



Saturday, 23 September 1950, at 10.45 a.m.

Flushing Meadow, New York

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President: Mr. Nasrollah ENTEZAM (Iran).

Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before the General Assembly resumes the general debate, I call upon Mr. Nisot, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to submit the report of that Committee [A/1383].

2. Mr. NISOT (Belgium), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (*translated from French*): The Credentials Committee appointed by the fifth session of the General Assembly at its 277th plenary meeting, on 19 September 1950, at Flushing Meadow, to examine the credentials of representatives, met on 21 September 1950 under my chairmanship.

3. The Committee was composed of the representatives of the following countries: Belgium, Chile, India, Mexico, Thailand, Turkey, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States.

4. The Committee examined the communications transmitted by Member States.

5. The Committee found that the following fifty-three Member States had transmitted credentials for their representatives which completely satisfied the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

publics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

6. On the other hand, the Committee noted that five Member States had transmitted for their representatives either telegrams (Honduras, Israel, Syria) or letters or notes (Cuba and Poland) issued by their permanent missions.

7. Lastly, one Member State, Yemen, has not yet transmitted a written communication but its delegation has informed the Committee that credentials have been dispatched.

8. The Committee will, in due course, examine the final credentials of the representatives of the above-mentioned States and proposes that, in the meantime, these representatives should be seated provisionally, with the same rights as the other representatives.

9. With regard to China, the representative of the USSR proposed that the credentials of the representatives of the National Government of China should not be recognized as valid.

10. By 6 votes to 2, with one abstention, the Committee rejected that proposal in view of the General Assembly's decision of 19 September 1950 to the effect that, pending a decision by the General Assembly on the report of its Special Committee, the representatives of the National Government of China should be seated in the General Assembly with the same rights as the other representatives.

11. The delegation of the Soviet Union stated that it considered the Committee's decision unjust and illegal and not in accordance with the rules of procedure.

12. The report as a whole was adopted by 8 votes to one.

13. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Are there any comments on the report of the Credentials Committee?

14. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): This report shows that the Credentials Committee has accepted the credentials of the representatives of the Kuomintang group, who call themselves the delegation of China but who in fact do not represent China. The Credentials Committee, in accepting those credentials, failed to take into account the existing situation in China and the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and his group are not the Government of China and that, consequently, the credentials issued by the Chiang Kai-shek Government have no validity or legal force whatever.

15. The USSR delegation therefore considers that the decision of the Credentials Committee to accept the credentials of the Kuomintang group is incorrect and illegal, and insists that the credentials of the Kuomintang representatives should be considered invalid.

16. Accordingly, the USSR delegation voted against the adoption of the report in committee, and will vote against the approval of that report in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

17. Mr. SCHAULSOHN (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): In view of the USSR representative's statement, the Chilean delegation feels it must point out that it is incorrect to say that the Credentials Committee expressed itself in favour of the recognition of a certain government or decided whether a particular government was competent to send its representatives to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

18. What happened was that the Credentials Committee was bound to respect a prior agreement which was reached at the first plenary meeting of this session of the General Assembly on 19 September, when it adopted a Canadian draft resolution [A/1368] by which it was decided that, until the General Assembly took a decision on the report of the special committee which it was proposed to appoint, the representatives of the Nationalist Government of China would sit in the Assembly with the same rights as other representatives.

19. The General Assembly foresaw the problem which would arise in the Credentials Committee; it therefore considered the matter at its first meeting and decided to appoint a special committee to study the problem and to report back to the Assembly for a final decision, pending which the representatives of the Nationalist Government of China would be provisionally recognized as the representatives of the Chinese Government. Consequently it was only logical that the Credentials Committee should abide by the resolution already adopted by the General Assembly. Thus we did not take a decision on the substance of the question; we merely respected a prior resolution of the General Assembly, and when the special committee which it was decided to appoint produces its report and the General Assembly has taken a decision on that report, the time will have come to decide which of the governments of China has the right to represent that country in the deliberations of this General Assembly.

20. I wished to bring these points before the Assembly because it fell to the Chilean representative

in the Credentials Committee to raise a point of order to the effect that the Committee was not competent to deal with the substance of the matter which had been expressly withdrawn from its competence in the way I have just stated.

21. Therefore, I repeat, in accordance with a prior agreement reached in the General Assembly, we did not take a decision on the substance of the matter, and we accepted, as being in due form, the credentials of the representatives of the Nationalist Government of China, without prejudice to any decision which, in due course, the General Assembly may see fit to adopt after the special committee has produced its report.

