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*President* : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

**General debate (*continued*)**

[Agenda item 8]

**SPEECHES BY MR. CASEY (AUSTRALIA)  
AND MR. BELLEGARDE (HAITI)**

1. Mr. CASEY (Australia) : I should like first to add my voice to yours, Mr. President, in a word of heart-felt thanks and gratitude to His Excellency the President of the Republic of France and to the Government of France for their very kind hospitality in this beautiful city.

2. I believe that most of us here, delegations from all parts of the world, have come here for one chief purpose : the prevention of war and the safeguarding and strengthening of international peace. This fundamental purpose is the reason for the existence of the United Nations. In the eyes of the average man and woman of every country the United Nations must ultimately stand or fall by its success or lack of success in achieving this aim.

3. No one can contemplate another world war with anything but horror. I have yet to meet a man who has been through one war who wants to go through another or who wants his son to go through another. Two-thirds of the parliamentarians of the Australian parliament, that is of our House of Representatives and our Senate, precisely 66 per cent of our Australian federal parliamentarians supporting the Government, have been through one or other of the two great wars. They do not want, for that reason, to see another. The peaceful intent of the Australian Government is unquestionable. The tragic fact, however, is that today we live in fear of the possibility of another great war. We are in a situation in which, although nearly all countries wish to avoid it, we might be plunged into a new great war. In this situation most of our countries have felt compelled to prepare against the possibility of aggression. Let me say emphatically that, for its part, the Australian Government and the people of Australia have taken their decision to undertake the immense burden of defence preparations with the greatest reluctance, although with full determination. I am sure that this is the case with the peoples and governments of the vast majority of countries. If this is so then why have we done it ? Why are we preparing for war ?

4. The choice, unfortunately, has not been in our hands. Increasingly over the past few years one of the greatest Powers in the world has used every form of pressure and propaganda to intimidate, to undermine and to dominate other countries. The attack on the Republic of Korea has increased the tension between this Power and the rest of the world. In these circumstances we have been forced to the reluctant decision that there is no alternative but to join with other democratic countries in arming ourselves to protect the lives, the homelands and the heritage of our peoples.

5. I have said that the fundamental aim of the United Nations is the achievement of collective security against aggression through the united strength of the peace-loving countries. I think that it also needs to be emphasized that such a union of strength threatens nobody, that the United Nations is not an alliance against any State or group of States but a universal body seeking security for all by collective action against aggression. No one but an aggressor or a potential aggressor need have any misgivings about the strengthening of United Nations security measures.

6. We did not join together in the Korean crisis in order to bring Korea and the people of Korea into subjection but to defend and protect them against aggression. Our own Australian forces in Korea were not sent there to impose Australian ideas or Australian ways on the Korean people, nor were the forces of the United States of America, Great Britain and other countries sent there for any such purpose. The United Nations forces in Korea are there to bring about conditions which will give the Korean people a chance to live in freedom according to their own ideas and their own traditions.

7. I paid a visit to Korea a few months ago and was able to obtain at first hand an impression of the situation there. I found what I saw in Korea most impressive and heartening as a demonstration of the way in which collective action through the United Nations can be made an effective and practical reality. In particular, I was impressed by the magnificent spirit of co-operation and unity which prevails among the United Nations forces, and by the undaunted determination of the Korean forces and the Korean people, despite their terrible suffering, to continue to the end their struggle against aggression in which Australia is proud to have provided naval, military and air assistance.

8. I think that all peoples who live under the shadow of aggression have drawn inspiration from the tough spirit of determination to defend their independence that the Korean people have shown. I think also that all threatened countries have been heartened by the speed and effectiveness with which the international community has come to the aid of Korea, and by the great work of relief and rehabilitation for which the United Nations has assumed responsibility.

9. The principal question in the minds of the people everywhere throughout the world is whether or not safety from war can be effectively assured through the United Nations. It would be foolish to expect too much of the United Nations which, after all, is not something distinct from and independent of the countries which compose it. It would be unreal to imagine that if differences between nations exist, as they do in many parts of the world unfortunately, they have only to be brought before the United Nations to find an automatic and immediate solution. As the Secretary-General has recently pointed out so very truly in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization :

“... the founders of our Organization never conceived that its mere establishment would of itself remove or prevent conflicts and differences of national interests... nor would it assure in advance the future good conduct and good faith of governments in all circumstances”.

10. On the contrary, they considered that a world organization was, as the Secretary-General went on to say :

“ The one essential and primary instrument... through which the Members nations could over a period of time develop adequate means for controlling unlawful international conduct on the part of any government and for preventing those differences which inevitably arise between nations from leading to further world wars, with the consequent denial or destruction of the political, economic and social progress of the peoples ”.<sup>1</sup>

Those, if I may say so, were wise words which the Secretary-General used in describing the status, position, aims and, if you like, limitations of the United Nations in the world today.

11. When I hear cynical expressions about the alleged ineffectiveness of the United Nations and its inability to solve all international problems in quick time I think of the analogy of the medical profession. We do not lose faith in the medical profession merely because there are still many serious diseases for which only palliatives have been found.

