



Tuesday, 11 November 1952, at 3 p.m.

Headquarters, New York

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**President: Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).**

**General debate (*continued*)**  
[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. NEVES DA FONTOURA (BRAZIL), MR. VLAHOVIC (YUGOSLAVIA), MR. NOTOWIDIGDO (INDONESIA) AND MR. BARRINGTON (BURMA)

1. Mr. NEVES DA FONTOURA (Brazil) (*translated from French*): Before expressing my country's views in the general debate, I wish, on behalf of the Government of Brazil, to pay sincere tribute to Mr. Trygve Lie, who yesterday [392nd meeting] informed us of his intention to resign from his post as Secretary-General of the United Nations. While I appreciate the reasons and considerations which prompted Mr. Lie to take that decision, with the sole intention of facilitating the peace-making work of the United Nations, I cannot share his views and venture to express the hope that his decision is not irrevocable.

2. Peace continues to be the basic objective of the United Nations. The Organization was certainly not established to perpetuate the world of 1945, with its fixed groups of victors and vanquished, nor to drag out interminably the settlement of the hates, destruction and rivalries of the last war. No more than any other political organization can the United Nations remain static. As a creation of man, it must follow the course of events, endeavouring at all times to devise methods which must always vary, calculated to provide better conditions of life for the international community.

3. This Assembly is a manifestation of the unqualified recognition of the principle of democracy, in that, free of coercion or restriction, it considers problems of common interest—not only those involving a threat to the peace but also those relating to the method of ensuring the peace. That, we believe, might be described as the technique of peace. The representatives of governments here assembled can freely express their differences of opinion, differences which are inevitable because the right to dissent and the freedom to exercise that right are the very basis of democracy. Totalitarian régimes are based on force, intimidation and silence; democracy alone is reinvigorated by the conflict of ideas. Even

when the circumstances of contemporary life justify State interference in economic affairs to direct production, the distribution of wealth and consumption, the different schools of opinion must nevertheless survive, provided that civil, political and spiritual freedoms are protected. We, for our part, consider that controversy is not only natural but necessary and salutary. Unanimity almost always implies the unbridled and absolute domination of one opinion over all others, and its effect on this collective body would be frustration through functional atrophy.

4. It would, however, be unfair criticism to stress only the negative aspect of our disagreements, without referring to the valuable work already accomplished by the United Nations; for example, its function as a place of permanent contact between all States, where major and minor differences are gradually whittled away by discussion and where action is taken to prevent the perpetuation of those misunderstandings which historians rightly detect at the origin of all wars. It is true that the efforts of the United Nations have not always produced positive results. In all great historical movements, however, there is always a stage of dialectical evolution in the course of which synthesis prevails over thesis and antithesis, which contemporaries are temporarily unable to distinguish.

5. Brazil is among those countries which place the greatest trust in the United Nations, its aims and its methods. It cannot be denied that through the United Nations the world has become aware of the political consequences of economic inequality among peoples, and has come to understand that the prospects of peace are bound up with the constant improvement of the conditions which make for general welfare, in which all peoples should be able to share without suffering the hazards and delays of a long evolution. In addition, the United Nations is making a decisive contribution to the creation of an international awareness of human rights, and has elevated all matters pertaining to human dignity and respect for individual freedoms to the rank of supreme international objectives. Only in such a spirit of internationalism, based on the principles of the

Christian and humanist tradition which is the very foundation of contemporary civilization, will it be possible, with the free consent of States, to make the necessary legal changes, so that respect for sovereignty will find its natural complement in the recognition of human rights and the proper safeguards of security and peace.

6. However, the United Nations will not achieve full vigour until it includes among its Members all nations which genuinely and sincerely support its basic principles. After all, the purpose of the United Nations is not solely to maintain peace among its Member States, but rather to establish peace on a universal basis. Hence all States that fulfil its fundamental principles should be admitted to membership forthwith. That is my Government's position. It has always defended that position, and regrets that the Security Council is not able to recommend that the General Assembly admit certain States to membership, many of which, in the course of their long histories, have helped to enrich the highest values of our civilization. In addition to being absent from our midst, some of the countries concerned are at present subjected to special régimes which are contrary to the interests of peace. I refer particularly to Austria, whose unhappy people were among the earliest victims of nazi enslavement. The restoration of that country's full sovereignty is being delayed and impeded in flagrant disregard of the ideals proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. My Government, faithful to the Brazilian people's tradition of justice and concord, strongly urges all nations, and particularly the Powers directly responsible, to restore to that noble nation, situated at a spiritual crossroads where East meets West, its independent place in the modern world.

7. If we are now able to say that there exists a state of equilibrium in military forces which ensures peace, however precarious, that situation is undoubtedly due to the work of the Collective Measures Committee and to its enunciation of the principle that, in taking military action to restore peace, the United Nations is not engaging in an act of war but in a police operation against crime and in defence of law.

8. Problems of such magnitude necessitate constant vigilance by the United Nations, and particularly by the General Assembly, if we wish to prevent diversity from destroying the united world we aspire to achieve. I have in mind the problems and the claims of certain communities which do not yet enjoy sovereignty. In accordance with its traditions, the Brazilian people genuinely sympathizes with the legitimate aspirations of those peoples, and appeals to the parties directly concerned to reconcile their divergent interests through the recognition of reciprocal rights, in a spirit of sincere co-operation, excluding any circumstances and conflicts which can only injure both sides and endanger world peace.

9. I am convinced, however, that our greatest problems are our economic problems, and that what is needed here is a dynamic policy, capable of satisfying the needs arising in many countries as a result of their growth. It is well known that Member States in the so-called under-developed areas are suffering the effects of a crisis which influences every aspect of their daily life. Unable to obtain the equipment necessary not only to meet the growing needs of their industries but also

to replace equipment worn out through constant use, unable to renew the tools essential for their economic expansion, deprived even of their traditional customers owing to the shortage of currency for the purchase of the consumer goods produced by the under-developed countries, these countries are faced with a problem which, complex in itself, is further aggravated by the progressive depletion of the currency reserves they had succeeded in accumulating at the cost of tremendous effort. It is therefore a matter of imperative necessity for them to restore their prosperity—indeed, to secure at least a reasonable standard of living. These countries are in the grip at once of a crisis of growth and a crisis of impoverishment. That is why those who have the power to guide the reconstruction of world economy and trade must first of all classify and evaluate economic problems in terms not only of priorities but also of urgency.

10. Unfortunately, there being few States which have completely industrialized their economies, the world is in process of being divided into a group of wealthy States and another, much larger, group of poor States. As the minority accumulates wealth, the majority is impoverished. States in the latter category are in the position of *coloni*; or, to apply internationally a classification used in national affairs, we may say that today we have a small number of prosperous communities *vis-à-vis* a vast international proletariat. The States in the so-called under-developed areas are seeking to emerge from the stage of primitive economy based on agriculture and stock-raising. They are seeking desperately to benefit by the resources of modern technique, and are endeavouring to profit by the experience of nations which are more advanced on the road of industrial progress. The United Nations must also devote more attention to the problem resulting from the fact that all the goods and all the resources are concentrated in the hands of certain States, while other States, lacking means and opportunities, are on the road to terrible poverty because they do not have the capital and adequate technical equipment to exploit their agricultural and mineral resources.

