

Assembly as a serious exercise of diplomacy in which a considerable effort is made to bring about some reconciliation of the various national view-points. This "matching up" of foreign policies is not too apparent in the innocuous resolutions and often dismal compromises, which the Assembly frequently adopts, but in the negotiations behind the scenes more often than not there is a realistic and useful exposition of national policies. Perhaps, if nothing else were to happen each autumn, this earnest exchange of views would be enough to make the Assembly worthwhile. However, this process of consultation, negotiations and frequently reconciliation behind the scenes is insufficient if it leads nowhere; and obviously it can lead nowhere if some of those who participate in this activity are working only for postponement, window-dressing or a two-thirds majority in lieu of solid policy objectives. In this regard the recent performances of France, the United Kingdom and the United States have tended to be less impressive than that of the Soviet Union which, for all its ineptness, does give the appearance of taking the Assembly seriously and of seeking solid objectives there. There seems little doubt that this earnestness of purpose, whatever its motivation, has an appeal for many United Nations members, and particularly among the African-Asians, who have looked in vain to the West for decisive leadership.

13. Perhaps this point can be illustrated by reference to some of the main items on the agenda of the Twelfth Session:

(a) *Disarmament*. Even before the Twelfth Session began it was generally accepted by United Nations members that the deadlock which had developed in the Sub-Committee late in the summer of 1957 was not going to be resolved by the Assembly without a substantial shift in the positions of one side or the other, or both. With two sputniks in outer space the Soviet Union was unlikely to shift its position and indeed the Yugoslavs and others cautioned against any effort at serious negotiations with the Soviet Union during this period of triumph. There was nevertheless widespread disappointment that the only response which the West could muster at a time of extreme anxiety was to seek Assembly endorsement of the Four-Power position of August 29th. This smacked too much of "business as usual" on disarmament and produced a widely held conclusion that the Assembly had failed miserably in its consideration of disarmament, notwithstanding the impressive majority which supported the West for a variety of reasons. In this atmosphere delegations, representing most shades of opinion, worked hard to evolve a compromise on the enlargement of the Disarmament Commission. The aim was to salvage the machinery even if the issues of substance were deadlocked. Although the Western Great Powers were more or less pushed into accepting the twenty-five-member Commission, it was the Soviet Union which bore the main brunt of the Assembly's disappointment about the failure of that compromise. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that uncommitted countries like Egypt, India and Yugoslavia would seek to embarrass the Soviet Union by agreeing to convene the enlarged Commission, because those countries and others have considerable sympathy for the Soviet complaint that it has always been unfairly outnumbered during the long course of United Nations discussion of the Disarmament question.

(b) *Colonial Items*. In the consideration of the three main items, Algeria, Cyprus and West New Guinea, only the debate on the Algerian question showed any semblance of progress. This was possible because of the tireless efforts of negotiators behind the scenes and because the French Foreign Minister showed some flexibility in his position, a flexibility which the Arab side recognized and reciprocated in some degree. The opposite was true of the proceedings on Cyprus and on West New Guinea. Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom clung to positions on Cyprus which were patently irreconcilable and which will have to be adjusted if this most damaging of NATO family quarrels is to be resolved. At least some means should be found to remove it from United Nations forum. As for West