12. Some dangerous situations have been successfully dealt with by the United Nations. While in some cases these situations may not yet have been fully resolved and still remain troublesome, and while in other cases no solution has yet been reached, they have been kept within bounds and prevented from expanding into what might, in other circumstances, have developed into world war. Above all, the successful repulse of aggression in Korea has given the peoples of the world new hope that the United Nations may be able to assure peace, and new confidence in its ability to do so.

13. There is no doubt that the prime cause of the present weaknesses of the United Nations has been, and continues to be, the policies and activities of the Soviet Union. The deliberate, militant, expansive pressure of the Soviet Union has forced us to rearm, to rebuild our military strength as

quickly as possible, or to run the grave risk, if not the certainty, of losing our freedom. I do not know whether the Soviet representatives are familiar with the flying term “ the point of no return ”, which means the point in time which is reached on every long-distance flight when the pilot is obliged to go on and when he no longer has the alternative of turning back. Either the communist and the non-communist countries will find a means of living together peacefully in the world—“ peaceful co-existence ”, I believe, is the phrase which the representative of the USSR would use—or they will run into unparalleled disaster with consequences almost impossible to imagine.

14. If the Soviet Union is indeed anxious to avoid this terrible disaster, then let it not press beyond the “ point of no return ”. Let it act in time, and let it act with simple clarity to demonstrate that it does in fact desire peace. If it does so, it will find that it has not acted in vain and that its proposals have not fallen on deaf ears. Bitter experience has taught us the necessity for some caution in accepting at their face value Soviet professions of peaceful intent. The point I wish to emphasize is that with every day that passes and with every act that widens the gulf between us a real and lasting accommodation becomes more difficult. At what fatal point peace might become irretrievable it is not in the power of any of us to determine.

15. The attitude of the USSR as expressed here has not impressed us with its peaceful intentions. I have been surprised—indeed, maybe, I have been naïve enough to have been shocked—to hear a sincere proposal for disarmament treated here with levity by the representative of one of the greatest Powers in the world. Mr. Vyshinsky, who is well known for his mastery of the weapon of ridicule, should realize that there are occasions too serious for its use. The millions of humble people throughout the world who are yearning for peace will be appalled by such cynicism. The world anxiously awaited the policy statement of the Soviet Union in this Assembly to see what contribution that Power would make towards relieving the tension that is concerning, indeed alarming, us all. Mr. Vyshinsky devoted most of what he had to say to violent and unbridled abuse of the democracies and in particular America and Britain. It was strange to me that a responsible statesman could bring himself to make such a dreadful statement in the present condition of the world. As I listened to him—and I listened to him with the greatest possible attention—he devoted very little time or conscious attention to the facts, the truth, the realities of the world situation. I myself was new to an approach of this sort and, as I say, I was possibly naïve enough to have been shocked by it. However, there it is. Mr. Vyshinsky did indeed at the end produce a series of proposals. Some of them have already been put before the United Nations in substance on previous occasions and been overwhelmingly rejected. However, for our part, we are prepared to examine on their merits any proposals seriously made. In our view the world situation is too serious for anything but sober, careful and statesmanlike discussion and an earnest search for ways to peace, and I might say in conclusion to Mr. Vyshinsky that proposals of three great governments cannot be discredited by random quotations from dubious newspaper clippings.

16. It is difficult for us to believe in the sincerity of the USSR professions of belief in peace and desire for friendly relations when the Soviet Union persists in its interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Speaking for my own country, Australia, I can say that there has been a very great deal of Soviet-inspired activity and interference in our domestic affairs. The fact that this interference has been camouflaged and not open is beside the point. These

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A, page 1.*

activities are very greatly resented by the vast majority of my fellow Australians with the exception of a handful of Soviet hirelings.

17. Australia is not, by a very long way, the only country in which these subversive activities are being pursued underground. In recent months I have spent some time in a dozen countries other than my own. In all of them the same pattern can be traced. In none of them is communism welcome, or indeed regarded as anything but a national menace. In each of these countries Soviet agents are working actively to undermine the social structure and to create internal conflict, schism and confusion—in short, to create the conditions in which communism, backed by Soviet power, can dominate. Soviet Russia preaches independence, yet in practice its victory would mean complete loss of national and personal independence, and a subservience to foreign domination more complete than anything which these countries that I have recently visited have ever known before.

18. The simple human fact is that the peoples of the world want to live their own lives in their own way and not according to the dictates of other States or other peoples, and they are obliged, by the growing tension brought about by Soviet policies and methods, to rearm at great cost in a great effort to safeguard their freedom. This is why such enormous effort is being put into the production of arms and consequently less into the production of goods badly needed by all the world's peoples.

19. At the end of the Second World War the democratic countries disbanded their armies in order to turn their production to peaceful ends and to spend their resources on the many urgent tasks of social betterment throughout the world. But our ability to take advantage of the great opportunity we had has been cruelly limited by the overriding necessities of security. The free nations would still prefer to spend their efforts and resources on the goods of peace and on expansion of world production, but we have had to limit our efforts towards world welfare because of the necessity for heavy contributions to defence.

20. By reason of the fact that I was Minister of National Development in Australia until six months ago, I have personally had perhaps more particular opportunity than most to know how the national development of natural resources is retarded because of the need to strengthen a country against the possibility of war. I know only too well how our developmental plans have had to be cut to enable our defence programme to be enlarged, and how many projects of urgent importance to our national welfare and development have had to be reduced or postponed to make way for defence preparations.

