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General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. RESTREPO JARAMILLO (COLOMBIA),
MR. KRAFT (DENMARK), MR. BATLLE BERRES (URUGUAY),
SIR MOHAMMAD ZAFRULLA KHAN (PAKISTAN) AND
MR. OCAMPOS (PARAGUAY).

1. Mr. RESTREPO JARAMILLO (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*) : It is a great pleasure for us to be meeting in this capital of France, the country of generous hospitality, brilliant culture, noble and majestic monuments and the country which, for all Latin delegations, has the incomparable merit that through its ideas the light of Mediterranean civilization has radiated through time and space. I pray that France may be able to continue its mission to mankind in peace and that neither the people nor the shrines of France may ever again face the threat of destruction.

2. The function which is the true *raison d'être* of the United Nations is the preservation of peace. We might well reduce the agenda of this sixth session to the single but all-important item : ensuring world peace. For if our efforts result in a step forward in that direction they will be amply justified. Mankind, having endured in one generation enough suffering to suffice for centuries, and being now threatened by a new flood of barbarism, only looks to us to achieve peace.

3. To accomplish this purpose, a number of proposals are being put forward, such as limitation of armaments, collective security measures and the improvement of the standard of living of all peoples. I should like to explain my delegation's views on these important subjects.

4. It is obvious that the limitation of armaments reduces the chances of war. When the nations in their armaments race reach their peak effort they are exposed to a temptation to use in actual war the resources marshalled for the purpose of preventing it, as the only possible way of putting an end to continuous privation and of substituting for permanent fear and sacrifice what they believe will be a tragedy of short duration. That is the real source of the danger of the competition in means of destruction. Colombia is in favour of any action or proposals for the limitation and control of armaments.

5. Mr. Acheson has made a concrete suggestion for the limitation of armaments [A/1943]. To reject it out of hand and to consign it with scorn to the waste-paper-basket is obviously neither an act of practical common sense nor a manifestation of good faith.

6. My delegation also thinks that agreements should not be limited to the control of new weapons such as the atomic bomb or chemical or biological means of warfare, but should cover armaments generally. It is true that nuclear fission and bacterial warfare are more effective and far-reaching methods of destroying human life, but the basic fact remains that ordinary explosives can and do achieve the same fatal purpose.

7. My country's attitude in these matters is, of course, that of a small nation which no military power, prepared to give moral support to the work of limitation and control, but incapable of exercising any material influence on limitation.

8. With respect to collective security measures, my delegation is of the opinion that they are the essential feature of the United Nations. If their adoption were not possible, this Assembly would be nothing but a literary academy whose praiseworthy purposes would be quite without any real influence on human destiny. This is clear from the unhappy fate of the League of Nations. Ideas are very powerful and can penetrate far. In time, the idea prevails. But where political realities are concerned, facts are more directly decisive. To leave the United Nations without the weapons enabling it to intervene effectively and decisively at times of crisis, would only add one more to the many disappointments which the world has suffered in its unavailing search for peace.

9. Colombia is anxious to co-operate actively in a policy likely to ensure to the United Nations prompt, effective and genuine means of action. Not only that, my country has, as far as it is able, participated, and continues to participate, in the collective effort to restore peace in Korea. Colombian blood has been freely mingled with that of the champions of freedom, and my country's respect for international agreements, accepted in good faith, has always been true and indisputable.

10. My delegation is of the opinion that, in order to obtain sound practical results in the organization of collec-

tive security measures, it is surely desirable that such measures should be negotiated within the framework of regional agencies, allowance being made for the true capabilities of each country. Owing to the similarity of problems, geographical proximity and the hopes and dangers common to nations bound together by real ties, regional agencies are bodies with an intrinsic reason for existence, fit to be the first links in the chain of the universal defence system.

11. Clearly, the small countries cannot take the decision for peace or war at the crucial moments. Interests, concepts and responsibilities of a magnitude far beyond our command must finally turn the balance, but once it is turned, the small countries must inevitably suffer the consequences. That is one obvious reason why they should be given a particularly careful hearing and if the problem is to be considered impartially, the opinions of the small countries should receive most attention because it is precisely their lack of world power which enables them to be impartial.

12. In the western hemisphere our experience with the Organization of American States has shown us that regional associations are conducive to agreement and of proved efficiency as peace organizations. In America, the Organization of American States has succeeded in substituting good faith for distrust, and true friendship for suspicion.

13. The fact that better standards of life for the peoples and improvement in the general condition of under-developed countries are major factors in attaining world peace has been repeated *ad nauseam*. This is true enough, always provided that a general war does not destroy even the possibilities of improvement. It is obvious that peoples suffering from ignorance and want fall an easy prey to war and thus constitute a permanent reserve of explosive material. It is a matter of the utmost urgency to raise them to the status of truly human dignity. On this subject I venture to make two comments.

14. First, a limitation of armaments would be the best contribution to the development of under-developed countries; secondly, as Mr. Acheson has rightly said, the possibilities of improving the lot of mankind are very great and, in many cases no very revolutionary techniques need to be applied.

15. The first of these statements is self-evident. If a minute part of the vast sums now being spent on death-dealing devices were applied to the effective promotion of human advancement, the means of life would be unbelievably multiplied. With the money spent on the equipment of a modern division, which becomes obsolete after a few years, Colombia's fundamental transport problems could be solved. Hospitals could be provided for a whole region with what it costs to build a battle cruiser. The equivalent of the cost of a heavy bomber would endow a university; and, to follow Mr. Acheson's line of thought, we reflect upon the millions of metal ploughs and sacks of seed that could make land productive and so assuage the hunger of the peoples, if the enormous technical and industrial capacity of our century were turned to constructive uses instead of to the preparation and consummation of a catastrophe.

16. I do not subscribe to the materialist philosophy that holds world wars inevitable and regards them with the icy detachment of the geologist surveying a delta. I still believe in the practical possibility of action by men of goodwill, and I am one of them. If we were not convinced of the possibility of peace-making action, this Assembly would be a deplorable farce. We must, therefore, work for a

system of international relations in which peoples can live together and man's efforts may be directed to constructive ends.

17. The work of civilizing the world, which means nothing other than raising the general standards of life of the peoples, is not a Herculean task beyond the bounds of practical possibility, but a mission relatively easy of fulfilment and, in any event, less formidable than the tremendous sacrifice demanded by warlike preparations. Technical assistance is already, by itself, producing positive results, as has been witnessed in Colombia, where experts of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and of the United Nations, in close and cordial collaboration with the competent national circles, have effectively contributed not only to the preparation of a reasonable and feasible programme but also to facilitating its early execution.

18. I should now like to digress for a moment and turn to a matter with which my country is also concerned. Colombia would like to see the doors of the United Nations thrown open to admit Italy, and, in fact, all those nations which, like Spain, are truly desirous of acting in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter: "...to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war..., to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights..., to establish conditions under which justice... can be maintained..., to promote social progress and better standards of life..., to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours..., to unite our strength to maintain... peace". In a world so desirous of applying the rule of law for settling disputes, a nation would surely be welcomed which centuries ago laid the legal foundations for human relationships so soundly that they are still the source of half the laws of mankind.