11. If the United Nations aims at establishing the principle of the dignity of the human person as an integral part of the international legal order, it must take advantage of man's powers as a creator of work and of wealth. In the interests of international solidarity, plans for raising living standards in the under-developed areas, which constitute the larger part of the world, must be put into effect without delay. The time has come to give careful consideration to this very serious problem, with the definite and unambiguous intention of understanding and solving it. Immediate steps must be taken to frame a broad programme of action for the benefit of the under-developed countries and those which have not even reached an economic level ensuring mere subsistence. Unless such action is taken, these countries will not only continue to lack the means to resist the domestic repercussions of economic crises in foreign countries, but also the opportunity of accumulating the reserves of goods, labour and foreign currency necessary to ensure continuing prosperity.

12. Such is the broad policy, vast in scope, limitless in vision and continuity, which considerations of every kind require of the United Nations. In the final analysis, only such a policy will be able to inject new strength

into democratic institutions throughout the world, counteract the resentment of the States whose progress has been retarded and set the United Nations itself on firm foundations.

13. Clearly the task is a challenge to the constructive forces of the world. It would be vain to try to close our eyes to the dramatic problems of the present day; better bring them into the open and courageously set out to seek their solution. Recognition of the existence of these problems is an initial step toward solving them; not to recoil from them is in itself a degree of progress. During the last seven years, the world as it existed on the morrow of the war has been left far behind. Other changes will be brought about by events. Our chances, however, of guiding these changes along the lines of world order, peace and prosperity depend not only on man's will but also on the grace of God.

14. Mr. VLAHOVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): The Yugoslav delegation has carefully studied the Secretary-General's annual report [A/2141 and Add. 1] and statement [367th meeting] on the world situation and the United Nations.

15. In the report the world situation is shown as it really is, far from auspicious. International developments during the past year have introduced no new factor to encourage mankind's hope that the peace may be safeguarded.

16. But there is one fact that needs to be emphasized. After the war, the world situation underwent a steady deterioration, reaching its nadir in 1949-1950. The Korean war has been the most striking example of the deterioration in the world situation. However, during the last two years, a state of balance of sorts has been established in these strained international relations. Although the outstanding questions that contribute to the international tension are still unsolved, we should note one positive fact; although the world situation has not improved during the last two years, it has not changed for the worse. This fact offers a glimmer of hope; there are still possibilities which must be used to halt the deterioration of international relations and thus to create a favourable basis for the solution of the outstanding international questions. In short, we may say that the international situation has improved, in that it has grown no worse.

17. The weakness of most analyses of the present situation, including the Secretary-General's report, is that they pay insufficient attention to the causes of this situation and are chiefly concerned with its effects and results. At previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Yugoslav delegation has laid particular stress on the causes of the tension, because it believes that knowledge of those causes would give us a better insight into the problem as a whole and enable us to work more effectively towards the elimination of the bad practices that are gradually becoming the rule in international relations.

18. The Yugoslav delegation believes that the roots of the present tension between the Western countries, headed by the United States, on the one hand, and the USSR, on the other, are to be sought in the different points of view with regard to international problems—which were already apparent at Yalta, Teheran, Moscow and Berlin—and in a wrong approach to a number of specific issues discussed at those conferences which

are still unsettled. I brought out this fact in my speech during the debate on the situation in Korea. This approach is based upon the policy of the division of spheres of interest among the great Powers, without regard to the wishes of the small nations whose fate is at stake. The policy of dividing up the world into spheres of interest, which was at one time rewarding to those who participated in it, is obsolete today. Any encouragement of this policy in the different circumstances of the present day can only breed new conflicts and new disputes. It is becoming more and more evident that the small nations will in the future offer increasingly determined resistance to any such policy.

19. Yugoslavia has learned from its own experience that the policy of the USSR is based upon this conception. Between 1935 and 1948, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as a result of arrangements based on the division of spheres of interest, achieved a series of successes resulting in the inclusion of a number of peoples and States in the Soviet sphere of interest. It is clear that those successes merely whetted the appetite. As I pointed out during the debate in the First Committee [520th meeting] on the Korean question, the conflict in Korea is in fact the consequence of the policy of dividing spheres of interest among the great Powers. The war in Korea, like the case of Yugoslavia, shows that today it is no longer possible to pursue such a policy.

20. In accordance with the wrong approach that was adopted during the course of the war, the great Powers alone can take decisions on the most important international problems, without consulting the nations concerned. As a result of this policy, there is an increasing tendency to solve the most important international questions outside the United Nations. This is one of the reasons why the Government of the USSR, for example, tirelessly advocates the conclusion of a pact among the five great Powers.

21. Yugoslavia has never denied the need for good understanding among the great Powers, since the maintenance of world peace depends, in the first instance, upon them; but it considers that that understanding must rest upon a democratic basis and must be achieved with the participation of all the peoples concerned. The Yugoslav delegation believes that the United Nations Charter is broad enough to make it possible to settle every problem of international life in conformity with the principles upon which the Organization is based. Any other method by discarding the principles upon which international co-operation and the United Nations Charter are based, not only would fail to lead us towards an agreement, but would deepen the disagreement and make possible a policy of domination and the shameless interference of one group of States in the domestic affairs of others.

22. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General said: "In the Balkans, the tension between Yugoslavia on the one hand and Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Albania on the other continues unabated because the latter have failed to respond to the General Assembly's resolution adopted at its last session."<sup>1</sup>

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

23. That assessment of the situation is correct. I explained the reasons for this state of affairs a moment ago. So long as the Government of the USSR believes it need not pay attention to the resolutions of the United Nations and is entitled to violate the fundamental principles of international co-operation, we can expect no change in the situation in the Balkans.

24. Last year, as we know, following the Yugoslav representative's detailed report on the attitude of the countries of the Soviet bloc to Yugoslavia, the Assembly adopted a resolution [509 (VI)] appealing to the governments of the Soviet bloc to conduct their relations with Yugoslavia in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, to settle their differences by peaceful means and to settle frontier disputes by means of mixed commissions from the countries concerned.

25. What was the attitude of the governments of the Soviet bloc and of the Yugoslav Government towards the General Assembly's recommendations? For its part, the Yugoslav Government considered that it was in duty bound to do everything within its power to implement the United Nations resolution, which, if the other party had done likewise, would have resulted in the immediate easing of the tension in the Balkans. However, it is clear that the States of the Soviet bloc have shown no desire or willingness to abide by the provisions of the General Assembly resolution, and that they have not treated that resolution with the respect due to it. Furthermore, there have been specific cases in which certain governments of the Soviet bloc have applied their methods of slander to the General Assembly resolution itself, which is, incidentally, quite in line with the attitude of certain delegations at the time when that resolution was adopted.

