

New Guinea, Australia and The Netherlands, confident that they could hold their blocking third, gave no thought to any means for ameliorating their differences with Indonesia, which was no less unbending. Of these three issues only the Algerian question shows the slightest possibility of a United Nations solution and this can be accomplished only if France, and the friends of France, reach some understanding about policy objectives which they should pursue at the Assembly. The time for postponements and palliatives has passed.

(c) *South African Items.* At the Twelfth Session there seemed to be renewed interest in these items, probably because of the gradually swelling voice of the African nations. Spokesmen for Ghana, in particular, showed impatience and distrust when it was suggested that a breathing spell might be more beneficial than the perennial debate in the Assembly. The likelihood is that South Africa will be more persuaded than ever by the performance at the Twelfth Session to keep out of these discussions, which in South Africa's absence can only be sterile. As well, however, they can be increasingly embarrassing to the European members of the Commonwealth, who will be under constant pressure to take positive steps to induce South Africa to change its ways.

(d) *Middle East Items.* Perhaps the main political progress of the Twelfth Session was made on these items: the Syrian complaint; the future and financing of UNEF; the recovery of the costs of Suez Canal clearance; the perennial problem of Palestine refugees. Owing mainly to the energetic and determined efforts of a few delegations (Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, Norway, Sweden aided by the Secretary-General and the United States), whose stake in restoring and continuing tranquillity in the Middle East was high, these items were debated in the Assembly in the most favourable atmosphere. Through intensive negotiation and consultation, during the course of which solid and consistent policy objectives were pursued, the way was systematically paved for a smooth passage of the necessary resolutions, with the exception of the Syrian complaint which was allowed to subside without formal decision. The activity behind the scenes amply demonstrated the value of a serious consultation and negotiation at the United Nations; and undoubtedly as a result relations between the countries closely concerned were strengthened. A useful precedent for the future might have been established. At best, however, these achievements at the Twelfth Session amounted to a little more than a continuing of the repair work so necessary in the Middle East after the crisis of 1956.

(e) *Peaceful Co-Existence.* The efforts made by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia to have the Assembly adopt their resolution on international cooperation reflected in the closing hours of the Assembly, when the propaganda debate on this item continued long into the night, the anxiety and frustration, which a great many delegations shared, about the poor political showing at the Twelfth Session. Undoubtedly the Indians and Yugoslavs were influenced in part by the knowledge that the Heads of NATO governments would shortly meet in Paris. Officials of the uncommitted countries seemed fearful that this meeting would produce a hardening of the Western attitude in response to a Soviet sputnik diplomacy. The large vote in favour of the three-power resolution did little to dispel the pessimism but at least one more item on the Assembly agenda was brought to a tidy conclusion.

14. As suggested in the foregoing balance sheet, which is admittedly roughly drawn and only concerned with political issues, the Twelfth Session was no model of United Nations achievement. Perhaps this result was inevitable in a year when the previous session, which had been so spectacular, was only a few months cold. There was a noticeable weariness among the experienced hands in the active delegations. There was even a lack of enthusiasm for, or even impatience with, the dreary debates on principles and abstractions which have consumed so much time at past sessions. Perhaps what was needed was a breathing