21. Yet, in spite of this, much has been done by international action, and will continue to be done, to assist the development of resources and the increase of welfare in many parts of the world. This work is being carried on through the United Nations organizations and through mutually agreed arrangements made among groups of countries genuinely concerned with each other's welfare. The finance provided by the International Bank, the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations in all its specialized fields, the economic and technical aid programmes of the United States of America and of the countries of the Commonwealth which are co-operating under the Colombo Plan—these are notable examples of constructive international co-operation for human benefit. The vigorous spirit of national development which has led many countries, for example in Asia, to finance and organize

bold new economic programmes, has the practical support of those countries which are able to make contributions in resources and technical experience.

22. So far as my own country, Australia, is concerned, we have sought to use our resources in ways consistent with our international obligations. The absorption of migrants, many of them from the displaced persons' camps of Europe, has placed upon us the necessity of more rapidly developing our own Australian natural resources. We are compelled, moreover, to divert to the armed forces resources which we could devote to other more peaceful purposes but only at the expense of our proper contribution to collective security.

23. Whilst these two objectives of national policy must be satisfied, we count as no less important our share in the provision of economic and technical assistance to other countries. All the programmes of the United Nations have our full support and we are, bearing in mind our population and our national income, substantial contributors to them all.

24. The Colombo Plan has brought together the neighbouring countries of South and South-East Asia in a new regional arrangement for mutual economic aid. As one of the contributing members, Australia is, by mutual arrangement and without conditions, endeavouring to assist and to co-operate with India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and is providing educational, scientific and related facilities asked for by these and other governments in the area. By our joint efforts those of us who are located in this particular area are endeavouring to fulfil the obligation to assist our neighbours and to supplement the work of the United Nations organizations. While the immediate phase is necessarily one of "collective security", the ultimate objective is "collective prosperity".

25. At present the two programmes have to share the resources of the democratic world. The democratic countries desire that "collective prosperity" should as early as possible become the sole aim towards which the whole world can strive. It is clear that real prosperity will be beyond our reach until the present attitude of the Soviet countries has changed, until they have shown that they are prepared to join hands with the rest of us in a common endeavour to achieve common aims of prosperity and peace.

26. The greatest field for the development of the world's resources and the raising of living standards lies in those countries, particularly of Asia, the Middle East and Latin America, which are sometimes called the less-developed countries. These are the areas of large population but relatively undeveloped resources whose peoples have not achieved the level of technology and prosperity of the western world. In recent years the truth has become clear that the world's prosperity depends upon the prosperity of all its parts; that no country can hope to live in affluence whilst other countries remain in relative poverty. For generations past the advanced countries have been bringing their knowledge and technical skill to these areas, and have done much to improve the standards of living and social welfare of their peoples. I think that it is not sufficiently recognized that this process has been an integral aspect of what it has become customary to decry as "colonialism".

27. No one would deny that the colonial system of the nineteenth century had its undesirable aspects. Nevertheless it brought to the less-developed peoples of the world the whole resources of advanced western technology with its new methods and new equipment of production; its techniques of education, nutrition, sanitation and social welfare. With the experience of these new techniques the peoples of the less-developed countries have displayed an

increasing desire to share fully in all that advanced technology can do to make men's lives easier, fuller, longer and more productive. A process has begun which now cannot and should not be halted, for these demands will not agree to remain unsatisfied.

28. The western world has fully recognized the force and justice of this desire for social welfare. It has been prepared, while relinquishing the political control of the nineteenth century, to provide in ever-increasing measure the skill and material resources without which this desire cannot be fulfilled. In recent years we have seen a dual process. On the one hand there has been the emergence of a whole family of new independent nations. On the other hand there has been the development of new programmes of economic and technical aid to assist those countries to establish themselves in ways of their own choosing and to undertake the great tasks of raising their living standards and their production.

29. The conception of technical assistance, and the help given to these new governments are evidence of enlightened statesmanship on the part of the technologically more advanced countries. A similar spirit has been shown by the new independent governments themselves. Both parties have realized that each needs the aid and friendship of the other, and that their highest self-interests lie in the future of friendly co-operation.

30. What part in this process has been played by the Soviet Union? So far from helping the peoples of the less-developed countries to find their feet, so far from assisting the new countries to establish themselves, Soviet policy has been one of disruption and the sowing of distrust. The governments which won independence for the new countries have been condemned by Soviet spokesmen as "bourgeois nationalists", presumably because they have had the good sense to see that co-operation and the acceptance of unselfish aid are better than submission to ideological domination and economic exploitation.

31. What the world needs as a first step to the economic betterment of its peoples is collective security. This security will be attained either by a continued, prodigious effort on the part of the countries of the western world to redress the balance of strength; or by a genuine co-operation on the part of the Soviet Union within the United Nations directed towards the balanced reduction of armaments and a return to a situation of mutual confidence and trust which were assumed when the Charter of the United Nations was written.

32. There has been much talk of peace from the mouths of Soviet spokesmen, but the Soviet conception of peace looks to us in Australia like a campaign of political warfare designed to disarm the democracies, to lull them into a feeling of false security, to weaken their resolution and to reduce their capacity for self-defence. We regard the so-called peace campaign merely as an instrument of Soviet national policy. Peace in any real sense can only come from trust and confidence between nations—and the world has concrete evidence, unfortunately, that such mutual confidence cannot exist at present.