26. Thus the Hungarian Government, in its note No. 0024 of 18 January 1952, which was handed to the Yugoslav legation in Budapest, stated that the United Nations resolution "did not serve the interests of peace but, on the contrary, incited the Government of Yugoslavia to commit new acts of provocation". The note also said: "That decision was imposed by the United States of America as compensation for the services the Yugoslav Government had rendered to American imperialist circles by placing at their disposal the natural resources, raw materials and armed forces of Yugoslavia."

27. That was the Hungarian Government's attitude to a resolution approved by almost all delegations except those of the Soviet bloc. That is the way in which a government that seeks to become a Member of the United Nations treats United Nations resolutions. But what can you expect? I imagine that the Hungarian Government can understand the position of other countries only in the light of its own experience. The Hungarian Government's statement needs no comment and provides a striking illustration of the attitude of the governments of the Soviet bloc during the last year.

28. I do not intend to describe in detail all the forms of pressure brought to bear upon my country, among which the subversive activities of saboteurs and spies who have infiltrated from neighbouring Soviet bloc countries have lately taken a prominent place, though

it might be necessary in view of the possible consequences of that policy. I shall confine myself, however, to one episode illustrating the general pressure exerted on Yugoslavia.

29. On 20 December 1951, the Hungarian frontier authorities occupied an island in the Mura River, thus taking by force a part of Yugoslav territory. Since the Hungarian Government did not see fit to comply with the Yugoslav request for the withdrawal of Hungarian soldiers from the island, the Yugoslav Government proposed, in the spirit of the General Assembly resolution, that a mixed Yugoslav-Hungarian commission should be set up to make a local investigation and settle the dispute. The Hungarian Government rejected the proposal with its usual insults to the Yugoslav Government.

30. In its note of 18 February 1952, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia renewed its original proposal and proposed that a mixed Yugoslav-Hungarian commission should be set up with a view to ensuring the earliest possible restoration of the frontier markers that had disappeared or been destroyed or damaged, for the most part by Hungarian occupation troops during the war.

31. In the same note, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia proposed the resumption of the negotiations, which had been interrupted through no fault of Yugoslavia's on 19 February 1949, for the conclusion of a convention to settle all matters relating to arrangements for the restoration and regular maintenance of the frontier markers.

32. In addition, the Yugoslav Government proposed to the Hungarian Government that, in accordance with a *procès-verbal* signed by the representatives of the two countries in 1948, Hungarian and Yugoslav hydrologists should begin work on joint flood-control schemes on the Mura River. The schemes would benefit the economies of both parties. What was the Hungarian Government's answer? True to its hostile policy towards Yugoslavia, it went so far as to stipulate, as a condition for any negotiations to normalize the situation on the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier, that the Yugoslav Government must first declare that it was the guilty party and assume full responsibility for the abnormal situation on the frontier.

33. This is an example of the way in which certain Soviet bloc countries deal in practice with the problem of normalizing their relations with Yugoslavia. The speeches of the Soviet Union representative and of the representatives of the Soviet bloc in the general debate—particularly the passages referring to Yugoslavia—offer the best proof of their intransigent attitude towards Yugoslavia. They have repeated the hackneyed phrases to the effect that Yugoslavia is a vassal State, a base of Anglo-American imperialism for an attack against our neighbours, the Soviet Union, and so forth.

34. Naturally there is need to refute these allegations, since everyone knows that Yugoslavia is neither a vassal nor a base of any kind and that the keystone of its policy is the maintenance of peace and the safeguarding of its national liberty and security. Everyone knows that Yugoslavia does not seek foreign conquests and that its only desire has been and is to live

at peace with all its neighbours. Everyone knows that Yugoslavia is firmly resolved to co-operate with all countries which strive for peace and against aggression.

35. Mr. Vyshinsky himself is well aware that this is true, for when the Soviet Union tried to transform Yugoslavia into a Soviet base and demanded that we should relinquish to it authority over our territory and people, we refused. Those who spread the slander that Yugoslavia is subservient to the Western Powers merely admit, and explain in a most unconvincing way, the failure of their own plans to dominate Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has been and is the base of the Yugoslav peoples alone and as such is the friend of all the forces throughout the world which are trying to ensure human progress.

36. During the general debate, the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Poland once again docilely and unblenchingly played their unenviable parts and made slanderous attacks on my country. How should one answer them? The best answer is the situation in their own countries, and their position as satellites of the Soviet Union. Mr. Vyshinsky's statements regarding Yugoslavia should enable them to see what their own position is, for the denunciation of Yugoslavia as an alleged foreign base is intended to camouflage and justify all that the Soviet Union is doing in the countries of Eastern Europe.

37. Let us take one example of the transformation of these countries into Soviet bases, which continues every day. Who is violating the peace treaties concluded with Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary? Primarily it is the Soviet Union, for the governments of those countries have neither the strength nor the resources to violate the treaties in such a way.

38. Let us take Romania as an example. According to article 11, paragraph (a), of the peace treaty with Romania, the total strength of the army, including frontier troops, was not to exceed 120,000 men. In the summer of 1952, however, Romania had an army of 495,000 men, all trained and armed by the Soviet Union. According to paragraph (d) of the same article, the air force, including the naval air arm, was to have not more than 150 aircraft including reserves, of which only 100 were to be combat types. Last summer Romania had more than 320 aircraft; if we include the USSR air force division stationed in Romania, the total figure is 490.

39. Violations of the peace treaties have been committed on the same scale by the other satellite countries.

40. Under the peace treaties, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania were to have not more than 263,000 men in their armed forces. In the summer of 1952, the strength of the armed forces of those countries was 920,000. At this point I may mention that each of these countries has a division of jet aircraft, whereas the Yugoslav army still has not a single jet aircraft. Even the efforts of the Yugoslav Government to obtain permission to manufacture foreign jet aircraft in Yugoslavia under license have been unsuccessful.

41. It may be asked why these countries are violating the peace treaties. Why are they arming to such an extent? Are they doing so in the interests of peace and peaceful international co-operation? Far from it.

The whole purpose is to keep these countries in a subservient position, to exercise constant pressure against Yugoslavia and to maintain the tension in this area.

42. We are again compelled to say that our relations with our neighbours on the frontiers have not returned to normal, in conformity with the General Assembly recommendation; instead, the pressure against Yugoslavia has been continuously maintained in the most varied forms. One form of pressure, which was particularly intensified during 1952, was the activity of spies, saboteurs and terrorists who infiltrated Yugoslavia from neighbouring countries of the Soviet bloc. Between the sixth session of the General Assembly and the end of September 1952, the Yugoslav authorities arrested 47 terrorists who had infiltrated Yugoslavia from Bulgarian territory; 24 were Bulgarian citizens and 23 were Yugoslav deserters. During the trials of the arrested terrorists and saboteurs, however, it was discovered from their statements that, during the period in question, 233 terrorists had infiltrated Yugoslavia from neighbouring countries of the Soviet bloc and that some of them had succeeded in returning to the countries from which they came. A number of Yugoslav citizens, including Lieutenant-Colonel Pane Djukic, a deputy and hero of the people, have been murdered by the terrorists.