22. Mr. DROHOJOWSKI (Poland): I beg to disagree with the speaker who has just left this rostrum. The Credentials Committee is not simply a mail-box; the Credentials Committee has more serious duties to perform. I must state here that the Credentials Committee has not fulfilled its obligations.

23. May I refer the General Assembly to rule 27 of our rules of procedure. In that rule we read: "The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs."

24. Now, as we well know, there are among us—still among us—representatives who represent but themselves, representatives who have written their own credentials. This is not the procedure to follow, and the Credentials Committee, by accepting a scrap of paper for what it was worth, did not fulfil its duty. The duty of the Credentials Committee was to examine the credentials issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China, Mr. Chou En-lai. The Credentials Committee has not done that.

25. The assertion that there is a provisional seating of the delegation of the Kuomintang will not convince anyone; it is just a smoke-screen. We beg the General Assembly to vote against the acceptance of the report of the Credentials Committee, and my delegation most certainly will vote against it at this time.

26. Mr. SKOROBOGATY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR also considers it necessary to state that the decision taken by the majority of the Credentials Committee on the question of the representation of China at the current session of the General Assembly is incorrect and illegal. The Credentials Committee, as shown by its report, approved the illegal credentials of the representative of the Kuomintang group who does not represent China.

27. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR repeatedly stated during the preceding session of the General Assembly, as well as in other United Nations organs, that it cannot consider legal the participation of representatives of the Kuomintang group in the work of the United Nations because that group does not represent any government and does not represent the Chinese people.

28. China, as a Member of the United Nations, can and must be represented in the General Assembly and in the other United Nations organs only through its legitimate government, a government which has the confidence and the full power to act on behalf of the

Chinese people. Such is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; and its representatives, and they alone, are entitled politically, legally and morally to represent in the United Nations the Chinese State and the interests of the great Chinese people.

29. The decision taken by the majority of the Credentials Committee on the question of the representation of China at the current session of the General Assembly violates the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as rule 27 of the rules of procedure, it flouts the sovereign rights and interests of the Chinese people and offends its national pride. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR therefore cannot consider such a decision legal, nor can it consider legal the participation in the work of the General Assembly, on the basis of that decision, of persons representing the remnants of the reactionary Kuomintang régime of Chiang Kai-shek which the Chinese people has overthrown.

30. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR insists that the credentials of the Kuomintang group should be recognized to be invalid.

31. Mr. TSIANG (China): The substance of this question was debated, and debated at length, on the opening day of this session of the General Assembly. It is surprising that delegations should refuse to accept decisions of the General Assembly arrived at in accordance with the rules of procedure. I think it would be entirely out of place for me to take the time of the General Assembly to go over this question again. I shall only say this, that the 450 million people of China regard the setting up of the puppet régime of Peiping not as a revolution but as another instance of foreign conquest; that is, USSR conquest. That régime accepts a foreign ideology, serves foreign interests and pledges itself to fight side by side with the Soviet Union. It is totally un-Chinese.

32. The Charter of the United Nations already has in it one great irregularity, and that is that the USSR occupies three seats in this General Assembly. They are now trying to give that country a fourth seat. Let us be honest about this matter. Instead of trying to smuggle into this Assembly the puppet régime of Peiping, it would be much better and more honest to give the "Republic" of Kazakhstan or the "Republic" of the Caucasus another seat in this Assembly.

33. To say that a decision of the Assembly is illegal and invalid because it does not agree with the views of one, two or three delegations is an attempt at dictation to this Assembly. It is an attempt to introduce into the General Assembly the veto, which has robbed the Security Council of the power to serve the world. I feel certain that the delegations to this Assembly will not countenance any attempt to introduce here that veto.

34. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The only part of the report of the Credentials Committee to which certain delegations have taken exception is that dealing with the credentials of the Chinese delegation. I shall therefore begin by putting to the vote the proposal of the Soviet Union representative that the credentials of the representative of the Government of Nationalist China should not be recognized as valid.

The proposal was rejected by 40 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions.

35. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now put to the vote the conclusions set out in the report of the Credentials Committee.

The conclusions were adopted by 43 votes to 5, with one abstention.