19. Our agenda speaks of methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen peace. That, I repeat, is the fundamental task of the United Nations, the only one that justifies its existence, the task for which it was created and on which its future depends. Limitation of armaments, the fight against hunger, ignorance and poverty, collective security measures, friendly mediation between peoples—all such action must be tried and applied for the achievement of that vital objective. But all these efforts will be unavailing unless there is the will to peace. A world war to prevent another war gives a moral purpose to the awful holocaust but does not make it less calamitous. Destruction remains destruction, the abyss continues to be an abyss, and culture and civilization will suffer untold damage, whatever the reasons for the disaster. In the final analysis, peace or war will depend on the conscious will of the few, the very few men who, by virtue of their position in the world, bear the tremendous responsibility of deciding. If it is their will, we shall have peace; if it is not, we shall have war and any measures we might devise to prevent it will be as naught in the face of the crushing reality of events.

20. There is still time for the great leaders of mankind to pause and reflect. Positions cannot be regarded as irreconcilable so long as the desire for conciliation exists. The fact that proposals have been made makes it clear and indisputable that there is material for study and room for negotiation. In the normal course of events, a war ends by the conclusion of a peace treaty. Would it not be more wise and less fatal to conclude the treaty without waging the war?

21. But there is more to it than that. The whole world desires peace and the war with which it is threatened will bear little resemblance to former wars. Its political consequences can so outstrip military possibilities that the only

possible outcome would be world chaos. It is to avoid such a situation that the peoples of the world have been summoned to Paris.

22. Mr. KRAFT (Denmark): First of all, I should like to associate myself with the words of gratitude expressed by so many of my colleagues to France and to the French Government for the wonderful hospitality shown to the sixth session of the General Assembly, and for the gracious welcome they have extended to all representatives.

23. It is a tragic fact that, only a few years after the end of the Second World War, which was supposed to give mankind peace and security, we live today, as it were, on a volcano. Peace and security, which should be fundamental human rights, are still far off, and that is why they have become of overwhelming importance for the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

24. With man's remarkable power of adaptation, he is, I think, able to dismiss to some extent all thought of the uncertain conditions of the world, and to do his daily duty in his place in life without thinking too much of the fact that nobody knows what the position of the world will be next month. But in man's subconsciousness lies the fear of the future, our future and especially that of our children, the fear that we are approaching doomsday.

25. That is how things are after the first fifty years of the twentieth century have elapsed. What a change from the conditions prevailing at the end of the last century, especially in Europe! It was really believed that man had come so far that it was but a question of time when war would be completely abolished as a means of solving international disputes, and arbitration and conciliation set in its place. Generally speaking, the world was at peace, and man thought that this stability would last and that he could look to the future with a feeling of security.

26. Instead of peace, we have had two devastating world wars. Hardly ever in history have so many sweeping revolutions taken place within such a short space of time. Indeed, we face a new world situation. Socially, economically and politically the world has completely changed. Great Powers as well as small States have been destroyed, and new Powers have come into existence. Europe has lost her leading position both as regards politics and economy. Everything is fluctuating; instead of a stable and quiet development, we have now reached a state where tranquillity and security do not exist anywhere in the world.

27. During the Second World War, the Western Powers and the Soviet Union recognized that the bitter reality of war necessitated a co-operation as allies against the common foe. It was, indeed, a necessity. Of what use would the gallantry of the Soviet army at Stalingrad have been if England, with dogged tenacity, had not endured the German air raids at the critical moment, and if its navy had not protected the transport of weapons which Russia needed to continue the war? Of what use would it have been if the United States had not devoted the prime of its man power and its overwhelming productive capacity in the fight for the liberty of mankind? Of what use would it have been if the French underground movement had not so faithfully defended France's honour? The co-operation had to be realized. Without the Soviet Union's tough resistance and sacrifices of human lives, the Western Powers would hardly have been able to hold out.

28. It was generally hoped that, just as this co-operation was made necessary by the war, it would continue after the war and, just as the Allies had won the war, they would

make sure to win the peace. Was it believable that the victors could fail to co-operate in solving the problems created by their common war? Just now, when the hopes of man are directed towards Paris, towards this Assembly, it is worth remembering that such were the beliefs and hopes but six years ago.

29. How differently things have developed! It is no use concealing this fact. We must now realize that, despite this necessity for co-operation, two world notions, called East and West, are facing each other. Instead of decreasing, the chasm between them seems constantly to widen. This terrible development — for it is terrible — threatens to create international disorganization where all that we thought we had gained in the 19th century will be lost, where the states take the law into their own hands and where the use of force takes the place of the law established on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

30. We got a clear picture of the situation by listening to the speeches made last Thursday by representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union said that after having read the statement made the day before by the American, the English and the French Foreign Secretaries, he could not sleep because he kept laughing. I am sure that many others, just as I, were deprived of their sleep not by laughter but by grief and anxiety because this was the answer given to the West's appeal for co-operation, an appeal intended to alleviate the tension and smooth the path for agreement and consequently for measures which might take the heavy burdens of rearmament from the shoulders of the people, thus recreating the feeling of security which man had at the end of the 19th century but has since lost.

31. The leading thread through Mr. Vyshinsky's speech was that the democratic countries in Europe and America had but one desire, another world war; that monopolists and capitalists have a yearning for war and the desire to make a fortune out of war and to promote gigantic profits, and that the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty wish to transform the United Nations into a tool of war. The idea that the American, the British or the French people should desire to involve mankind in war is in itself so absurd that it passes my understanding. In reality it is the people in those countries who decide on war and peace. A realistic consideration therefore, would have shown the USSR representative that his accusation against the Western democracies was unreasonable.

32. It goes without saying that I do not know Mr. Vyshinsky's ideas as to what the world would be like after another war; but experience gained in the last war and the development of weapons since then, must, it seems to me, make it incomprehensible that anyone dares assert that a country desires war. After a third world war there will be nothing left to live for, neither for the conqueror nor for the defeated. Nevertheless, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union asserts that the Atlantic States form an aggressive bloc, and his speech ended in a proposal the main point of which was that the General Assembly should declare that participation in this bloc is incompatible with membership of the United Nations. Although this proposal is not directed specifically against Denmark, which is but one of the smallest links in the chain of the Atlantic community, I deem it necessary in this connexion to account for our conception of the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty.

33. Why did Denmark join the North Atlantic Treaty? It may be said in so many words that we felt insecure as things had developed, and we wanted to do what was in our power to secure peace and liberty and because we were

and are confident that the North Atlantic Treaty is a means to secure peace and preserve the liberty which makes peace valuable. What, then, is liberty to us? It is, first and foremost, the right of the people to decide for themselves, a right which may involve the necessity of waiving part of their sovereignty. But this can only take place on a voluntary basis, not in order to submit to another Power, but in favour of a community with others who have the same conception of freedom as we have, the freedom which ensures the dignity of man and his right to live in security under the protection of the law.

34. Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, once said in a speech made in Copenhagen: "What is the surest sign of democracy? It is that when the bell rings at seven in the morning, you can be sure that it is the milkman who comes". During the Nazi occupation many Danes, and I among them, lived to see that it was not the milkman who rang the bell but the Gestapo, either to carry you off to an unknown destination, or, in some cases, even to an untimely end of your life. We have known what it means to lose liberty; we know the terrible uncertainty of lawlessness.

35. It was *inter alia* to avoid this happening once more that we joined the community of the North Atlantic Treaty in order to maintain peace and, if despite all our efforts war should come, then to avoid another occupation. But to us the preservation of peace is the chief aim. I can say it so strongly because, while it is of course the task of the treaty to protect the members against occupation in case of war and thus to preserve their liberty, the failure to achieve its principal aim, namely to avert a new world war, must be considered a decisive defeat for the policy of the North Atlantic Treaty. I am sure that the other Member States share this notion, and this shows how wanton is the assertion that this treaty has aggressive intent. Can anybody really imagine that Denmark, taking into consideration her geographical position, her outlook on life and her military weakness, would join a treaty with aggressive purposes?

36. But had we any reason to fear a repetition of conditions as they existed during the last war? In 1948... had become quite clear that the United Nations had not succeeded and, in all probability, would not succeed in the near future in conferring on the world the feeling of security we had expected, because the necessary co-operation between the great Powers had failed. The picture before us was that on the one side was a group in close military co-operation with large standing armies, and on the other side were the Western States, disunited and defenceless because they had reduced their forces to a minimum trusting that now a long period of peace had begun. Only by joining hands and by restoring their collective defence was it possible for this group of States to regain a little of its lost security. This is no accusation against others for harbouring aggressive intentions, but still less should this accusation be made against the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty only on account of their desire to re-establish some kind of balance in the relative strength in the world.

37. The experience of history shows us that lack of balance in the relative strength of various groups of nations is a threat against peace. It is our desire to settle through peaceful negotiations all disputes which may arise, but it is our belief that equality breeds no war. A mere comparison between the relative strength of east and west will destroy at one blow the assertion that the aim of the North Atlantic Treaty could be aggressive. A treaty comprising

both large and small States, the majority of which are in the European continent, will hardly lend itself to aggression. It is but few States who feel impelled to commit suicide.

38. The treaty, on the other hand, may work according to its aim: prevention of aggression. We joined the North Atlantic Treaty as a Member of the United Nations, the Charter of which establishes the right of individual and collective self-defence. It is a provisional and necessary supplement to the Charter. We know what its principal aim is. We know that it will never be used for aggression. We are not, and will not be disappointed in this respect, nor will the people of the Soviet Union be disappointed in trusting our will to peace.

39. We all know the so-called peace propaganda brought forward in all western European countries at communist initiative, warmly supported by USSR propaganda. That is why I wondered at the speech made by the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union. Was it a speech really aiming at peace? To me it sounded like a series of violent accusations against the whole western world on a basis that no pertinent judgment will endorse. It ended in an appeal to the peoples to take the matter into their own hands, but the peoples in our democratic countries have easy access to voicing their opinion. For they speak through their governments, which are elected by virtue of the confidence they enjoy with the majority of the people, and which, are removed if they fail to retain such confidence. He who wants peace and understanding will not, I suppose, appeal to a minority of the population to act against its lawful government, against the law and the constitution? It is also unnecessary, for our countries want peace, their governments and peoples agree thereon; but they want peace with freedom and right of self-determination which is not affected by threats.

40. Mr. Vyshinsky is right in saying that the rearmament of the more or less disarmed western European States imposes heavy economic burdens on these States, but these burdens are not so heavy that it can be rightly maintained that our economic conditions today are worse than at the time when western co-operation in the economic and military domain began. The co-operation within the North Atlantic Treaty is not only of a military nature; it aims also at the welfare of our peoples and at a high standard of living for the man in the street. What a blessing it would be if we could sacrifice less on military tasks and more on peace. I cannot but believe that the Soviet Union also would welcome a lightening of its military burdens which, per head, exceed those of other countries.

41. Here is a point which to me has become the decisive one, and where a result can only be reached if both parties make honest endeavours to remove the hindrances to an understanding, reciprocal lack of confidence and universal fear.

42. It was not without reason that President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill in the Atlantic Charter laid down freedom from fear as one of the chief objectives to be aimed at in the new world order. It should be possible to reach this objective. Despite the various systems under which the peoples live, it should be possible for them to live in peace with one another. If we had a more open world where information was freely spread about actual conditions, about what the peoples and their governments really think, then confidence—and how important confidence is—might be re-established, and destructive fear would disappear little by little.