43. Acts of provocation in the form of frontier incidents, many of them very serious, continue unabated. As a result of these incidents, six Yugoslav citizens have lost their lives while protecting their country's frontiers and many more have been wounded, some of them seriously.

44. In view of this situation, the Yugoslav delegation wishes to emphasize that to foster illusions with regard to pacification—where unfortunately no such thing exists—can only harm the cause of peace, weaken aspirations to peace and serve the interests of a potential aggressor. Closely linked with these illusions are the more than transparent insinuations which emanate from a definite source, to the effect that the dispute between the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia is a sham, a mere staged performance. We mention this point because it represents a new form of attack on Yugoslav independence and is part of the aggressive campaign against Yugoslavia. It is relatively easy to see the real purpose of these rumours, which have the same origin as all the aggressive and hostile plans against Yugoslavia. An attempt is being made to isolate and weaken Yugoslavia by new methods in order to increase the pressure against it and to put into effect the aggressive plans which so far have failed.

45. These are only a few examples of the general policy of the Soviet bloc against Yugoslavia. In spite of this state of affairs, the Yugoslav Government will continue to do everything in its power to ensure that its relations with its neighbours are as normal as possible. Yugoslavia will do everything to safeguard its independence and peace in this area, for in our view the struggle for national independence is inseparable from the struggle to safeguard world peace.

46. Yugoslavia's struggle to safeguard its national independence is of special significance in the present international situation; it proves that, if it is compact and united, a small country can successfully resist

aggressive pressure. I should like to make a number of remarks regarding the lessons that are to be drawn from our struggle for independence. We know that the theory is widely held that national frontiers are obsolete in the middle of the twentieth century and should be gradually eliminated. The events of our times show, however, that the right of self-determination is one of the most essential conditions for the safeguarding and strengthening of democratic relations among nations. This is also illustrated by the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for their national rights. Greater understanding of the demands of these peoples would have a beneficial effect on the present world situation; moreover, the Charter enjoins that every effort shall be made to bring the Trust Territories and the Non-Self-Governing Territories to complete independence as soon as possible.

47. Yugoslavia's experience shows that, in the present circumstances, it is not only necessary but imperative that national, economic and social development should be left in the hands of the people of the country concerned and that any interference in the domestic affairs of States, small or medium-sized, should be avoided. Our experience shows, furthermore, that a State like Yugoslavia, whose social system is based on socialist principles, can co-operate successfully with other States whose social system is based on different principles. Such co-operation is made possible, in the first place, by the fact that Yugoslavia is not seeking territorial conquests, that it does not interfere in the domestic affairs of other States and that it is eager to intensify its political and economic co-operation with any State that welcomes such co-operation.

48. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, economic co-operation and the settlement of economic questions are basic conditions for the achievement of political co-operation among peoples and States. The Brazilian representative made some pertinent remarks on that subject a short while ago. The development of the world political situation, with all its repercussions, profoundly affects the world economy, and is the cause of serious dislocation.

49. In the first place, there is the heavy burden of expenditure on armaments, which, to a greater or lesser degree, affects the economy of practically every country, hampering the economic development of the world and lowering living standards. The weight of this burden and its economic effects cannot be calculated by simple arithmetical addition of all the sums the various countries spend on armaments; in addition, there are the economic and financial disturbances in national markets and in the world market caused by the gap between supply and demand in the case of certain types of commodities and the wholly unpredictable fluctuations in demand.

50. All countries have been feeling this for the last three years, but these disturbances have dealt a particularly heavy blow to the economically under-developed countries, whose economic well-being depends to a large extent on general conditions on the world market and on the movement of the prices of commodities that are most sensitive to such disturbances.

51. These facts, however, important as they are—and they are certainly deserving of the greatest attention—do not provide an adequate explanation of the pre-

sent economic difficulties of mankind; they cannot constitute an adequate basis for the solution of these difficulties by the United Nations. The extremely low standard of living—or, to put it more plainly, the poverty and want in which the great mass of men live today—cannot be explained away by the expenditure on armaments; poverty will not disappear automatically as soon as that expenditure ceases.

52. The building up of armaments and the economic dislocation it produces merely worsens the situation, which is the result of the uneven economic development of the world, and makes it even more difficult to take any action to eliminate the present differences in the levels of economic development of the developed and under-developed countries. Moreover, the economic dislocation caused by the building up of armaments has in fact reached its present degree of intensity precisely because the basis of the world economy has been weakened by the division of the world into developed and under-developed countries.

53. World political tension, which brings in its wake additional expenditure on armaments and the consequent economic difficulties, has shown how serious this weakness is and how urgent it is that the United Nations should take action in the matter. It is no mere chance that the problem of the development of under-developed countries has become one of the most important questions during the very years in which a heightened political tension prevails throughout the world.

54. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, there is another very serious reason for this state of affairs. The main task of the United Nations is the maintenance of world peace and the halting of aggression. The fulfilment of this task calls for the strengthening of the forces which desire peace and the discouragement of any possible aggressor; if that end is to be fully achieved, on a world-wide basis, special attention must be given to the development of under-developed countries, for only thus will it be possible to bring about co-operation among peoples, on an equal footing, and only thus will the peoples of the world possess the moral and material strength to stand up to all aggression and to thwart the plans of all those who are carried away by dreams of world domination. The more rapid development of the under-developed countries is an indispensable condition for the stabilization of the world political situation, and in that sense the activity of the United Nations in the political field may, if properly directed, establish a solid basis for the achievement of political aims.

55. The Yugoslav delegation will, therefore, as hitherto, support any effective action by the United Nations to hasten the development of under-developed countries, and, first and foremost, any action to promote the establishment of a United Nations fund for the financing of under-developed countries. I hope that the great majority of delegations will do the same, for it is clear from what I have said that, in the world of today, there can be no prospect of economic progress in the developed and under-developed countries unless the development of the latter is accelerated.

56. Assistance for the development of under-developed countries must be provided in entirely new forms, for the old forms might serve to accentuate the con-

contrasts between the developed and the under-developed countries. The present state of the world market makes such new forms essential. That situation results from the contraction of the market owing to the political cleavage and the increasingly important role of the State in the economy of nearly every country. Such assistance, even if it could not eliminate the existing contrasts would help to speed up the social development and strengthen the independence of the under-developed countries and would mitigate the results of their long exploitation. Compared with the present situation, that would be a big step forward in world economic development and co-operation.