33. We must take care, all of us who are assembled here, that we do not come to regard the spoken word as the end point. Words that do not result in action are vain. Courage and faith on the part of our governments and people are called for. If we all—or even a majority of us—have the courage and faith to do the right thing at the right time, collective security can be achieved. If we are faint-hearted and try to shuffle off responsibility on to others, then the

world may well dissolve into the chaos that we will deserve.

34. It will be along the general lines of this statement that my delegation will approach the detailed discussion of the major issues before us at this session: the report of the Collective Measures Committee;<sup>2</sup> German elections; the questions of human rights and technical assistance, to mention but a very few.

35. I have finished my preliminary remarks on the great general problems we all face at this sixth session of the General Assembly. I most fervently echo the President's hope that this Assembly may see an advance toward a settlement of the grave issues that face us all. And now, in closing, I wish to express my great pleasure at finding myself once again in this beautiful city amidst the graces of its ancient civilization, which so truly embodies the enduring human aspiration towards freedom.

36. Mr. BELLEGARDE (Haiti) (*translated from French*): Do not be surprised at the presence on this rostrum of a representative of the Republic of Haiti. I have the honour to represent a small country, small in a geographical sense, but a country with a great history, the very existence of which is the most striking affirmation of the principles underlying the United Nations. The proclamation of the independence of Haiti on 1 January 1804 was, through the abolition of slavery, an enshrinement of the principle of human liberty and, in the entrance of a people of Negro origin into the society of civilized nations, a confirmation of the principle of the equality of races.

37. Haiti is the second oldest independent State of the Americas, coming immediately after the Northern United States. After having gained its independence without outside aid and by virtue of its own efforts, it helped Simon Bolivar to emancipate the Spanish colonies on the American continent, thereby giving to the world the very highest example of brotherly solidarity at a time when its own security was still in peril. Although its population has lost nothing of its warlike qualities, Haiti has always tried to settle even its gravest disputes with other nations by pacific means. It was with a loyal and sincere heart that it offered its collaboration to the Pan American Union, to the League of Nations, and now to the United Nations, for the maintenance of peace based on a justice opposed to the teachings of hate and violence which aim at setting races, nations and classes at odds with each other.

38. Twice in these last thirty years Haiti has gone to war: in 1914, at the side of France and its allies; and in 1941, at the side of the United States and its allies. After victory was won, Haiti was glad to join with the other forty-nine States which, on 24 October 1945, founded the United Nations, thereby affirming their profound faith in the dignity of the human person and the equality of nations great and small; manifesting their intention to hasten social progress and establish the best possible conditions for spiritual and material life for all men in all countries, without distinction of race, colour, sex, class, language or belief; promising to unite their efforts to maintain a peace based on justice and equity, on respect for treaties and the rules of international law; and undertaking to establish, in order to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations between peoples, a system of collective security capable of resisting any display of violence and any overt or hidden attempt by totalitarian imperialism, in whatever form and whatever guise it might adorn its leering countenance.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 13*.

39. Ten more States have associated themselves with the original fifty Members, and when the United Nations has embraced those States which are still denied membership for political reasons, it will constitute the greatest world-wide federation that has ever existed in the history of mankind. Today, in this Organization and in it alone, more than a thousand million men, women and children—a majority of the people of the world—put their most fervent hopes for peace, security and prosperity.

40. One of the merits of the Charter of the United Nations is that it has linked the problem of peace with the problem of economic progress and social justice. All our countries are really parts of a vast system of economic interdependence, and collectively they can improve the economic and social position of their respective populations through technical assistance, exchange of goods or capital advances. The founders of the United Nations created the Economic and Social Council, and conferred far-reaching powers upon it in order to apply this policy of solidarity and co-operation.

41. After the bloody horror and the cruel destruction of the last world war, the peace-loving nations had thought that they could adopt the slogan: "If you desire peace, prepare for peace"—*Si vis pacem, para pacem*. They demobilized their armies and prepared a vast programme of technical, economic and financial assistance, with the aim of restoring the weakened economies of Europe and Asia and developing the prosperity of under-developed countries to the maximum by methodical use of their natural resources and rational employment of their human resources. But a disastrous policy, the authors of which it is your mission and ours to seek out and punish, has once more imposed upon the free peoples the old slogan: "If you desire peace, prepare for war"—*Si vis pacem, para bellum*, and has thereby embarked these nations on to the course of costly armaments, obliging them to abandon or reduce the efforts in the field of social justice, in which most of them had been engaged, to raise the cultural and material standards of their working classes.

42. This tragic necessity has compelled France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway, who have suffered so much through war—and it would be absurd, even criminal, to accuse them of war-mongering—to spend fabulous sums on armaments which in two or three years may be out of date.