Centenary of the death of José Artigas

36. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): In the name of my delegation and on behalf of the Government and people we represent here, I should like, on this 23 September, which is a memorable date in the history of my country and in the chronicles of America, to make a statement and to express a wish in this Assembly for the furtherance of the great and universal cause of the United Nations.

37. Today Uruguay commemorates the first centenary of the death of the hero and father of our nation, José Artigas. At a time when we are devoting ourselves to the study of problems which are of such vital importance to us all, it is highly significant to mention the name of that liberator here, and to evoke, as I am doing in today's meeting, the deep sense of international solidarity and democratic dedication which characterize the celebrations taking place today at this very time in Uruguay, with the participation of the representatives of many sister nations.

38. Although so often in our debates we hear words which divide us, there are also fortunately occasions for words of peace and democracy, as called for in our Charter, words such as we are pronouncing on this occasion in commemoration of our hero.

39. In his day Artigas fought for those very same principles which are now proclaimed in the Charter. In 1811, and even before that, Artigas and his people, forming an indestructible unit which decided our destiny, engaged in an heroic struggle for emancipation. His was the first great victory which consolidated the May revolution and, when he returned from the first of his heroic and indefatigable struggles, he drew up his Instructions of Year 13, which proclaimed the democratic basis of the revolution and have been considered as our first declaration of human rights in that great sector of the continent. He called for the eradication of all types of despotism, thus ensuring the inviolable sovereignty of the people; he proclaimed civil liberty and religious freedom in the widest sense of the terms without limitations and without discrimination; he called for the establishment of a democratic, representative system of government and a social system of education; he wished to organize free trade with all nations and to safeguard independence and self-government from the colonial aspirations and oligarchic systems against which he was rebelling.

40. Because of those principles, the shadow of the Holy Alliance rose up against him in the congresses of Europe and he had to endure all the hardships of fighting and exile until his death.

41. The gaucho squadrons went with him in his heroic struggle for freedom and the great farming population followed him in that great scene known to history as the exodus of the eastern people. The country of his exploits has given him the title of protector of the free

peoples. At the hour of his death, a sister republic, Paraguay, gave him refuge. And today, near Asunción, there is a school named after Artigas, where the children may at this moment be singing the Artigas hymn proclaiming our faith in the cause of the peoples.

42. My country has followed this path. My country continues upon this way. The generations of our century have progressed along this historic path and have laid the basis of the complete democracy of our time.

43. The contribution of Uruguay to the United Nations is based on this sense of justice and solidarity. Apart from its contributions in ideas, my country's devotion to our work is surely demonstrated by its contribution of one million dollars to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, of 100 thousand dollars to the technical assistance plan and of two million dollars for the struggle of the United Nations in Korea. Uruguay is dedicated to the purposes of the Charter, because the Charter expresses what has been the social conscience of our people ever since the time of Artigas and his first declaration. And although our contributions are given in figures, they do at the same time reflect the spirit of our founder.

44. A bronze statue to Artigas has been set up in the city of Washington and dedicated by our Government. As long ago as 1819, the name of the Uruguayan hero was mentioned in the United States Congress as a shining example of a great republican and patriot whose action shed glory on the democratic struggle of a whole continent. The other members of my delegation to this Assembly are at present standing at the foot of the statue to Artigas in Washington and that is why they and the head of our delegation are absent from this meeting. That is why it has fallen to my lot to speak here of our hero on the day of his centenary. Father and patriarch of my country, brother and comrade in arms of the great figures of America in the struggle for freedom, we speak your name aloud before the world with profound faith! And at the time when Uruguay's great sister nations are paying tribute to Artigas in Montevideo, may he also be remembered in the General Assembly of the United Nations as an expression of faith and hope in the destiny of mankind. That is our message and our wish.

45. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We have listened with deep interest to the moving words just spoken by the representative of Uruguay. The United Nations greatly admires national heroes and those who have fought for the liberation and independence of their countries. I am sure that you would wish me to express to the members of the Uruguayan delegation our sincere wishes for the prosperity of their country.

General Debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 9]

SPEECHES BY MR. STIKKER (NETHERLANDS), MR. SANTA CRUZ (CHILE) AND MR. VAN ZEELAND (BELGIUM)

46. Mr. STIKKER (Netherlands): Five years ago the Charter of the United Nations was drafted at San Francisco in the firm belief that after two wars the world was ready to embark on better ways of solving conflicts. At that time there was some reason to believe

that a new era had begun in which the peoples of the world would live peacefully together and would be prepared to respect the differences in their political systems and ideologies.