57. The question of the struggle for world peace is inseparable from that of the part the United Nations must play in the settlement of outstanding questions. The maintenance of peace depends on the settlement of these questions, as also upon the influence the United Nations can exert to facilitate a solution. What is the situation today? We must state quite openly that in this matter the United Nations is not playing the role it should, although it has been able to exercise an enormous influence up to the present in so far as it has prevented world tension, which has been increasing year by year, from becoming any worse. Had it not been for the political action of the United Nations, world peace would have been in greater jeopardy today.

58. We cannot remain satisfied while certain Members of the United Nations systematically violate the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. Nor can we be complacent about the fact that the many contrasts in the world have a negative effect on the work of the United Nations, the results being the aggravation rather than the lessening of these contrasts.

59. We are also opposed to the tendency to have certain disputed questions examined outside the United Nations, for although this tendency has hitherto been confined to a few particular cases, it constitutes a precedent and a very dangerous phenomenon which cannot fail to harm the prestige of the United Nations and destroy the faith of peoples in its power. The Yugoslav Government attaches great importance to this question of principle. The fact, for instance, that colonial and semi-colonial peoples apply to the United Nations for the settlement of their vital problems is of positive value.

60. The Yugoslav Government is convinced that today, more than ever before, mankind wants a strong United Nations that can play a major part in the solution of the question which is of the utmost importance at the present moment for the whole world—the maintenance of peace.

61. It is because the Yugoslav Government is so well aware of the importance and the tasks of the United Nations that it will continue to give the Organization every assistance within its power as a small country, for it sees in the strength and power of the United Nations a real safeguard for its own security and peaceful development, and a better prospect for world peace.

62. Mr. NOTOWIDIGDO (Indonesia): I speak to you today as the representative of a country which has evolved in the short span of a decade from a

state of dependency to independence. This evolution reflects not only the realization of the hopes and convictions of the Government and people of Indonesia but also the renewed spirit which gave inception to the United Nations.

63. For, seven years ago, the distinction between political idealism and political realism was apparently obliterated at San Francisco, where an ideal was reborn in new and promising form. The ideal, cherished for centuries, contemplated men and nations dwelling together in peace and friendship, respecting each other's rights, upholding each other's dignity and sharing the task of promoting the welfare and development of all.

64. But history itself had continued to dramatize the chasm between this vision and the reality of the rule of force, both direct and indirect. And the rule of force, destructive alike to ruler and ruled, had finally culminated in the greatest explosion of force yet seen.

65. The impact of the Second World War, however, was philosophically as well as physically shattering. It blasted the traditional adherence of the political realists to the conviction that world peace, however desirable, could never be more than a dream of impractical visionaries. It joined the sceptical realist and the visionary idealist in mutual recognition that the maintenance of world peace was a fundamentally practical necessity if even the most elementary rudiments of civilization were to survive. Towards this end, the former was now prepared to renounce the habitual primacy of national self-interest; the latter was ready to sacrifice customary demands for purity of motive and perfection of conception.

66. It was in this atmosphere of idealism blended with realism that the United Nations was born. This new spirit—call it realistic idealism or enlightened realism—animated the representatives of fifty nations in their endeavour to create a new structure dedicated to the concrete realization of the old ideal. The product reflected the fusion of aspiration and common sense in its recognition of two principles, the neglect of which had undoubtedly contributed to the failure of the League of Nations.

67. The first principle was that responsibility, to be exercised effectively, must reside foremost in those who have the power as well as the will to exercise it. The fifty nations represented at San Francisco might equally have desired the prohibition of war and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, but only a few of them possessed the power to wage war on an international scale or to enforce the maintenance of peace. To those few, therefore, were entrusted greater rights and, consequently, greater responsibilities, in the expectation that they would continue to co-operate in sharing the obligations to achieve the common goal which they had assumed in numerous declarations.

68. The second principle was that concrete and continued steps must be taken to eliminate, not merely war itself but the conditions which ultimately generate war. Experience had demonstrated that it was not enough to establish an international mechanism for the peaceful settlement of problems between nations. Nor was it enough to seek to prevent a resort to violence when disputes had reached the point of violence. These

measures could only temporarily arrest the disease; they could not eradicate it.

69. Peace, like health, was seen to require positive conditions of well-being. Its prerequisites were defined as including self-determination for all peoples; equal protection for the small and weak as well as for the large and strong; access on equal terms to the world's sources of wealth; equal respect for and observance of the basic human rights and freedoms of all peoples, regardless of differences in race, sex, language or creed. In short, they comprised the sustained and unremitting promotion of world-wide social, economic and intellectual development within a framework of political security, in order that this security might endure.

70. Implicit throughout the Charter was the acknowledgment that there would no longer be a divorce between the narrowly-defined interests of any one nation or group and the total interests of the world at large. Enlightened realism recognized the identity of individual interest and total world interest in ultimate effect — if not in time — and consequently the identity of interest and principle. It was apparent that the only valid solution to the problems which would confront the United Nations would be based solely upon the application of the criteria of the Charter and not of any individually-defined criteria. Issues would have to be analysed and decided on their merits in relation to the prerequisites and objectives of positive peace defined in the Charter.

71. This, then, was the enlightened realism of the foundation upon which fifty nations committed themselves to membership in the United Nations and to observance of its Charter, simultaneously looking forward to additional membership and universal observance. If this accomplishment meant renewed faith to the peoples of countries whose independence had been lost or threatened in war, if it meant renewed hope to those of countries whose independence had been hardly more than nominal, how much more did it mean to those in countries where independence was withheld, such as my own.

72. For centuries the history of almost half the people of the world has been a history of denial of political freedoms, of deprivation of the legitimate fruits of their labour, of subjection to social and individual indignities and of impediments to their cultural growth. These inequities, inherent to a greater or lesser degree in any colonial system, we were determined to endure no longer.

73. The Charter held out to us the promise of the achievement of our aspirations with the sympathy and assistance of those nations which were instrumental in its creation. Ostensibly they were prepared to repudiate colonialism, some as the result of a new awareness of the destructiveness of external domination derived from their own experiences with war-time occupation, others through recognition that the relationship of dominance and subordination impeded the development of those democratic values and institutions which they sought to maintain and whose survival and spread they deemed vital for the maintenance of peace.

74. I have dwelt at some length on this feature of the Charter, since it was this very spirit which accompanied the re-emergence of Indonesia as an independent nation. It was the participation of the United

Nations and it was the active implementation of the original spirit of its Charter which finally translated the desire and gallant struggle of our people into a settlement of transfer of sovereignty, an arrangement which otherwise might have been achieved only at the expense of more invaluable human lives and dislocation of the national political structure, which in turn, might have become an everlasting peril to world security.

75. Now, after a lapse of some two years, which may even be for the historians far too short a time to make a conclusive interpretation, the progress achieved fully justifies the wisdom of the United Nations in rendering its mediation in any conflict between dependent nations and their metropolitan governments. By saying this, I do not mean to be self-complacent about our success — achievements which, after all, are just the first products of the toil, sweat, tears and blood expended in the tricky and almost never-ending slope of every human life. But what cannot be denied is that, with the termination of colonial domination in the greater part of Asia, a sound living growth has emerged as real as life itself.