43. If one has lived in the United States, as I have, and studied the history of that country's amazing development, if one realizes that it is in peace and through peace that it has reached such a high degree of prosperity, even if one can reproach it for having too long followed a selfish policy of isolation for fear of involvement in the quarrels of a too often divided Europe, the accusation of war-mongering against the American people and its Government seems startling. We cannot really believe that, with the aim of pursuing some vain dream of totalitarian hegemony, the United States, at the risk of ruining its own economy and that of its friends, agrees willingly to take away from the work of social progress those thousands of millions of dollars which are being used to manufacture bombs, build submarines, construct arsenals, establish military bases and maintain under arms millions of men who could be more usefully employed in the fields, factories, universities, research laboratories and hospitals for the advancement of science, the production of more and more wealth, and the struggle against ignorance, poverty and disease.

44. This tragic necessity of arming in order to defend themselves and in order to check any attempt at aggression

will continue to burden the peace-loving nations until the United Nations organizes a system of collective security affording genuine guarantees.

45. This has been made plain by the aggression in Korea. Although that bloody venture has shaken human conscience to the core, the immediate resistance to the attack launched by the Chinese and North Koreans has at least demonstrated the solidity of the United Nations system of collective security. The small nations have a particular interest in the organization of a system of collective security because they know only too well that they cannot by their own resources ensure their defence, maintain their independence and preserve their territorial integrity against the criminal ventures of a powerful aggressor.

46. In this connexion, I would recall that the advisory conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States,<sup>3</sup> which met at Washington from 26 March to 7 April 1951, and which extended such a cordial welcome to the President of the French Republic, Mr. Vincent Auriol, fully approved the action of the United Nations in the present crisis.

47. In a declaration<sup>4</sup> which was unanimously adopted by the conference, it was stated that the present world situation demanded effective support on the part of the American Republics so that it would be possible, first, to ensure the collective defence of the hemisphere through the Organization of American States, and, secondly, to co-operate within the United Nations in order to prevent aggression in other parts of the world.

48. The declaration in question was followed by a formal recommendation<sup>5</sup> to the American Republics to organize within their armed forces units which could be placed at the disposal of the United Nations in case of need, in accordance with the resolution entitled "Uniting for Peace" adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950. That speaks for itself. The regional arrangement that the organization of the twenty-one American Republics constitutes is fully in keeping with the principles of the United Nations as regards collective security and the necessity of resisting by force, if need be, all acts of aggression wherever they may occur in the world.

49. The dialogue conducted yesterday from this rostrum by Mr. Acheson and Mr. Vyshinsky afforded us an opportunity of appreciating the wisdom of Plato's dictum that no discussion should be started without the terms to be used first being defined. It was quite plain to any listener that agreement between the two speakers was impossible because, differing in mentality, they employed the same words to mean different and even contradictory things. The word "peace" in Mr. Acheson's vocabulary meant "war" in that of Mr. Vyshinsky. Truth for one was falsehood for the other. "Resistance to aggression", as understood by Mr. Acheson meant a plot against the Soviet Union to Mr. Vyshinsky. It is a sign of the times that words have lost their original meaning, and that a flagrant insult, such as might perhaps in other days have provoked war between two nations, produces no other effect today than a contemptuous smile or a burst of laughter if, as is not always the case, it happens to be delivered with wit.

<sup>3</sup> See *Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs*, Washington, D. C., 1951.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Final Act*, page 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, page 5.

50. To cite the most striking example of linguistic, not to say mental, confusion, we all know that in the etymological sense the word "democracy" means "power or government by the people", and Abraham Lincoln defined the word most succinctly and completely by saying that it was "government of the people, by the people, for the people". Yet it has been thought worth while to precede the word "democracy" by the word "people's" which amounts to saying: "People's government of the people". The dramatic thing about this superfluous, pleonastic and tautological addition, which, at most, might have provoked a linguistic dispute, is that it is a line of demarcation between two blocs of nations and raises between them what I might almost have been inclined to call an iron curtain had I not learned yesterday, to my great joy, that the iron curtain is now nothing but a piece of scrap iron preserved in the archives of the State Department in Washington for the edification of tourists with a taste for antiquities.

51. Can we claim that our unqualified democracies have achieved the ideal of Lincoln's definition? That is far from being the case. Each of them should seriously examine its conscience. Which of them could testify in all good faith that they have established at home that democracy for which they ask their citizens to be ready to fight and die? Which of them, within their own territory, have taken the necessary steps to prevent men from exploiting one another? Which of them have seriously attempted to ensure to all their citizens, without discrimination, equal opportunities for a decent and worthy existence? Which of them have conscientiously practised towards their national minorities or their colonial populations the Christian law of the brotherhood of man? Every one of our democracies has sins upon its conscience. Raymond Poincaré used to say that "peace is a continuous creation", and we might well paraphrase that famous remark by saying that democracy is a continuous creation. The honour of each of us, however, lies in abolishing injustices practised to the detriment of the weak and in seeking, in close collaboration with other nations, to establish in the world a new order based on true human freedom, on genuine justice and on real racial equality both within each country and in international relations.

52. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is engaged on that task and it is with a view to offering its whole-hearted co-operation in such endeavours that the Republic of Haiti has asked you to support its candidature for one of the vacant seats on the Council.