43. To me it looks as if the proposal for regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic, which France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have submitted to the sixth Session of the General Assembly, with its system of disclosure and verification of armaments in successive stages which means open control as the first step towards disarmament, would offer an adequate basis for work which none who really wants peace can reject point blank.
44. Perhaps it is of no importance what a small country says and thinks, but the small States more than any others feel the anxiety and disquiet of the present day. That is why I wanted to say this as the representative of a small country, fully convinced that the western world is united in the desire to find a way for negotiation and understanding between the two systems which at present dominate the peoples of the earth. As the representative of a small country which for centuries has lived in good relations with Russia and wants also in future to do so and which quite recently has given practical proof thereof, and as the representative of a country which has not forgotten the share of the Soviet Union in the suppression of Nazism and thereby in the liberation of Denmark from the German occupation, I dare to appeal to the leaders of the Soviet Union that they, just as we, will endeavour to make a new start. I appeal to them not to reject the hand extended by the West, but to enter into an open and serious consideration of the path to be followed and of the means to be used in order that we may, with God's help, confer upon mankind freedom from fear of war.
45. Mr. BATLLE BERRES (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): Among the items to be considered by the General Assembly at this session there are some which vitally affect the way of life in certain countries, and it might be said that all these questions have a bearing on the political and social progress of mankind as a whole. We might further claim that nations and persons have the courage to bring to the Assembly's notice matters which, owing to their nature and magnitude, could not be raised between countries maintaining international relations without endangering friendly relations between these countries and possibly even peace itself. The mere fact that such vital and important problems can be submitted to and discussed by the Assembly, with some hope of a settlement, is in itself a great step forward. Even if immediate solutions are not reached, the fact that all of us can meet, consider, discuss and seek solutions or compromises regarding extremely delicate matters is a very important factor in the mutual goodwill of the nations.
46. To ask the United Nations General Assembly to consider and find prompt solutions for the serious problems which are troubling certain countries and which have existed for many years is surely not the best way to facilitate the work or to enhance the prestige of the United Nations. The Assembly has not the requisite means or powers to enforce justice immediately, even where rightly demanded; but it is the only body where this justice can originate, the only one in which the peoples should place their optimistic hopes, and the only one which they should support. Nothing could be more detrimental to world peace than to inspire scepticism in the man in the street concerning our present or future work. What we actually stand for and what we hope to accomplish is being prejudiced not only by the critics who have spoken from this platform about our work and the policy and motives of the members of the Assembly; but also, paradoxical though it may seem, an equally harmful effect is caused by demands for justice that will brook no delay and by the expression of lack of faith in the United Nations' work whenever immediate satisfaction—which we too should like to see—proves impossible.
47. The peoples must realize that what they cannot obtain in peace they are not going to win by war. This is even truer as regards the smaller countries. Hence, our only course is to strengthen the Assembly's hands and to enlist the public's hope and faith in it; that is the way to strengthen this Organization and make it strong enough to operate really more effectively.
48. Even if we do not all return home with all our demands satisfied, we must not think that this international organ has failed or that those demands have been rejected; nor should such circumstances furnish the pretext for hot-headed and pseudo-patriotic diatribes against the Assembly's work. I would go so far as to say that to voice dissatisfaction in that way would be the best way to excite and organize disorder; and that would undoubtedly be a very serious threat to peace.
49. A certain delegation has stated in this Assembly that the part which the United Nations Assembly can play in dealing with certain problems can only be limited and problems of such magnitude should in the first place be settled by the great Powers among themselves. In my opinion, this idea is entirely misconceived. The Uruguayan delegation is not going to fall into the error of denying the extremely important functions of the great Powers, but it would like to affirm the function which the smaller Powers can perform in this Assembly, for, in the aggregate, they comprise hundreds of millions of voices and speak for whole continents whose votes in the Assembly may be effectively felt in decisions on the problems before it. The smaller countries can act through the United Nations Assembly in close relation to the great Powers, and even in opposition to them, and so collaborate in seeking the way to peace and strengthening it. We might say that a fundamental difference between the great Powers and the smaller countries is that the latter cannot initiate any great conflict involving the whole world; but the sufferings imposed by war fall equally upon everyone, as do economic and social disturbances. This means that peace is needed equally by all.
50. We should not, therefore, when discussing the items on our agenda, differentiate between those which must be dealt with and solved by the great Powers and those which may require the collaboration of all countries. It is precisely in the larger disputes that the Assembly should make its views heard and the majority should be decisive. In this way we, the smaller countries, may become the best collaborators and friends of the great Powers in helping them to bear the burden and the immense responsibility of administering the political affairs which affect the whole of mankind. If disagreements and disputes exist among the great Powers and if a deadlock is reached in negotiations to ensure peace, the many small countries distributed through the world could obviously, if united, play a decisive part in keeping up a steady movement on the road towards that more lasting peace which is so much desired and hoped for by all.
51. I think that the representatives have become aware that there is a certain amount of disappointment here at the way in which some speakers have addressed themselves not so much to the Members of this Assembly as to the public at large, which in all continents is watching what is being said and done here. It is essential that we should agree that peace is not likely to be found in the weakness of some and the violent language of others. Violence of language does not necessarily imply either reason or strength or even

determination. Nobody made more violent speeches than Hitler, and yet now the German people is suffering the consequences of that language and that pride. It would be most unfortunate for the whole world if the same were to happen again.

52. We have faith in what this Assembly is going to do, because all of us without exception can endeavour to see that reason shall prevail and guide the work upon which we are employed. We are sure that the world is carefully watching our efforts, we have no doubt what people want and are demanding; and we are confident that we are not going to disappoint their hopes, because all of us here present have been delegated from countries which desire peace and desire to live in freedom and, luckily, those of us who can make decisions without animosity, but firmly, form the majority here.

53. Accordingly we feel bound to state that it is impossible to speak of peace without simultaneously speaking of the freedom of the peoples and of the right of free expression and free movement. The very fact that the Assembly exists means that there must be freedom. Without freedom we could not be here and without freedom we smaller countries would not be able to act, because our strength can only be the strength of our disinterested thinking and the strength of the unity of the smaller countries, all of them enjoying the rule of freedom. Freedom, then, is a fundamental condition of peace, so much so that it can be said that peace is gravely endangered unless accompanied by the freedom of the peoples and all mankind.

54. I must also state, on behalf of my delegation, that we are approaching the study of all economic and social problems calmly, without being daunted by new methods which might be proposed, for we believe that in order to achieve human happiness, new methods must be tried, though the rule of freedom must be safeguarded so that man can express himself without tear and free from pressure.

55. We do not believe in social improvements and technical progress that are unattainable without the surrender of the freedom of the individual and of nations. On the contrary, these merely point the way to a new form of slavery, and it would be erroneous to believe that they lead to the happiness we seek.

56. Should the achievement of a full measure of social justice demand that we weaken our respect of freedom, we should then find ourselves in an impasse. Fortunately, however, that is an entirely false premise; the social progress of mankind, and even the rapid evolution of the actual forms of society which ensure greater justice, may be achieved without weakening or damaging freedom.

57. Likewise, we do not believe that the world can move towards disarmament or enjoy the security of an established peace if freedom of information and freedom of movement do not exist. We claim that, so long as great zones of silence where the freedom of man is controlled or suppressed by force continue to exist, it will not be possible to ensure true disarmament. Before this Assembly can act it must be well informed, and it can never have that assurance unless freedom of information throughout the world is an accomplished fact.

58. This Assembly might adopt a resolution demanding such freedom of information, to impress upon the man in the street that he is gravely imperilled by those who would deny him the right of acquiring information. How could we proceed to fulfil this essential condition of our way of life? The Uruguayan delegation to the Hague Conference

in 1907 stated: "Since so many alliances have been made to impose arbitrary rule, it would be appropriate to conclude an alliance to impose justice".

59. The peoples wishing to live in freedom and sincerely working for the happiness of mankind could enter into a great alliance with a view to finding ways likely to lead to the economic well-being of nations, to a contented life in society to the satisfaction of the individual's desire to move about freely and to be informed of the progress achieved in the world.

60. Uruguay extols freedom because it is in freedom that democracy yields its finest fruits. It was under the protection of freedom that Uruguay won all its social victories: those connect with present and future material security as well as those which create and confirm the happy state of living in an atmosphere of intellectual and moral clarity in which no restrictions hamper the free expression of ideas.

61. In this way, we have been able to arrive at this period of improvisation and disequilibrium with a firm and resolute step, with the aid of a far-seeing legislation worked out gradually over a long period of years. This has been our use and apprenticeship of freedom. Let me emphasize that our freedom is intended to serve the social achievements which we have brought about. We hastened to give all men the justice they need so that they may enjoy life.