47. Indeed, if during the last five years human society had been imbued with the spirit of San Francisco, a Minister for Foreign Affairs of a country like my own would still have been greatly preoccupied with its material recovery, but his main worry would not have been defence. That problem inevitably arises when aggression lurks around the corner and I profoundly regret that there are reasons for such fear and that recent developments have strongly augmented this deep anxiety.

48. Some people are inclined to believe that good relations between peoples depend upon good organization and that therefore the cure for the dangerous situation is to be found in the improvement of the Charter of the United Nations. If that were the case, our task might not be too difficult. It would, however, in our opinion, be a grave mistake if we tried to blame the statute of the United Nations for the sense of impending disaster which is now being felt so strongly in many parts of our harassed world. For it is clear that mere amendments to the Charter of the United Nations would not diminish the real dangers of the present world situation. Not the Charter of the United Nations but the spirit animating some of its Members is the fundamental cause for our concern.

49. Verily, it is not, as the Secretary-General has submitted, the non-existence of peace treaties which causes such concern, since the absence of such treaties is not a cause, but a consequence, a consequence of unfaithfulness to the principles of San Francisco. To be sure, in the days of San Francisco, great differences existed between the constitutional patterns and ideologies of the various States which signed the Charter, but at least there seemed to be general agreement on one point: the pledge to respect one another's way of life and to abstain from interfering in one another's affairs, least of all by the use of violence. This faith in international relations based on mutual respect has been terribly shaken.

50. The situation is too dangerous to allow us not to be quite frank at this moment. The unfaithfulness of the Soviet Union to the spirit of San Francisco has brought us where we are today. World revolution, which already figured long before 1917 on the programme of international communism, now forms a fundamental part of the programme of the Soviet Union for world domination and has thus been made subservient to Russian imperialism. Everywhere in the world the Cominform parties in non-Cominform States are trying, with exactly the same Moscow-made methods and tactics, to undermine the constitutional bodies and democratic philosophies of those countries, to sabotage recovery and to unnerve the populations. I need not say more about it, since unfortunately it is common knowledge and common experience.

51. There is therefore no reason for rejoicing when we look back on the five years which have elapsed since San Francisco. Nevertheless, this year will earn its own and important place in history; for although we have not succeeded in realizing the ideals which brought us confidently together in San Francisco, we have suc-

ceeded in uniting the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization in prompt and effective action against the spectacular repetition of the crime of aggression, the sad and recent memories of which are still with all of us. It is clear that I am now referring to Korea.

52. Much has been lost since 1945, but something has been gained. We have given proof that when faced with the test, the United Nations is capable and willing, for the first time in history, to act collectively in defence of the fundamental principles underlying the Charter. If the United Nations had missed this opportunity, had failed this time as the League of Nations failed in the days of the Japanese attack on Manchuria and the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, it would have destroyed the basic idea on which we built our institution. The common man, everywhere in the world, has enough common sense to understand that he cannot expect miracles from an Organization which is only five years old. But he would never have forgiven the United Nations if it had abstained from action against the reappearance of naked aggression.

53. At present the United Nations is down to essentials, its first and paramount purpose being the preservation of international peace and security. By far transcending every other problem, there stands today as our foremost duty the task of repelling aggression and bringing to a victorious end the struggle of the United Nations and South Korean forces in the Korean peninsula. In this connexion we who are here together owe a grateful tribute to the American boys who, in the service of the United Nations, at once went into action and who, together with the struggling South Koreans who are defending their freedom, have hitherto borne the brunt of the fighting. The Netherlands Government, for its part, has, by the immediate dispatch of naval forces and the forthcoming departure to the front of ground troops, demonstrated its determination effectively and wholeheartedly to take part in our collective measures for guaranteeing the security which is a matter of life and death for all of us.

54. Here I feel bound to raise a problem which has created confusion during the last few months and which might trouble us again during our forthcoming discussions. In the view of my Government, we must make a clear distinction between the Korean problem and the question of the representation of China within the United Nations, or, for that matter, any other problem.

55. The Soviet Union did its utmost to paralyse action by the Security Council on the Korean question during the month of August, by linking it to the still open issue of the representation of China. There is no doubt that it will try to do so again. In fact, it has done so already.