53. The horrors of the last war have confirmed most forcefully the principle that the legal conscience of the civilized world demands that the individual should be accorded rights that cannot be violated by the State. Those horrors have also demonstrated how necessary it is that responsibility for a criminal act should be placed on individuals, not merely on the legal entity represented by the State, but also on the real or physical persons representing that State, or in other words, the governments which ordered or performed the criminal act. Thus, it became possible to set up the international Nürnberg Tribunal, which has established what is called the "law of Nürnberg". The American judge at that unique court, Mr. Francis Biddle, proposed at the time the adoption of an international penal code to define the cases where there might legitimately be intervention on humanitarian grounds for the repression of crimes against the human person, a dictum that had already been advocated by the Viennese school of Hans Kelsen, who maintained that international law was above domestic law.

54. The declaration\* of human rights which was voted upon and approved at Bogota by the Organization of American States in May 1948, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in December 1948, condemn all racial persecution. We hope that the draft covenant to be submitted to this Assembly will specify the penalties against States or persons infringing the principles of justice and humanity laid down in international treaties. If such principles and such penalties had existed before Hitler's time, the civilized powers would have had the authority to intervene in Germany in protest against the collective persecutions which were a prelude to the bloodiest mass slaughter in history.

55. I would merely recall here that at the advisory conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States in Washington in April 1951, the Republic of Haiti urged that special attention should be paid to this question of higher international morality.

56. In the world of today, like that of yesterday, the horrors of concentration camps are unfortunately still being perpetrated, and at a time when entire cities filled with the accumulated treasures of centuries of human endeavour are threatened with destruction by the atomic bomb, while moral values are being systematically destroyed by "science without conscience" and by a philosophy of despair which teaches hatred and violence, it may appear futile and even childish to speak of freedom for the individual, the dignity of the human person, the brotherhood of man, social justice, international solidarity and equality between men. Nevertheless, we believe that our civilization can be saved if the forces of goodwill are firmly attached to the principles of universal ethics on which our democratic societies are based. You statesmen who hold in your hands the destinies of your peoples, men of every race, colour, nationality, class, language, creed, philosophy, and ideology must remember that you have it in your power to save humanity from the mortal danger which threatens it, if you will but practise the eminently human Christian doctrine of brotherly love. For if you collaborate thus, to accomplish your mission, you will create that great human federation to which our hearts and minds aspire.

#### **Invitation to the Directors-General of the specialized agencies to address the General Assembly (concluded)**

57. Mr. HESS (Universal Postal Union) (*translated from French*): The existence of a postal service across the frontiers of the different countries is one of the basic necessities of all international relations. As early as the middle of the last century the heads of a number of postal administrations saw the importance of this and, by establishing in 1874 the General Postal Union, renamed some years later the "Universal Postal Union", succeeded in setting on foot one of the first international bodies of world-wide scope. Over more than three-quarters of a century the Union's work for the effective organization and improvement of the international postal service has grown continuously. An invaluable auxiliary in the service of civilization, it has thus contributed to the cause of peace by furthering, to the greatest possible extent, the development of cultural and economic exchanges among the peoples of the world.

\* For the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, see the *Final Act of the Ninth International Conference of American States*, Washington, D.C., 1948.

58. The organization of such an international postal service is taken for granted by the present generation. By simply dropping an appropriately stamped letter into an official box any child today can send a written message that will be delivered even as far afield as the Antipodes. No one realizes nowadays that this is due to the joint effort of numerous postal administrations acting in conformity with the rules laid down in the international postal conventions which were drawn up by common agreement on the basis of the principle—so simple and yet so far-reaching—enunciated in the first article of the Universal Postal Convention. That article states that the ninety member States of the Union form a single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence.

59. One might be tempted to pass rapidly in review the basic principles underlying the international arrangements which have led to this happy result. I shall however confine myself to naming the principal organs of the Universal Postal Union which participate in this work of concord and peace. They are: The Postal Congresses, which are conferences of plenipotentiaries, and are thus the Union's supreme organ responsible for the revision of its Acts to meet changed circumstances; The Executive and Liaison Committee, established in Paris in 1947, to ensure the continuity of the Union's work during the intervals between Congresses and maintain the closest contacts with the United Nations and other international bodies; and The International Bureau at Berne, which serves as a permanent medium of liaison, information and consultation for the countries of the Union and may be called upon to give opinions and even to act as arbitrator in disputes concerning the application of the Union's Acts.

60. The postal administrations throughout the world have only one objective, to serve humanity in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding similar to that which has inspired all the gatherings of the Universal Postal Union and its various organs. They therefore take the keenest interest in every endeavour of the United Nations to settle or allay disputes that threaten world peace.

61. In this connexion, one passage in his report<sup>7</sup> where your Secretary-General deals with the development of a twenty-year programme for achieving peace deserves particular attention. I refer to the principle of universality in the United Nations. Within the Universal Postal Union, as its very name shows, that object was attained long ago, for the Union's regulations are applied all over the earth. This result is due to the wisdom of its founders who, far from introducing into the instruments of the Union any clauses that might hinder new accessions, so arranged matters that each sovereign State could adhere to the Union by a simple unilateral declaration. It was not until 1947, when the Union already included every country in the world, that it became necessary for a request for admission to be approved by a majority of at least two-thirds of the Union's members.

62. It is due to its universality that the Postal Union was able to carry on its work to the greatest advantage of all mankind even during the two major conflicts of the first half of the present century. And its universality had this result, that changes in the political structure or régime of certain countries have not affected the application throughout the world of the common rules laid down for the international postal service.