62. Education in our country is entirely free, from the earliest schooling until the attainment of a university degree; all costs are borne by the community. Health inspection is begun in schools and assistance in the hospitals and clinics throughout the country is also extended free to those whose salaries are below a prescribed statutory average. Our system of social security is perhaps among the most perfect in the world, and the present and the future of all those who work are insured. From 1912 onwards, we have gradually nationalized the management of various sectors of our social and economic existence, converting private capital, whether national or foreign, into state capital, and these have proved decisive achievements expressing the clear victory of our way of life. As I have said, we realize that we have not yet covered all the ground before us. Let me repeat, however that we approach without apprehension any possible solutions, though, of course, we are vigilant lest we lose our freedom or show weakness to those who seek to deprive us of it on the pretext of ideal solutions, which we earnestly desire to find and which we have ardently sought in other lands, but without success. In this way, we contribute towards the strengthening of democracy and thus feel that we are loyal members of this United Nations.

63. Our country has made every endeavour to fulfil its duties towards the United Nations and, accordingly, we have given economic assistance to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and have also granted technical aid to economically under-developed countries, offering to grant fellowships for Uruguay as well as to send technical experts. We have responded to the appeal for aid to Korea with medical supplies and clothing; we have also promptly, in the name of international solidarity, heeded the call of certain countries in their time of suffering. Furthermore, our country and our Government have considered it a fundamental duty to answer every appeal made in this Assembly and we are sure that those representatives of the Organization who have visited Uruguay have been able to witness our interest in the success of the activities of the United Nations and our loyalty to its work.

64. I should not like to leave this rostrum without referring to the need for an early solution to correct the improper use

of the veto. Its effect is harmful and it is preventing certain countries from taking their place in this Assembly; on behalf of my delegation, I wish to refer particularly to Italy. All those who have had occasion to visit Italy can see the speedy recovery achieved in its whole social and economic life, its will to work and its sincere desire to establish the law and order of democracy. All this has been accomplished by a nation which desires peace; it is sound in spirit and high-minded in character and would surely prove a loyal collaborator in our work, contribute to the prestige of the Organization and strengthen our resolutions. The Italian people will never forget who is preventing it from being present and from making its voice heard here.

65. Uruguay appears before this Assembly free of all local interests, fully disposed towards the fullest possible co-operation and offering the assurance that, so far from creating difficulties in the United Nations, it will, on the contrary, undertake to contribute to the utmost towards the effective realization of its activities. All countries, without any exception, may confidently look to us for friendship, understanding of their problems and a readiness to help in satisfying the demands of justice. However, not a single commitment and not a single word will be wrested from us which might tend to threaten the success of our struggle to strengthen the sure and effective progress of the United Nations.

66. Sir Mohammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): The United Nations is, or at least it could be, a great organization. It was so designed, and it must safeguard itself against a tendency, by now clearly observable, to pull it down into the arena of power politics. In a sense it is a parliament in which sixty nations are represented. If our view were to prevail, the membership even today would exceed eighty. Those who fashioned this Organization designed it as the instrument for the realization and consummation of the hopes and yearnings of tormented humanity for peace and a freer, fuller and richer life for the average man, to be achieved through greater freedom of the body and of the spirit, higher standards, moral and material, and wider opportunities for all manner and classes of men.

67. The Charter of the United Nations, which is a covenant accepted as binding by the nations represented here, enshrines these aspirations in noble language. Through our acceptance of the Charter, we have proclaimed our agreement upon the aims and purposes of the United Nations set out in the Charter. Our principal aim is to secure and maintain peace. We are convinced that the peoples of the world passionately desire peace. All Governments affirm they want peace. But with that affirmation the limits of peace are reached and disagreement starts. Those with whom the choice of peace or war mainly lies also desire peace. Each of them, however, desires it on his own terms, so that the peace that is secured should facilitate the reshaping of the world in conformity with the pattern preferred by each. But Dame Peace is proving a somewhat capricious lady. She appears to fight shy of all courtship that is not transparently sincere and single-minded and that reflects the least shadow of ulterior motive.

68. Proposals have been submitted to the Assembly for the reduction of armaments. These will be discussed in detail in committee. The only comment we desire to make at this stage is that past experience, both in the League of Nations and in the United Nations, does not encourage indulgence of the hope that the elusive and suspicious lady may be won through efforts in that direction. We shall, however, be only too willing and happy to be proved wrong in this instance.

69. In our judgment the chief obstacles in the way of making peace secure are fears of each other's designs and suspicions of each other's motives. Till these can be largely resolved and dispelled, proposals emanating from one side of the other, by whatever degree of sincerity they may be inspired, are likely to be viewed by those whose acceptance is invited as manoeuvrings for position, or attempts to steal a march, and judged accordingly. In the meantime each side is impelled by its fears and suspicions to go on piling up armaments for purely defensive purposes, which process, however, while multiplying the destructive potentialities of an armed conflict, should it unfortunately ensue, serves further to enhance the fears and deepen the suspicions.

70. The vicious circle thus goes whirling madly on its course dragging helpless humanity and all its hopes, aspirations and yearnings for a better world in its wake. Were the dimensions of the catastrophe that threatens less vast and its import less tragic, one might be tempted to indulge in speculation as to the terms and colours in which the historian and fiction writer of the late seventies of the century would be impelled to portray the suicidal madness that, during the middle, afflicted mankind.

71. That which gives to our reflections an even more sombre tinge is the fact that the Organization has failed to resolve, or to make notable progress towards the resolving of, even those conflicts which, though of grave and ominous import, are in their initial stages confined within more limited dimensions and do not appear to be invested with the quality of inevitability. In their treatment of these conflicts the methods, procedures and remedies adopted and applied by the relevant organs of the United Nations have not been such as to enhance the prestige and authority of the Organization, to inspire confidence in its working and operations, or to win general applause for the moral courage of those upon whom responsibility has, from time to time, primarily rested. We are bound, though, to acknowledge that there have been notable and refreshing exceptions. The futility of the Organization in these cases has not been subject to discount even on the score of speed. Its failures have been leisurely.

72. It is a matter for consolation, and we may draw some comfort from the reflection, that with respect to its other aims and purposes, the Organization has not failed altogether and has not wholly belied its promise. Indeed, in many respects, the record of what it is seeking to achieve and the progress it has made is gratifying. Peace is our constant necessity, like the air that we breathe. Its failure at any moment would plunge us headlong into chaos, misery and destruction. We can take no chances where the maintenance of peace is concerned. With respect to our other problems, though we cannot afford at this late stage to be neglectful or complacent, progress is bound to be by stages, though there is no reason why it should be slow. Indeed, there are many considerations of a pressing nature which demand its acceleration.

73. True, six years is but a passing moment in the life of humanity. No sane person expects that all the accumulated ills and the bewildering maladjustments that afflict and torment mankind should be cured and adjusted overnight, as it by magic. We acknowledge that in the economic, social and humanitarian fields, the record of the achievements of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and the selfless devotion of many of their officers and employees is worthy of deep appreciation and generous encouragement.

74. To all those who have been engaged in designing and implementing these projects we pay our tribute. We may,

however, be permitted expression of the hope that the scope of these efforts and projects will be widely extended and that the pace of their implementation will be speeded up.