56. It must be clear, however, that the problem of the representation of China has in itself no connexion whatsoever with the struggle in Korea, and that these two problems should not be interlocked. Within the United Nations there must not be any doubt about what happens in Korea. In Korea, the principle of collective security is at stake and we must never lose sight of the fact that on collective security rest all our efforts peacefully to organize the world. He who breaches the peace must know that he will meet the determined resistance of every one of us.

57. We therefore listened with great interest to the suggestions for the reinforcement of our Organization outlined by Mr. Acheson [A/1377]. Indeed, it may well prove to be an indispensable development that the power of the General Assembly to make recommendations in cases of grave emergency should be supplemented by a more practical and timely preparation of such forces, to which the United Nations may legitimately appeal whenever aggression threatens or breaks the peace of the world.

58. On the other hand, it stands to reason that, with regard to the representation of China, the members of the United Nations are free to differ in their opinions. Whenever a new régime appears, a period of uncertainty is bound to follow for other States regarding their relationship with such a new government.

59. For reasons which, in its view, are compelling, the Netherlands Government, like fifteen other governments, has recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China. Other countries have so far refrained from doing this. I may repeat, however, that the Chinese problem should not be allowed to obscure the issue of the aggression in Korea. We must be careful not to increase the danger of the Korean crisis for world peace by connecting it with the separate problem of China.

60. Since 1945, the emphasis on the problem of security has been shifted from the idea of peace by consultation to the necessity of the maintenance of peace by force. I trust this regrettable shift will not be permanent, but it has compelled various countries to conclude regional treaties of collective defence, such as the North Atlantic Treaty. These treaties are clearly within the scope of the Charter and their defensive character will be evident to every unbiased person. Needless to say, the governments of Europe would not spend huge sums for the mere pleasure of maintaining large military machines. They are all forced to preserve a precarious equilibrium between the exigencies of a great military effort on the one hand, and a reasonable standard of living in a free country on the other hand. For it is clear that the sense of all self-defence is that there is something worthwhile fighting for. For this reason it would not be wise to let military preoccupations overshadow all our economic and social efforts.

61. I may be allowed to mention in this context our efforts in Europe in the field of economic co-operation. I should particularly like to do so, since it would be wrong to mention only those aspects of the European situation which give rise to grave concern, and not to refer to the constructive side of our efforts in the field of peaceful co-operation, where hope for the future lies. Ours is a fateful age; grave dangers are imminent and our survival is in jeopardy. But on the other hand new hopes and visions are no less present in our minds. It is up to us to make them come true.

62. The numerous bodies and organs for economic and political co-operation in Western Europe may astonish non-Europeans. I for one must admit that they have greatly surprised many Europeans themselves. I may limit myself here to indicating three of the most outstanding examples.

63. Let me first mention the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, which came into being as a result of the Marshall Plan, and which has as its

aim the liberalization of European trade and the reinforcement of the economic structure of western Europe. I need not tell this Assembly how much Marshall aid has meant to the recovery of Europe. A recent tangible result has been the coming into being of the European Payments Union.

64. At the moment a group of European States is involved in an interesting experiment. I refer to the negotiations on the Schuman Plan. In presenting this plan, the French Government has shown real vision and, by doing so, may have pointed the way for future peaceful co-operation between Germany and the rest of Europe. This might even prove to be the cornerstone of effective European integration.

65. Meanwhile, out of the free impulse of public opinion and the strong will of European parliaments, a Council of Europe was formed at Strasbourg. The discussions there have clearly demonstrated that European co-operation is not only a concern of governments and experts but is rooted in a strong, popular sentiment.

66. We have not yet reached any spectacular overall solution in European integration, and many difficulties are still ahead. It is sometimes hard for one who, like myself, experiences the daily difficulties and inevitable disappointments at close range, to watch the results of our work from the academic distance of a historian. Sometimes it seems that there is more failure than success. But looking back over a couple of years one must admit that, notwithstanding disappointments, this new conception of interdependence is progressing with great strides.

67. European economic co-operation and the development of under-developed countries are equally important for the peace and the well-being of the world. Therefore my Government wholeheartedly welcomes the programme of technical assistance worked out by the United Nations. I can assure the General Assembly that my country will co-operate to the best of its ability, special experience and resources, to contribute to its realization.