63. I will cite a recent example: By virtue of the decisions which you took last year, the independent State of Libya will be established on 1 January next. Libya will doubtless submit a request for admission to the Universal Postal Union as an independent member, a request which will most probably receive the approval required by the Paris Universal Postal Convention. But Libya's accession will involve no change in the regulations in force in the international postal service in that area, which has been subject to the Union's rules since 1875, first as part of the former Ottoman Empire, later as an Italian colony and lastly as a territory under British occupation. While therefore the change in the status of Libya will have political consequences, there will be no change as regards the postal service, since Libya will continue to benefit by the advantages which it has enjoyed for seventy-six years as a territory administered by a member State.

64. In the introduction<sup>8</sup> to his annual report, your Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, envisaged the possibility of the Organization having to condemn, on certain occasions, the conduct of certain States, both inside and outside the United Nations. He added that the Organization's influence, particularly for world peace, would undoubtedly be strengthened if every State became a Member.

65. The experience of the Universal Postal Union affords striking proof of the accuracy of that view. It is certain that in the United Nations universality can have none but the most beneficial effects upon the peace of the world.

66. We therefore earnestly pray for the early realization of that universality and above all for the universality of peace.

67. Mr. MULATIER (International Telecommunications Union) (*translated from French*): It is a very great honour for me to address the representatives of the Members of the United Nations on behalf of the International Telecommunications Union, and I thank you for being good enough to devote some of your valuable time to it. I see in that action a recognition of the importance of the Union's work and perhaps a wish to know what the Telecommunications Union really is, with its rather uncouth new name, which simply means telegraphic, telephonic and radio-communication union.

68. It is an old, a very old, institution. Set up in 1865 in Paris, it is a little more than eighty-six years old, and at the present time it has eighty-four members.

69. You may well ask how it was able to survive the great wars which have shaken the world since it was created, and especially why none of its members has ever left it. The reason is that it meets a world-wide need. As soon as the telegraph, that rapid means of conveying thought, was invented, governments realized that a world-wide service of a high standard could not be organized unless very close co-operation was established between all peoples in that new field of human activity and, at a time when the word "internationalism" was looked upon with disfavour, telegraphists in all countries, whether engineers or simple operators, became and still are internationally-minded.

70. Entrusted with the duty of ensuring the transmission of thought to all points of the globe, they patiently set about creating, link by link, the valuable network of telecommunications which encompasses the world. They turned to account all inventions—the telephone and then the wireless

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 15*, page 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement No. 1 A, page 6.

—and in each of those fields utilized every improvement which it was possible to make, especially the improvements which have recently enabled progress to be made in regard to electronics, in order to render the means for exchanging ideas placed at the disposal of the peoples more rapid, less costly and more reliable.

71. Do not think that this long-range task has been an easy one. At the numerous world conferences which have been held it has been necessary to take account of many susceptibilities and to disregard many questions of prestige, some personal and others of a world-wide nature. But, after discussions which were often heated but always fair, inventors and scientists agreed to abandon the use of apparatus to the perfecting of which they had given a large part of their lives, and to use the apparatus which was proved to be better. Countries, renouncing a part of their sovereignty, consented to lay in their territory cables of foreign origin, or cables which were of a different type from their own, and to allow telegraphic, telephonic and wireless messages to pass through their territories in transit. Where they made their own telecommunication equipment they even agreed to accept the standards drawn up by engineers at technical conferences, which very often involved them in the expenditure of very large sums of money, since they had to remodel their equipment. These sacrifices, whether of a political or financial nature, were however made willingly, because the countries in question wished to ensure good relations between the peoples.

72. Moreover, it should not be thought that the concessions made at these many conferences have always been made by small countries. Those countries have played as great a part in the Telecommunications Union as the large countries, and many reforms and much progress are attributable to countries which might perhaps have been regarded as being incapable of making such an important contribution to the common task.

73. The International Telecommunications Union may perhaps be reproached—and it has in fact often been reproached—with holding very lengthy conferences. But I can state, in all good faith, that while those conferences have been difficult and sometimes have had to be adjourned, they have never definitely failed.

74. It is thanks to their persistent efforts that you who are here in Paris today may talk without difficulty to your relatives, friends and governments all over the world. It is thanks to the work of the telecommunication conferences that your speeches are transmitted instantaneously by wireless to the four corners of the earth.

75. At this very moment one of these conferences is meeting in Geneva in order to try to bring to a successful issue the work which was begun in 1947, after the last war, for an equitable distribution among all countries, in the rather special and comparatively recent discovered domain of the spectrum, of radio-electric frequencies. This is almost a superhuman task when the needs expressed by the various countries are contrasted with the narrowness of this greatly coveted spectrum, and especially when the economic, military and political interests involved in that distribution are realized. In spite of relative setbacks in the past, this conference is now about to reach a solution which, although not perfect, is at least a very fair compromise.

76. You will realize what such a success will mean for humanity if you recall that upon this conference depend not only the good working, without interference, of world-wide radio and television—the telecommunication services best known to the great public—but also, and more espe-

cially, the good working of the equipment known under the general term of "radar", so important for sea and air navigation without which it would certainly no longer be possible to sail or fly today and thanks to which so many human lives can be saved.