76. I am sure that, given a certain period of peaceful labour, reorganization and reconstruction, the almost unbelievably ill-equipped organization, from the technical point of view, left behind in the ex-dependent countries, could be transformed into means just sufficient to fulfil the primary requirements of a simple national life. Then the political renaissance in Asia could develop itself into forces which, with all the other forces in the world, could give a more solid foundation to the United Nations.

77. It is for this reason, apart from all others, that we are filled with great anxiety, sometimes even with a sense of frustration, to see that the experience of recent years indicates that the atmosphere of San Francisco was indeed fleeting. It is difficult to recapture today the sense of hope and optimistic expectation which this Organization at its inception inspired amongst the submerged peoples of the world, who foresaw a rapid end of political domination, economic exploitation, social degradation and cultural frustration. Despite sincere and repeated affirmations by representatives of sixty nations, now Members of the United Nations, of the continued desire of their peoples for peace and the opportunities for self-fulfilment for all, the Charter is often appealed to in vain; the implementation of many of its provisions is notable for its absence in many parts of the world; other provisions have been interpreted in what amounts to a distortion of their original intention. We still hear reiteration of the noble phrases and sentiments first voiced seven years ago, but their continued repetition in a near vacuum of action gives them, at times, the unreality of the Cheshire Cat's smile.

78. I do not, of course, intend to disparage or demean the notable successes of this Organization. For many issues brought before it have indeed been very creditably settled. In the case of Indonesia, as I have noted already, the very fact of my addressing this Assembly today makes it clear that our confidence was not entirely misplaced. And much of its work, particularly that of the economic and social organs and the specialized agencies, is deserving of high praise. But I should like to remind this General Assembly that



the many issues of the 1920's and 1930's settled at Geneva and the excellent work of the same specialized agencies or their predecessors did not ensure the survival of the League nor prevent the onset of the Second World War. It was precisely the failures of this period that the United Nations Organization was designed to overcome.

79. And if — although we are reluctant to admit it — this Organization shows unmistakable signs of suffering the lamentable fate of its predecessor, it is because it is attempting to function in the midst of a retrogression to the very power conflicts and alliances it was set up to supersede. Two hostile blocs, led by two nations which were most instrumental in the creation of this Organization, now face each other across a barrier which neither can bring itself to bridge. One result is that basic action envisaged by the Charter, such as disarmament, has been constantly thwarted. We witness instead an armaments race vaster and more terrifying than anything that has gone before. And the large Powers, ignoring the principle which gave them their added special privileges within the Organization, use these privileges to further their own ends while failing to carry out their responsibilities to exercise their power jointly and co-operatively to further the aims of the Charter. They play their game of chess on the board of the United Nations, constantly seeking to checkmate each other, and the smaller nations which become the pawns in this game are expected to do little more than to deplore and exhort.

80. We find even more deplorable, and perhaps just as dangerous as this precarious equilibrium or mutual paralysis between the two blocs, the fact that almost every issue of the last few years has tended to be sucked into the vortex of the cold war.

81. Fewer and fewer have become the debates on the merits of the problems under discussion; more and more has the cold war cast its baneful shadow over the deliberations of this Organization. It would be almost comic, were it not so tragic, to see how accurately can be predicted the positions of many countries on a given issue on the basis of their situation *vis-à-vis* the so-called East-West conflict. While it is true that their positions have been verbally rationalized to accord with the various articles of the Charter, these articles have gained a flexibility of interpretation that goes far beyond what was envisaged at San Francisco.

82. In this atmosphere, where it is apparently no longer fashionable to analyse issues on their merits and strictly in accordance with the Charter, Indonesia has steadfastly attempted to do so. Perhaps that is why we have been called naïvely idealistic. In this atmosphere, where voting records tend to reflect more and more *a priori* decisions based on an alliance with one or the other bloc, Indonesia has found itself voting on some issues with one bloc, on others with the other. Our steadfast refusal to adhere to either bloc, except as a given issue may warrant it, has been termed politically unrealistic, for a smaller nation, we are told, cannot afford an independent policy in which it risks the enmity of both blocs while enjoying the protection of neither.

83. Nevertheless, we shall continue to pursue our policy of actively working towards peace and assisting

every genuine effort on its behalf, of striving for the observance of the spirit of the Charter, and of viewing every issue on its merits and refusing to prejudice it on extraneous grounds. Nor do we consider this policy naïve and unrealistic, for is not the abdication by the big Powers of responsibility to preserve peace and security more unrealistic? Is not the sacrifice of genuine issues upon the altar of the cold war the height of unrealism? Therefore we shall continue to pursue our course in the conviction that it is actually realistic within the definition of the enlightened realism of San Francisco. And we urge and hope that this session of the Assembly will recognize, as was recognized in 1945 and since then often forgotten, that only this enlightened realism will prevent chaos and preserve civilization.

84. On this basis, we hope that this session of the General Assembly, meeting for the first time in its new home, will find the major Powers sincerely resuming their responsibility to exercise their power on the precepts of amicable co-operation and understanding; that there will be fewer determined words and more determined action in the cause of peace. Every such gesture and act genuinely in furtherance of the intent and spirit of the Charter will have our support, regardless of its origin.

85. We have noted with interest that the attention of this Assembly was drawn to the possibility of putting into effect Article 109 of the Charter, which provides for a general conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing and, if deemed necessary, altering, the present Charter. We believe that this is a constructive proposal which deserves close and unprejudiced consideration. But as the representative of New Zealand has noted [380th meeting], imperfections in the Charter or the Organization itself are due more to the frailties and perversities of human nature than to the form of the Charter itself. Therefore the common temper and humanitarian spirit which animated those who founded this Organization upon the principles set forth in the Charter must first be recaptured and revitalized. Then, and then only, can we attempt to strengthen the Charter and the Organization itself; then, and then only, can we hope to make real progress on such crucial issues as disarmament and Korea.

86. The problem of Korea has reminded us again how painfully swift is the resort to violence when the spirit of co-operation and understanding is lost in a swirl of suspicion and distrust, and how difficult is the road back to conciliation and peace. But in the anticipation that the present session will strive for and achieve a solution to this urgent problem, we intend to contribute our utmost towards attaining the peaceful unification of Korea.

87. In the interest of strengthening the prestige and influence of this Organization, we expect to work for a rapid solution to the impasse on admission of new Members. We deplore seeing applicants being refused admission because either Power bloc has suspected that they might tend to support the other. The goal of international co-operation and understanding, of freedom and human rights for all, of world peace and security, cannot be gained by shutting out those views one dislikes or with which one may disagree. Progress

towards universality of membership is thus a pressing need in order that no peoples are deprived of the right to participate in and benefit from the work of this Organization.