68. The past year has witnessed an important fact in the history of the United Nations to which my country has been closely related. I am now referring to the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia. It is gratifying that the unhappy conflict has come to an end and has resulted in a solution acceptable to both parties. In a number of agreements which recently were jointly registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter, it was agreed to establish a union based on free will, equality and complete independence. This implies a pledge by both countries to make a serious effort of co-operation between East and West. Even if difficulties may occur, the common interest is so vitally important for both parties that we may confidently expect this experiment to bear fruit in the future. Meanwhile, Indonesia stands at the door of the United Nations. Should the Indonesian Government decide to apply for membership, the Netherlands Government will deem it an honour wholeheartedly to support such a request before the General Assembly, and will gladly welcome the new State into our midst.

69. I shall limit myself to these remarks. On the agenda of this Assembly appear a number of items

which are so much more important than others, that the mere existence of our Organization depends upon their solution. The eyes of hundreds of millions of people are fixed on this Assembly. I shall not try to picture what would be the judgment passed by humanity on the United Nations if this Assembly should not live up to its task. Let me close with a few words to all those who feel discouraged in the face of present events. This is not the first time in history that the outlook seems dark. In one of the most difficult moments in the life of my country, the Prince of Orange, William the Silent, expressed a thought which has always kept its meaning for the Dutch. I may repeat these words at this moment as a device for this Assembly in its search for wisdom under God's guidance: "*Point n'est besoin d'espérer pour entreprendre, ni de réussir pour persévérer*".

70. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): Before beginning my remarks, I should like to refer briefly to an event which must have given satisfaction to all the representatives here. I am referring to the announcement published this morning that the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to Mr. Ralph Bunche, a distinguished member of the United Nations Secretariat, who was the mediator in the Palestine conflict. My delegation would like to congratulate Mr. Bunche and at the same time the Secretary-General on this high honour in which we are all honoured.

71. The chief task before this General Assembly of the United Nations is to indicate clearly and precisely the road to be followed in order to prevent a war and to create a permanent foundation for peace and security. The decisions to be adopted during this fifth session of the General Assembly will decide whether these objectives are to be attained or not. And this is not only because the Assembly is the principal and most representative body in which nearly all the countries of the world are gathered, but also because the conduct of the United Nations in the face of aggression in Korea has earned it the people's confidence and they now follow its deliberations with deep faith and are prepared to support its actions.

72. After the speeches of the United States Secretary of State and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR [279th meeting], we have before us two concrete proposals calculated, as their authors have said, to put an end to the present international tension.

73. Owing to the position of these two countries in the international community, these two proposals become the centre of our general debate and it is the duty of all the States represented here to express quite frankly their opinions thereon.

74. The representative of the United States has proposed [A/1377] that the system of collective security created at San Francisco should be strengthened and the democratic machinery within the United Nations system reinforced. The representative of the Soviet Union, condensing in one draft resolution [A/1376] his proposals of 1947,¹ 1948² and 1949,³ is asking the General Assembly to condemn war propaganda, to

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings, Vol. I, 84th meeting.*

² *Ibid., Third Session, Part I, Plenary Meetings, 143rd meeting.*

³ *Ibid., Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 226th meeting.*

ban the use of atomic weapons, to establish strict international control over atomic energy and to recommend that the permanent members of the Security Council should conclude a pact for the strengthening of peace and reduce their armed forces.

75. Let us first consider the USSR proposal. Although the Assembly is a gathering of States, there is not the slightest doubt that the representative of the Soviet Union has never had the intention of starting a real discussion with the other delegations. The countries represented here, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the other representatives, are thoroughly familiar with the difficulties caused by the USSR during the last five years.

76. Surely, then, hardly anybody can believe in the sincerity of the proposal for condemning propaganda in favour of war, when we all know that, for five years, the media of information of the Soviet countries and of all the communist parties throughout the world have never done anything but poison relations between States and portray the democratic countries as possible aggressors; when the Soviet peoples have been kept in complete isolation in order, among other things, to prevent them from finding out the falsehood of that propaganda.

77. It is hard to believe that the USSR delegation can honestly recommend the prohibition of the atomic weapon, when the records of the Atomic Energy Commission and the files in the Foreign Ministries show that the Soviet Union is the country which has opposed real international control of atomic energy, openly refusing to allow any international authority to exercise such control on its territory.

78. It is, indeed, a bold thing to tell this Assembly that the USSR is not following a policy of expansion when it has annexed the territories of the Baltic States and is exercising complete control over about ten neighbouring countries.

