialism, the domination of another nation's territory. As long as this source is not yet wiped out from the earth's surface, as long as one people's nation is under another nation's bondage, no peace will be possible and any achieved solution will not be durable. For colonial relation is, subjectively, a relation which causes pain in the hearts of the colonized and, objectively, a relation which is full of conflict and antithesis."

49. I venture to say that these words reflect a sentiment abounding throughout the Asian and African continents. Indonesia, which in common with other Asian and African countries feels the increasing common responsibility and burden in the common work of peace in the world, has brought the case of Tunisia and Morocco to the attention of the General Assembly for the second time in succession. For our part, we do so in the belief that the fulfilment of the aspirations of these peoples will not only enable them to achieve their ideals, but will also ease world tension and prevent the untold sufferings of a conflict which, if the present situation is allowed to continue, must inevitably ensue.

50. It is therefore regrettable that we are forced to note the lack of improvement in Tunisia and Morocco since this Organization last considered their case. In fact, it can only be said that there has been a steady worsening and deterioration of conditions. What we are facing now is the threat of open conflict in North Africa, with serious repercussions throughout Asia and Africa. But confronted with this immediate danger to the maintenance of international peace and security, my delegation is confident that this Organization will not fail to act decisively with deeds as well as words. On the other hand, we have not yet given up all hope that France, the spiritual mother of freedom, justice and equality, will heed the irresistible tide of history and meet fully the national aspirations of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco.

51. What I have just said with regard to the domination of a people by another nation is equally applicable to the policy of *apartheid* pursued in the Union of South Africa. It seems to my delegation that where conditions exist in flagrant violation of the basic principles of the United Nations, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in equal rights of men and women and of nations large and

small", the United Nations cannot afford to sit still. It must act to transform into deeds what has been laid down in words. In this respect we are not proposing that the United Nations exercise pressure which might create armed conflicts. But we are of the opinion that this Organization should act in the spirit of the Charter in seeking a solution and not allow its very basic principles to be violated for reasons of political expediency.

52. It seems to us to be the duty of every Member State to strive for the growth of the United Nations as visualized in the ideals of its creators and as laid down in the Charter. When in the course of its existence, inconsistencies appear which serve as loopholes to escape obligations or as shields to cover abuses, amendments should be made to prevent the spirit of the Charter from being violated through following its letter.

53. However, we feel that due caution should be exercised in this matter. Any amendment or revision of the Charter should not serve as a convenient instrument of the ideological conflict, but should fulfil the far-reaching ideal of making this Organization a more effective and smooth-working instrument for peace and security between nations great and small.

54. Finally, I should like to say a few words on the problems in the economic sphere, which are of particular interest to the still under-developed countries. These are problems which in themselves are neither novel nor a product of the post world-war era. But they do assume a new context in the light of world tensions, from which they are unfortunately too often found inseparable. Moreover, apart from humanitarian considerations, an element of urgency has been injected into the need for the under-developed areas to raise their living standards. For these countries are now going through an economic, as well as a political and social, awakening. No longer are the peoples of the under-developed countries satisfied to exist on a bare subsistence level. They demand a share in the things of the world and the growing abundance wrought by technical progress. This means the opportunity to make a livelihood compatible with the dignity of the human person, to eliminate the heavy toll of human suffering visited by disease and famine, and to reap the fruits of adequate education and a knowledge of technical skills for the benefit of succeeding generations. It should be borne in mind that these demands are by no means mere idle dreams. They represent real problems whose satisfactory solution weighs heavily on the governments of the under-developed countries, and they should be of common concern to all nations.

55. We are aware, and not without gratitude, of the great positive results already achieved by the specialized agencies of the United Nations in the sphere of economy, education, health, labour, child welfare and food and agriculture. The co-operation between the Indonesian authorities and the members of the United Nations agencies has always been excellent. My Government will always welcome United Nations experts who are assisting Indonesia in its reconstruction programme or who are gathering data for the benefit of the world in general and other Members of the United Nations in particular. But the fact remains that real progress cannot be made unless a more imaginative programme of economic development is introduced as early as possible.

56. It is therefore encouraging to know that the General Assembly will again devote attention at its present session to the question of methods of financing the economic development of under-developed countries with a view to the earliest possible establishment of the institutions designed to provide the under-developed countries with sources from which they can augment their own domestic savings.

57. However, the question of domestic savings also presents another aspect, one which has fortunately not escaped the attention of the United Nations. In addition to being on a very low level, the income of the under-developed countries—which is mainly derived from foreign trade—is highly unstable and subject to the fluctuations of the world market prices. It should be one of our primary tasks to give stability to the income of the under-developed countries so that they may look forward to a steady and continuous source of income. The availability of foreign capital, which is envisaged through the financing institutions which this Assembly will shortly scrutinize anew, should by no means detract from the importance of the role of domestic savings. It is precisely with a view to making possible a more effective mobilization of domestic capital that my Government has steadfastly advocated, first, effective control over the fluctuations of world market prices, and second, a greater liberalization of international trade.

58. Here are genuine issues on which the highly developed countries can make substantial contributions and in which developed as well as under-developed countries can enjoy the benefits of steady production, steady consumption, full employment and a stable income. Combined with the diversion of armament ex-

penditures toward more commendable purposes, we will then be able to enter a new era of the greatest opportunities, in which both the highly developed and under-developed countries can co-operate fully, for mutual benefit, to combat the sufferings of mankind.

59. In concluding, I should like to stress once again that difficult and complex problems still lie ahead. I have mentioned only a few, but there are other equally important issues on the agenda of the eighth regular session which demand our sincere and patient consideration. But the background against which all these issues should be considered is one which, in the opinion of my Government, contains possibilities for closer co-operation among nations in a better atmosphere, inside and outside this Organization.

60. In fact, important events—conferences on European as well as Asian problems—which will determine the course of world politics and the chances for a lasting peace may take place this year outside this Assembly hall.

61. Looking toward the future, I can only make the humble appeal that those conferences will be animated by a spirit which we have here collectively tried to encourage in our efforts to build a world of co-operation, conciliation, justice and peace. Let us keep alive the hope of all mankind that this world Organization will not only be faithful to the principles and purposes of its Charter, but that its Member States will never lack the necessary sincerity and determination, the courage and vision, to translate them into reality, no matter how painful or trying the road may seem.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.