75. There are certain other fields, notably that of establishing equal rights and securing the exercise of self-determination of peoples, in which progress has not been satisfactory, but there the responsibility does not rest directly upon the United Nations; it rests largely upon individual Members, and from this category we naturally do not exclude ourselves. The record of every one of us, we believe, would exhibit many items of credit as well as of debit. I desire to assure the representatives that our expression of approval or disapproval, of praise or blame, our pleadings and exhortations, do not proceed from any feeling of self-righteousness, but solely from a humble desire to be of service.

76. We constantly remind ourselves of our own obligations and the extent to which we fall short in their fulfilment, but we are willing to be reminded and are not resentful of just admonition. We shall, I hope, be always found ready to perform what we have promised and to render cheerfully what may be due from us. This is a pledge we feel we shall not find difficult to redeem, for our obligations can only be in proportion to our capacity. With the enlargement of our capacity, we shall be eager to assume and to discharge heavier obligations.

77. Permit me to offer some observations upon a subject which involves both deep sentiments and delicate sensibilities. It is, however, a matter of the gravest importance, and a great part of our frustrations with regard to the maintenance of international peace stems directly from it, though there is perceptible in certain quarters a determination to refuse to recognize the connexion. We approach the subject from the purely humanitarian point of view and in no spirit of criticism or condemnation.

78. Part of our own default in this connexion we shall here attempt in some slight degree to repair in conformity with the injunction of the Prophet of Islam: "Go to the help of your brother whether oppressor or oppressed". When asked in what manner may the oppressor be helped, he replied: "Restrain him from proceeding with the oppression". In the instance we have in mind, the "oppressor" is not an individual or a nation; it is a false notion, a vicious principle, an immoral relationship, which today, in the middle of the twentieth century, is universally condemned and repudiated, but which in actual fact obstinately persists in fouling the channels of human intercourse and in breeding the ills and disorders which continue to frustrate and detract from all beneficent effort towards the promotion of human welfare. It has been designated by various names. We prefer to describe it as domination and exploitation of a group by a group, a people by a people, a race by a race, in any sphere of human relations, political, economic, religious or other.

79. We approach this problem from a purely human point of view. In our judgment any relationship, whether established by the use of force, direct or indirect, or the employment, let us say, of diplomacy—not to use any harsher description—even though evidenced by the articles of a constitution, convention, treaty, engagement or agreement, if it has resulted from domination or exploitation, is vicious and evil and must be speedily terminated. Such a relationship operates to degrade both the dominator and the dominated, the exploiter and the exploited. No arrangement can, in our view, claim moral validity, which is not arrived at between the representatives of a free people occupying a position of equality *vis-à-vis* their opposite numbers and subject to no pressure or coercion of any description.

80. In the Charter, we have proclaimed the reaffirmation of our faith in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and our respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Nevertheless, there persists in certain quarters, evidenced by policies pursued and attitudes assumed, the notion, for instance, that the assumed superiority of those who choose to describe themselves as the white races over those whom they regard as the non-white races derives its justification from some sort of a "divine right to rule". This will, I am sure, provoke indignant repudiation from many and we recognize that in a large number of cases the repudiation would be sincere and justified, but not in all.

81. Four years ago Britain set a courageous example by carrying through a measure of unique political faith unprecedented in constitutional history. It agreed by a voluntary act to the establishment of the independent States of Pakistan, India, Burma and Ceylon. We take this opportunity of testifying to our deep sense of appreciation of and gratification for this act of faith and courage. Our motive will, therefore, not be open to question or suspicion of I proceed to illustrate what I have said with regard to the consequences which flow from a relationship of dominance and dependence by citing an instance with which one had become familiar in India during the British régime. It may perhaps come as a surprise even to the United Kingdom delegation. But it is a striking illustration of the devices to which the instruments of even beneficently inclined dominant Powers may be compelled to have recourse for the purpose of upholding their prestige and maintaining their authority.

82. This is the instance. In the rural areas of the part of the country with which I am familiar, the Commissioner of a division was authorized to grant to any person whose loyalty to and zeal on behalf of the administration had been found to be above reproach, a certificate to the effect that that person, when calling on British officers, was entitled to be offered a chair. This badge of approbation was not lavishly bestowed, though that is beside the point. This did not mean that no other visitor would be invited to sit down when calling on a British officer. It did mean, however, that a British officer would be acting quite correctly if he did not invite respectable gentlemen from the countryside when calling on him to sit down, except in the case of those who were the happy possessors of a certificate to which I have referred. I have known instances in which, out of half a dozen or more visitors, a district officer had invited one to take a chair while the rest had to stand through a protracted interview, not because chairs were not available but because in their case the certificate was lacking!

83. Now one has always understood that a gentleman owes it to himself to extend courtesy and to show respect to his visitors and that the degree of loyalty to and zeal on behalf of an administration does not enter into the question at all. Here is an instance in which gentlemen brought up in traditions of culture and courtesy were, as an indispensable measure for the upholding of prestige and the maintenance of authority, deliberately trained to adopt an attitude which tended to reduce them, and sought to reduce their visitors, to a level below that permissible in the case of gentlemen. The whole system of domination is impregnated with that spirit. This spirit cannot be changed without complete abolition of the system. Those who are dominated cannot be accepted as their equals by the instruments through which domination is exercised. On occasion, arrogance may be tempered with condescension, but the mixture is even more nauseating than the plain article.

84. The truth is that a dominant Power or authority which treats those over whom the domination is exercised as equals has as the day when the domination must come to an end. Until that becomes not only the declared but also the sincerely desired objective, a dominant authority and its instruments on the spot cannot afford to act otherwise. No scope is thus left for the practical demonstration of any faith that may be entertained in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women, or for showing respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

85. As was truly observed by Mr. John Foster Dulles a few weeks ago at San Francisco—and with one slight variation I quote—“Dignity cannot be developed by those subject to alien control, however benign. Self-respect is not felt by those who have no right of their own in the world, who live on charity and who trade on sufferance. Regard for justice rarely emanates from those who are subject to such grave injustice as the denial of freedom. Fellowship is not the custom of people who are denied fellowship”. These are the words of a great American, of a great citizen of the world.

86. The illustration I have cited is the mildest I can think of. It is not my purpose to present to the Assembly a detailed indictment of the system. None is, I hope, today needed. If any should, however, be disposed to make the facile assumption that these and other similar devices and incidents are a matter of past history, let me furnish them with another instance from a colonial area. A few weeks ago it was brought to my notice that a respectable Pakistani citizen, with regard to whose antecedents I was completely satisfied and whom I knew to be a person of integrity and one who could be relied upon to conduct himself with due courtesy and propriety in any situation, had been subjected to rude and unmannerly behaviour by a district officer in a particular colony where this gentleman is engaged in activities of a purely humanitarian description. The incidents were reported to me in detail. I took steps to have the matter brought to the notice of the proper authorities of the colonial Power concerned. Their reply has just been communicated to me and is as follows—I, of course, omit mention of proper names.