77. I apologize for having drawn such an incomplete and perhaps vague picture of the international problems which the International Telecommunications Union is called upon to solve. It would have taken a very long time to explain to you what the Union really is and the many implications, and especially the scientific implications, inevitably connected with the agreements which the Union has to reach. I hope, however, that this picture will help you to understand why, when the United Nations asked the Union to help it to achieve its aims, the Union accepted that invitation enthusiastically and why, very recently, it asked to be allowed to take part in the expanded programme of technical assistance to under-developed countries.

78. Like the work of all the inter-governmental organizations, its labours are essentially peaceful because every war endangers the progress so laboriously achieved.

79. Thus, the best reward of the Union's efforts, the best encouragement you can give it to continue its task, which will never be finished because scientific progress will, I hope, be unceasing, will be to state that it has placed in your hands an admirable instrument which will help you in your efforts on behalf of peace.

80. Mr. SWOBODA (World Meteorological Organization) (*translated from French*): The World Meteorological Organization, which is the youngest of the international organizations, is ready, if the General Assembly so agrees, to become the eleventh member of the family of specialized agencies and to do everything in its power to help them attain their common end.

81. You may wonder, at first sight, what contribution the new organization which I have the honour to represent can make towards the fulfilment of that high aim, namely, the strengthening of world peace by the betterment of the economic and social welfare of the peoples.

82. The first answer to that question is provided by the fact, which is generally known, but not all the consequences of which are as yet sufficiently appreciated, that the state of the weather and the climatic conditions which are the subject-matter of meteorology have a favourable or unfavourable effect on nearly every branch of human activity. Among the environmental conditions which determine the prosperity and behaviour of men, animals and plants, the atmosphere and its changes play a decisive part.

83. In public health and hygiene there is, in certain matters, an unquestionable interdependence between the state of physical and psychic health and meteorological conditions and their changes.

84. In agriculture the relationship between the state of the atmosphere and acclimatization, the conservation of plants and their diseases, the yield of harvests, the health of domestic animals and the formation, erosion and conservation of the soil is of the utmost importance.

85. There is no need to mention specifically the dependence on meteorological and climatic influences of transport systems, upon which economic and commercial prospects depend in turn; and here I am referring not only to aerial and maritime navigation but also to rail and road transport and the sensitivity to meteorological phenomena of telegraphic and wireless transmissions.



86. I may mention lastly the importance of meteorological and climatic conditions to industry in general, to the production and consumption of electric power, and, more particularly hydro-electric undertakings, the control and utilization of water, the planning and construction of buildings, and so forth.

87. The dependence of every kind of human activity on meteorological or climatic conditions is almost an inexhaustible subject; it is certainly universal.

88. The determination and the accurate definition of that relationship has been for some considerable time the subject of detailed research, but that research must be continually extended, improved and developed. For some time past it has been realized that carried out locally or in the laboratory such research is bound to be limited in scope. The only suitable laboratory is the sky itself taken as an entity; local and regional studies cannot have any real value unless based on a study and knowledge of the atmosphere surrounding the entire globe.

89. Conversely, the current application of that research to the immediate needs of everyday life postulates knowledge of atmospheric conditions in their entirety, based on a rapid exchange of weather observations and forecasts by special telecommunication systems.

90. There are thus two requirements: first, research work must supply the basic data, and secondly, its results must be applied to everyday life. This means that the World Meteorological Organization must be engaged day in day out on a task of standardization, collation and co-ordination as between different countries, and must work in very close contact with the other international organizations concerned, which are invited to submit their problems and needs to the Organization. It was therefore natural that in the interests of effective and economical co-operation with the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the World Meteorological Organization should itself apply for affiliation to the United Nations as a specialized agency.

91. Atmospheric conditions and changes take no account of political frontiers. If the countries wish to enjoy the benefits and to avoid the hazards of weather factors, they

must fall back on a system of co-operation that admits no gaps either in space or in time. There are at present still some gaps, of both space and time, in the world meteorological network, but the United Nations expanded programme of technical assistance to under-developed countries will help to close them. It is for this reason that the World Meteorological Organization is gratified by the approval given by the Economic and Social Council to its participation in the technical assistance programme.

92. At all events, the World Meteorological Organization, which is setting to work with a very small budget, but is fortunate in being able to draw on the long experience and excellent preparatory work of its predecessor, the International Meteorological Organization, expects to expand its work considerably during the next ten years. Encouraged by the hope of support from the United Nations, the Organization is prepared to shoulder this arduous task, and to make its particular contribution to the enhancement of economic and social well-being throughout the world.

93. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have listened with great interest to the statements of the Directors-General of seven specialized agencies, and I should like to thank them for the important messages they addressed to the General Assembly.

94. I have no speakers on my list for this afternoon. Only one delegation has asked to speak at tomorrow's meeting (Saturday), though I understand that it would prefer not to make its statement until next Monday. In these circumstances it will not be possible to hold a meeting tomorrow, Saturday.

95. May I suggest to representatives that we close the list of speakers on Monday at 6 p.m. If there is no objection the list of speakers in the general debate will be closed on Monday at 6 p.m.

96. I should like to inform members of the General Committee of the Assembly that we shall meet in Room No. 4—where yesterday's meeting took place—in an hour's time.

*The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.*