88. In the hope that this session will forego the unrealistic tendency to ignore issues that threaten peace in the interest of the cold-war conflict and instead accord them the attention they deserve, we firmly intend to assert, in common with other Asian and Arab nations, the question of Tunisia and Morocco. Those of us who, because of our own history, are particularly sensitive to the desires of still submerged nations, have been alarmed to note their inability even to obtain a hearing out of fear that a debate might embarrass a pillar of one of the blocs and possibly work to the benefit of the other. But we cannot conceive that the major Powers, having fought both verbally and literally for freedom and independence, could wish to withhold them from others equally deserving. Therefore we shall not believe that the legitimate rights of nations and peoples to freedom and self-determination will be sacrificed for the sake of expediency.

89. And we shall continue to press for concrete action on the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Union of South Africa. Here we again find the moral principle subordinated in the immediate interest of the cold-war controversy. We have heard continual concern expressed for the maintenance of human rights in general, but specific violation deemed a matter for United Nations action if alleged to occur within the other bloc, a matter of domestic jurisdiction if alleged within one's own. Enlightened realism, however, demands the recognition that in any legitimate grievance, whenever and wherever it may occur, lies the kernel of a future war.

90. It is with great optimism that we look forward to continued action in the sphere of economic development, because the technical assistance programme is one whose efforts are bearing visible fruits and which will contribute more to the foundation of lasting peace than the many words expended on the desire for peace. In Indonesia, the work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the other specialized agencies is visible evidence to our people that this Organization is still a living entity fulfilling part of the promise of the Charter. It is hoped that the constructive efforts of technical assistance will further the greatly needed improvement of the standard of living.

91. But our optimism is again tempered by our awareness that the present technical assistance programmes will not in themselves succeed in alleviating the economic disabilities of the under-developed countries. At most, they will help the latter to mobilize their resources more efficiently in the direction of further development. They will undoubtedly aid these predominantly agricultural and raw material producing countries to improve their methods of production in this respect.

92. But economic assistance which can accomplish little more than to retain these countries as productively more efficient reservoirs of the world's raw materials will not solve their population and unemployment problems, will not give them a balanced economic

structure and will not ensure the conditions of economic stability. These under-developed countries have experienced an economic, as well as political and social, awakening. They are now aware that their position *vis-à-vis* the more highly industrialized countries has been and still is an inferior one, and they are determined to realize the necessity and possibility of re-adjusting their position on the world market to one of equality. To cushion their economies against the violent shocks of world market fluctuations, they realize that a more balanced economic structure is essential. And this can be achieved only by some measure of industrialization.

93. The economic organs of the United Nations and the experts who have assisted them in studying this problem for the past two years have recognized this need and devoted attention to the problem of financing economic development. They have also recognized that the low level of income in these countries precludes the accumulation of sufficient domestic capital for national financing of such development. Although noting that private foreign capital should be encouraged to flow into these countries, they have conceded that such investment, even under optimum conditions, is generally not attracted to the very projects that will most accelerate sound industrialization. They have further acknowledged that existing international financial institutions are inadequate to mobilize even a small portion of the needed capital, either public or private.

94. They have consequently advocated a more comprehensive international approach to the financing of economic development and the creation of additional international institutions for its application. It is therefore with the most profound interest that we are anticipating the results of the current studies of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of the possibilities of creating an international finance corporation for the financing of productive enterprises in under-developed countries, and of the efforts undertaken with a view to setting up a special fund for grants-in-aid and low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries which will enable the latter to accelerate greatly the execution of non-self-liquidating projects basic to economic development.

95. While welcoming this realistic awareness of our problems, we of the under-developed countries regret that on the part of the developed countries this recognition has been more in the form of verbal concern than of concrete action. They deplore the disease but withhold the remedy.

96. My country's experience over the past year, primarily in regard to rubber, has again borne out the truth of the well recognized truism that producers of raw materials are the most susceptible to world market fluctuations. The impact of recent developments in the world pattern of trade and prices was evident in the sharply reduced volume and value of our exports. This adverse turn of our trade balance has directly influenced our import possibilities. The consequent loss of foreign exchange proceeds has even forced us this year to suspend some development projects for which we could no longer purchase the capital equipment so vital to their undertaking. The consumer's section was likewise severely affected. In order to protect our balance of payments, my Government had to curtail drastically the import of many consumer goods.

97. This is why, in concert with other under-developed countries, my Government will continue to urge the establishment of international commodity arrangements in order to achieve a stable market which will greatly aid the under-developed countries to secure a sustained source of foreign exchange to further our development projects, and to raise our standard of living through increased production. For this is a genuine issue, a real problem whose solution calls for effective and realistic action on the part of the developed countries.

98. A realistic solution of both the economic and political issues facing this Assembly requires a rebirth of the spirit of enlightened realism which attended the birth of this Organization. The immediate welfare and ultimate survival of our peoples, whose confidence is wavering but whose hope is still firm, demand the revival of this enlightened realism. Time itself challenges the Members of this Assembly to observe the principles of the Charter faithfully, to view each issue brought to their attention on its merits strictly in relation to the Charter, to show as fervent devotion to its observance nearer home as they show concern for its violation at a distance, to endeavor to remove the impediments to self-determination and the enjoyment of basic human rights with conviction and without evasion, to rearm for a war against poverty, starvation and disease instead of for a military war against each other—to do these things not only with words and speeches but with deeds and actions. For the measure of the desire for peace is not what one says about it, but what one does to attain it.

99. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): When I was giving thought to the form which this statement should take, I naturally looked over the address which was delivered by the then Chairman of the delegation of Burma at the sixth session of the General Assembly [347th meeting], one year ago. I received a shock. It seemed that time had stood still, for everything that was then said applied with equal, and perhaps even greater, force today. My predecessor opened his statement by saying that he wished merely to express the hopes and fears of a small country. After briefly setting out our fears, my predecessor concluded with this passage:

"The Burmese delegation, even if they represent a very small nation, are no less sincere in their desire for peace. They therefore make a fervent appeal to the representatives of the major Powers, who can shape the destiny of the world, to endeavour to effect a change of heart which will pave the way for a spirit of compromise—which, again is the basic ingredient of the remedy for misunderstanding and the means of steering the world away from the horrors of a conflagration."

That must unfortunately remain our fervent prayer in the fateful year 1952.

100. I wish to turn now to a problem which occupies the mind of every single representative in this Assembly and millions of persons all over the world. I refer, of course, to the terrible conflict in Korea. Anyone who has followed the discussions in the First Committee must feel extremely despondent. My delegation is no exception, but we feel that it is possible to paint the picture blacker than it actually is.

101. On going through the documents furnished to us, we were greatly impressed with the degree of agreement which had already been reached at Panmunjom on so many controversial issues, each of which seemed at one time to be just as difficult of solution as the one remaining issue which still is deadlocked. The substantial concessions made on both sides seem to indicate that there exists the basic mutual good will and sincerity required to produce an overall settlement. It is easy to overlook all this or to belittle the substantial achievements already made, while all our attention has been focused on the prisoner exchange issue.