“This office have caused a full enquiry to be made into this incident, which has been investigated by the Governor. It emerges from this that Mr. ‘M’”, the gentleman concerned, “was, as he states in his representation, addressed by the District Officer on the boat and subsequently asked to attend at his office for an interview. Mr. ‘M’ has, however, seriously misrepresented the way in which the District Officer conducted the interview and in particular, the Governor is satisfied that his allegations of personal discourtesy on the part of the District Officer are quite unfounded. The District Officer has a duty to preserve the peace of his district in which he is generally responsible for the orderly state of affairs, and, as I am sure you will realize, he was within his rights, in the exercise of this responsibility, to enquire into the status and movements within his district of a person whom both the authorities generally and he personally had already some reason to regard as a potential troublemaker. Mr. ‘M’ has been involved in similar incidents in the colony in the past, and this is unfortunately not the first time that on close investigation complaints lodged by him against the authorities have proved to be unfounded”.

87. Alas, this sounds only too familiar! This is a typical illustration of the attitude of these authorities towards any person who should dare to comport himself, while within

the limits of their jurisdiction, as a self-respecting individual, insisting on some regard being had to the dignity of the human person. Let the Charter proclaim the sanctity of fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; but let no man in a dependent area set to a dependent people the intolerable example of holding himself erect in dignity and of daring to imagine that however high his own standards of integrity, purity, service and devotion, his word would be accepted by those who exercise colonial authority when he calls in question their lack of courtesy and their insulting arrogance. This is the spirit that, we venture to repeat, pervades the whole system. It is this spirit that impels us to proclaim afresh our dedication to the cause of freedom of all peoples of whatever race or colour from the domination of any other people, however exalted in their own estimation.

88. The passion behind this dedication is all the fiercer on account of the experience of alien domination through which large sections of the peoples of Asia and Africa have recently passed and to which many of them are still subject. They are puzzled and bewildered by the resistance offered by certain colonial Powers to the achievement of full independence by peoples who are subject to their rule or authority. The ready acceptance of the right of self-determination—as witness the Charter of the United Nations—is in glaring contrast with the steady refusal to permit the right to be exercised. Some parts of Asia and large parts of Africa are still subject to alien rule and are being kept from the exercise of that right. Indeed, out of Africa, a vast continent stretching for thousands of miles to the north and south of the equator and over many degrees of longitude, there are represented here only four countries, though we look forward to the early admission of a fifth. These five constitute together but a fraction of that vast continent, both in terms of area and of people. This in the eyes of the Asiatic and African peoples constitutes the biggest political problem of the day. It behoves those who desire to prove both to themselves and to others that they are devoted to the cause of freedom to give practical proof of such devotion by assuming leadership in the cause of the political freedom of dependent peoples. Till this is demonstrated beyond doubt, their claim will continue to ring hollow and will fail to convince.

89. Those that are dominated are our brothers, and they accept us as such. We are equally ready to welcome those who dominate also as our brothers, if they would persuade themselves to condescend to accept that relationship. We are sincerely friendly to both. We have no bias in favour of the one or against the other. We believe that the universal brotherhood of man, visibly established, would work to the benefit and uplift of all. It is only a short-sighted view of what the dominant peoples choose to regard as their interests that prevents them from seeing the matter as we see it. We are convinced that a great part of the causes that lead to armed conflicts would be eliminated, and the clogged channels of beneficence and benevolence between sections of the human family would begin to run freely once the principles that ought to govern human relationships, and which are set out in the Charter, are truly accepted and sincerely applied.

90. Consider the matter from another aspect. In our judgment one of the principal causes that led to the first and second world wars was this relationship of domination and subordination that prevailed in many areas. The dependent people and their territories were regarded as the property of the dominant Powers to be exploited as they

pleased. Certain other Powers could not see the justice of that arrangement, not because they objected to the principle of domination, but because they felt that their race and colour and increasing military strength qualified them to claim an increasing share of the exercise of this domination. They regarded themselves as better qualified than some of those who were already in a position of domination. We are convinced that, had these Powers not been tempted by these glittering prizes, mistakenly so regarded, there would certainly have been no war in 1914, and almost certainly none in 1939. So long as there is a victim, there will always be aggression. A nation or a people which fancies itself as strong or stronger than a nation or a people exercising domination will always be tempted to try its strength against the latter, to push that nation out from the position of domination and to win it for itself. There is a law of nature governing these matters. It may not be infringed with impunity. These wrongs, inequalities and oppressions, for such they undoubtedly are under whatever name they may be sought to be concealed, must be set right voluntarily, speedily and in all humility. Failing this, nature will exact its penalty in full. Indeed, the exaction is already in process plainly perceivable by those who possess the vision.

91. In this bi-millenary year of this beautiful and gracious city of Paris, in grateful appreciation of the hospitality and courtesy extended to us by the Government and people of France, we join them in proclaiming our practical support of their ideals of liberty, equality and freedom: liberty for the whole of mankind, equality of all men, and brotherhood of the whole of humanity. Any kind of limitation would reduce these noble ideals to a mockery.

92. I venture further to submit that the psychological approach to this problem also needs modification. We often hear of the grant of self-government, the grant of freedom, the grant of independence. The use of this terminology tends to create an impression that self-government, freedom and independence are favours to be bestowed or withheld at the pleasure of those who have succeeded in placing themselves in a position of domination. So long as that continues to be the prevailing notion, those who are dominated will be driven to wage a struggle to force those in the dominant position to agree to the grant of freedom. This must involve secret plotting, riots, disturbances, disorders, class struggle, revolts and fears. It is necessary to proclaim without equivocation that freedom from domination is an inherent right, the exercise of which may be assumed at any moment by those to whom it belongs. In the meantime, those whom the accidents or misfortunes of history have placed in a position of domination must assume the full obligations of trusteeship, becoming accountable for the administration of their trusts.

93. The Charter contains provisions relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories. They are of a very limited and modest scope. Even these are constantly sought to be evaded by all sorts of camouflages. We are beginning to be told that a particular territory has ceased to be non-self-governing though it has not yet become self-governing, or that it has become self-governing though it is not yet independent, or that it has become independent though it is not yet fully sovereign. These are meaningless distinctions. It must be recognized that a territory does not cease to be non-self-governing until it becomes fully sovereign and qualified to become a Member of the United Nations, able in every respect to carry out the obligations of the Charter.

94. The problem next in urgency that demands attention is the practical substitution of economic co-operation in

place of economic exploitation and domination. In this field progress has been more encouraging, as witness the progress of technical assistance and the Colombo Plan, but the steps hitherto taken and the activities so far set in motion are but a fraction of what is so urgently and pitifully needed. No ideology however beneficent can ever become an adequate substitute for food, clothing, shelter and health. Bodies of men who are continuously exposed to hunger, disease and the inclemencies of weather and climate tend to become desperate. When hope of relief or amelioration for themselves and, even more, for their children, becomes dim or disappears, the frenzy of despair will often take its place. In such a situation neither religion nor ideology may avail to furnish comfort and consolation or to help maintain sanity of outlook.

95. The Prophet of Islam gave expression to this grim reality over thirteen centuries ago in the words: "Destitution will often drive a man even to the repudiation of faith". Over large parts of Asia and Africa a vast percentage of the population is hard put to it to maintain itself above the level of destitution. Many, as has already been observed, are still subject to direct political domination and economic exploitation. If this is not speedily remedied and radically altered, storms and stresses may be set in motion which may soon assume the shape and proportions of an avalanche. These semi-destitute peoples are coming awake, sitting up, looking around and taking note of their own conditions of privation and the waste and indifference of those to whom much has been given. This gives a keener edge to their suffering and travail.

96. Through the amazing speed of scientific progress in recent years, mankind is fast becoming one family and, though it is true that the main effort must be made by the peoples and governments of the regions that are handicapped by deficient economies, beneficial co-operation between different sections has become an essential condition of healthy progress. The bounties of Providence have been so distributed that each section stands in need of assistance from others while being in a position to render valuable, sometimes vital, assistance in return.

97. There are conflicts enough facing us today. Let us not needlessly add to them. The only manner in which we can obviate further conflict is to put our conduct in conformity with our declared and accepted principles. Any other course is bound to intensify the conflict rather than peace and to invite its own new conflicts.

98. As is said in the Koran, "It is greatly displeasing in the sight of God that you should proclaim that which you do not".

99. Our final observation is, all praise is due to God, the Sustainer of all the Universes. Exalted be His Name.

100. Mr. OCAMPOS (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): It was characteristic of the international situation in the year now drawing to a close that technically there has been no break of continuity between the fifth session of the General Assembly and this, its sixth session, which has opened in an atmosphere of cordial hospitality shown by the French people and Government.

101. The Organization, established at San Francisco "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", has had to face a flagrant case of breach of the peace in the Far East, exactly five years after the signing of the Charter.

102. The hand that set in motion the machine of aggressive war against the Republic of Korea on the morning of 25 June 1950, also roused the free world from its lethargy

and, by awakening the reaction natural to the instinct of self-preservation, helped to strengthen the system of collective security.

103. The General Assembly began the proceedings of its fifth session last September under the ominous sign of aggression. The cries of the victim rendered vain all the artifices of rhetoric; the blood of the Korean people was itself more eloquent than anything that could be said in justification or even in condemnation of the crime. Still, the aggression against the Korean Republic represented the test by fire of the effectiveness of the United Nations and of the ability of the free world to meet the challenge.

104. The prompt and energetic action taken by the Security Council through its resolutions of 25¹ and 27 June 1950¹ gave a lead to the determination of the great Powers, on whom Article 24 of the Charter confers the primary responsibility of the maintenance of peace and security, to make a joint effort to resist the aggression and to establish peace and security in the disturbed area.

105. As became apparent subsequently, the absence of the concurrent vote of one of the permanent members of the Council, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, could only be construed as a calculated attempt to encourage the aggression and to paralyse the Organization in its measures to defend peace and the principles of the Charter.

106. The vast majority of nations, great and small, endorsed the measures taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. Virtually the whole world may be said to have come forward in a solid block to offer moral and material resistance to the aggression. In contrast to this impressive solidarity, a small group of Member States adopted an attitude inconsistent with the obligations of the Charter and fraught with danger for the future of the Organization and the international community as a whole, for their attitude constitutes nothing less than an attempt to justify aggression as an instrument of political or ideological expansion.

107. The attitude shown by this bloc of nations in declaring its support for the aggressors instead of participating in the collective action, gave rise to profound misgivings for the immediate future. It was quite natural for men to fear that the blow struck against the Korean Republic was but the prelude to new aggressions and the signal for the launching, in physical form behind the guns of armies, of a well known plan for world domination, hitherto confined to the ideological sphere. That understandable fear still holds and binds us, because contempt for the principles of law and of the foreign policy of States, the distortion of the most simple facts, and the derision of United Nations objectives and resolutions, represent a rule of conduct which could not and, so long as it is persisted in, cannot be compatible with the maintenance of peace.

108. In the light of the flagrant case of the aggression against the Korean Republic and the subsequent intervention of the Peiping Government in the conflict, it is clearly necessary first, by legal and technical means, to use the collective security machinery provided for in the Charter, and secondly, by practical measures, to organize a better defence of a world that seeks to live in peace and to banish the danger of new aggressions.

109. It is by now an accepted truth that the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)] of 3 November 1950 marked a decisive moment in the determination of the Members of the United Nations to prevent an organization established to preserve peace from possibly being paralysed in its action of resisting the aggression, and to prevent all the principles, purposes and measures established by the Charter pursuant to a solemn agreement from becoming, as a consequence, of no effect or even the butt of cruel derision for some.

110. We shall not at this juncture go into the controversy of the so-called right of veto so frequently raised both inside and outside the Organization. It is sufficient to state that, as a result of the aggression against the Republic of Korea, the idea took shape in the minds of most Member States that the unanimity rule laid down in the Charter as the ideal arrangement for agreement between the five great Powers must not be vitiated in its essence or purpose nor converted into an instrument for preventing peace and opening the way for aggression.

111. The "Uniting for peace" resolution has saved the Charter and the Organization from this unwholesome interpretation which would have been bound sooner or later to destroy both.

112. The peoples of the world desire peace and hate war. But it must be said that it is the imperialist policy culminating in the aggression in Korea that still remains the most serious obstacle on the road to peace.

113. The spokesmen of this new imperialism may pretend that they cannot stifle their laughter at the disarmament proposals of some of the great Powers or at the opinions of the medium and small countries; and nobody can prevent them from continuing to use this platform for committing afresh every day, in this land renowned for its moderation, the sin of pride and that other nameless sin of which the Scriptures speak and which Anatole France calls "bad taste". Nor can anyone or anything prevent the peoples from continuing to judge them by their deeds and from drawing their own conclusions from such deeds.

114. It might perhaps be speaking with too much frankness to remind them that the blood of peoples and the destruction of towns, as witnessed in Korea since the aggression of 25 June 1950, are more substantial evidence than the fallacious ideologies, which mirage-like, point the way to world domination and to the exploitation of all nations under the dictatorship of a central committee.

115. The Paraguayan delegation does not, however, wish to abandon the idea that a positive policy of pursuing the aims of the Organization can still be urged upon those States which, by basing their whole policy on the belief that their régime is absolutely incompatible with that of the others, have been systematically frustrating all attempts to ease world tension and to create an atmosphere of rational serenity in which to consider the world's important problems.

116. Paraguay continues to place its faith and hope in this idea and at the same time reaffirms its unshakeable belief in the ability of the United Nations to safeguard from all risks the system of collective security laid down in the Charter and the ideal of peace to which the peoples cling.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 15 and No. 15.*