102. It would also be understandable if patience were beginning to wear a little thin on both sides. But understandable though this may be, it is the last thing that we can afford to let happen. The issue is peace or a continuation of bloodshed, with the ever-present threat that it may develop into something very much worse. These being the alternatives, my delegation feels in duty bound to plead for continued patience.

103. We are perfectly aware that the First Committee has ten heavy items to dispose of and that it is still stuck on the first. The way we look at it, however, is that this session of the General Assembly will have been more than worth while if we do not do anything at all except reach a settlement in Korea.

104. We have heard it said that Korea is just a symptom, that a satisfactory treatment of this symptom would still leave the disease uncured and that the tensions would still continue. We do not see it quite in that light. We feel that the present world situation is like a car tire which has been inflated almost to the bursting point. Even a small puncture in that tire would, in our view, help to remove the danger of a blow-out by gradually reducing the pressure inside. An armistice in Korea would, we feel, represent a pretty sizable puncture in the tire.

105. Apart from this overall effect, we must never forget that an armistice would bring an end to the terrible destruction which has enveloped the Korean peninsula during the last forty months and to the sacrifices being made daily by the brave men on both sides of the battle line. As some of our colleagues have already pointed out, the number of casualties suffered by both sides in the course of the few weeks during which we have been discussing the Korean issue here must, by now, exceed the number of prisoners whose immediate future has given rise to this deadlock; and the number will keep on increasing steadily if the war goes on. In these circumstances, surely it behoves all of us to keep on trying to find a solution acceptable to both sides, so that this slaughter will be stopped.

106. It may be possible to secure a majority of votes on a resolution. But what good is this going to do unless all the parties to the conflict accept that resolution. As at least one previous speaker has said, we should aim at solutions, not resolutions. Any impatience exhibited at this time is only going to result in the prolongation for an indefinite period of the suffering and devastation. I should therefore like to conclude this passage of my statement by pleading once again for patience and understanding.

107. While on the subject of world tensions, I wish now to refer to another contributory factor in building up tensions. This arises from the failure of certain Powers to appreciate that some of the peoples over whom they continue to exercise domination have now reached a stage of development which fits them to govern themselves or, at any rate, to be given a greater share in the government of their countries. The statement made yesterday [392nd meeting] by the Foreign Minister of France seemed to me to reflect exactly such a lack of appreciation. I do not propose to go into it in detail at this stage. I wish, however, to touch on one or two matters which caught my attention as the statement was being delivered.

108. The first was the claim that France had, during its stewardship, introduced economic and social changes in Tunisia, as a result of which the people there were now better off than in the independent countries which have been critical of France. This may or may not be true, but it seems hardly relevant to the issue. Our general view is that good government is no substitute for self-government. And if it be true that the people of Tunisia have reached a stage of development which is ahead of that of some of the neighbouring countries, it seems to me all the more reason that they should be given a larger share of responsibility than they now have in governing the country.

109. But something that Mr. Schuman said later seemed to indicate that political development had perhaps not been permitted to keep pace with development in the economic and social fields. Referring to the detailed programme of reforms which the French Government had submitted to the Bey, the Foreign Minister said:

"We are trying to spread democratic organization at all levels, starting at the bottom in the municipalities and other local communities."

I must confess that this came to me as something of a surprise; that in 1952, seventy years after France assumed responsibility for Tunisia, the French Government was only just beginning to think of introducing these reforms.

110. I could not help comparing the situation immediately with that which obtained in my country while it was governed by the British. By a strange coincidence, Upper Burma—that is, the larger part of what is now the Union of Burma—was annexed to the British Empire in 1885, just about the time that the French assumed responsibility for Tunisia. But local self-government of the kind referred to by Mr. Schuman was introduced in Upper Burma as early as 1900; and by 1925, most of our municipalities and district councils had been put on a fully representative basis. Simultaneously with this last change, Burma had a full-fledged cabinet at the centre, a cabinet whose members had complete control over all internal matters, including law and order and finance.

111. As everybody knows, we became entirely independent in 1948. Yet in 1952, the French Government is considering the introduction of municipal self-government in Tunisia. Here we seem to have hit at the root of the Tunisian problem. It is perhaps right here in Tunisia itself and not in the extraneous sources that he mentioned that Mr. Schuman will find the cause of the current discontent in Tunisia. In Morocco it

seems that such reforms have not even been considered. If past performance is any guide, it seems that the Moroccans will have to wait until 1982 for them, since Morocco became a French Protectorate thirty years after Tunisia.

112. It seems to us that the great French nation, famed for its devotion to freedom and the dignity of individual and nations, has failed to apply the same principles and standards to its subject peoples. Like Rip Van Winkle, the French nation has suddenly awakened to find a changed world. The experience is naturally disconcerting and readjustment is difficult. It remains our fervent hope that it will be possible for France to make the readjustment demanded by the times without too much difficulty or delay.

113. Another factor contributing to world tension stems from the racial policies adopted by certain governments, notably the Government of the Union of South Africa. One does not have to read only the newspaper reports coming out of the Union of South Africa to notice that these measures have in them the seeds of serious trouble for the future. Of much greater significance is the reaction in the Press of all the newly-independent countries of Asia and of Africa. This in itself indicates how spurious is the claim that this is a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of the Union of South Africa. It is something which no world organization can afford to ignore.

114. Finally, I turn to the last of the factors contributing to world tension. It is perhaps not as acute as the other factors I have just mentioned, but from the long-range point of view it is probably as important as the rest put together. Recent surveys have indicated that the gap in the living standards between the highly developed and the under-developed areas of the world is widening and widening fast. This is dangerous in itself, but what makes it doubly dangerous is the fact that the people of the under-developed countries are no longer prepared to do without certain things which they know exist in the world. This revolution of rising expectations, as it had been so aptly called, is bound to grow with the passage of time. Unless the world as a whole takes steps to meet this challenge, possibly by diverting part of what is now spent on armaments to more productive purposes, it seems that we shall all be heading towards disaster.

115. We all know that this challenge would have come forward even if the ideological conflict had never come into existence and that it will remain even after this conflict is dissipated. Yet there is a very strong tendency to merge this problem with the ideological conflict and to gauge its importance strictly in relation to the extent to which it can be so merged. What seems to be required is a fuller realization, particularly in the more fortunate countries of the world, that this is a problem which has come to stay, regardless of any other conflicts or problems which have already developed or may develop in the future.

116. We are aware of the steps which have already been taken to meet this problem. Unfortunately, progress so far has been slow and the results extremely meagre. Obviously what is required is that a much more imaginative programme of economic development

should be introduced and, since such programmes are inevitably slow to produce results, that such a programme should be brought under way as early as possible. We are aware of the difficulties which exist and have no desire to belittle them, but we are by

no means convinced that everything that is possible within the means now available is in fact being done to meet this challenge.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*