79. No one can believe that the Soviet Union is serious in proposing to the General Assembly that the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace should be strengthened, because everybody knows that it has never been possible and never will be possible for the Security Council to take any decision involving intervention in a situation in which the USSR is either directly or indirectly concerned. The forty-five vetoes cast by the Soviet Union prove all too clearly the truth of what I am saying.

80. It seems equally incredible that the USSR should again be endeavouring to argue that a pact among the five great Powers would solve the present differences and put an end to the danger of war. A year ago, fifty-three sovereign States demolished the same argument put forward by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and stated clearly that the only guarantee of peace lay in the strict observance of the principles of the Charter, in the democratic application of the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations organs and in collective action by all the Member States.

81. Nor can the USSR delegation speak to the representatives at the General Assembly of the Soviet Union's devotion to the cause of the United Nations and its co-operation in the work of the Organization. If we think of constructive international collaboration in economic

and social questions, we must unfortunately confess that the physical absence of the Soviet representatives was not really noticed. They have always been absent from anything that meant understanding, aid and co-operation. The economic and social organization and arrangements of the post-war world, both within and outside the United Nations, have necessarily had to be limited from the very outset to the part of the world which was not under the control of the Soviet Union.

82. It is also clear that the USSR is not addressing its arguments to the statesmen and diplomats in this auditorium. For the Soviet Union it is of little importance that the representatives at the General Assembly do not believe in the sincerity of its statements. What really is important for the USSR is to try to fool the man in the street in Europe, Asia, America or other continents, for the man in the street cannot consult diplomatic files which would convey an accurate picture of the Soviet Union's responsibility for the present international situation. It is to that audience that the USSR is speaking when it says that the United States attacked Korea, that the United States is threatening China and that the Anglo-American bloc created the Berlin blockade.

83. In the same way, its propaganda tries to bring the peoples of the economically under-developed areas to believe in the fallacy that independence, prosperity and the right to a life of freedom and human dignity can be attained only in a world and in an economic structure directed, and subsequently controlled, by the Soviet Union.

84. These are the trump cards which the USSR is playing before the democratic world, and we must carefully assess the significance of Soviet strategy and combat it not only with our arguments in this gathering, but also with simple straightforward actions that will touch the heart of the common man in every continent. For we believe that the decisive struggle for civilization and for humanity which we are waging in the name of the principles of liberty, social justice and economic progress laid down in the Charter will not be decided by the leaders of the world and by the representatives gathered here, but by the weight of the masses, by the pull exercised, on one side or the other of the scales, by the least-favoured classes in the industrial countries and by the peoples of the under-developed countries and areas.

85. In his analysis of the causes of the present international tension and of the reasons why peace and collective security have not been achieved through the United Nations, the United States representative stated that the primary cause was the policy followed by the Government of the Soviet Union during the past five years, and he mentioned the most dangerous manifestations of that policy.

86. My delegation fully agrees with that analysis; at the same time, however, we wish to state that in our view there are other factors contributing to insecurity and instability which are as important as the causes referred to by the United States Secretary of State. I refer to the weaknesses and flaws in our democratic system, to the social and economic backwardness of more than two-thirds of the world, and to the conditions of poverty and social injustice which it has so far proved impossible to eliminate or even to relieve to any appreciable extent by international co-operation.

87. In our opinion this session of the General Assembly must point out what measures the United Nations as a whole, or each of the Member States separately, should adopt to counteract these three causes of insecurity and danger of war: pressure, the weaknesses and defects of the democratic countries and the backward economic and social conditions in which a large part of the population of the world is living. Hence I am convinced that these measures must be taken simultaneously and that they must be equally effective.

88. The United States Secretary of State has submitted, in the name of his Government, a four-point programme intended to increase the effectiveness of the system of collective security established by the Charter. You already know the principal provisions contained in that programme. In stating its general agreement with any measure likely to improve the system of collective security and the functioning of United Nations bodies, the Chilean delegation is merely acting in accordance with the unswerving policy adopted by its Government a number of years ago and repeatedly proclaimed.

89. Five months ago my country, through the head of the State, declared that the fact that, from the time of San Francisco on, the world had been without any real and effective system of collective security, was due to the attitude of the USSR in the Security Council, in abusing the privilege of the veto and in making it impossible to create the United Nations armed force provided for in Article 43 of the Charter. At the same time my Government spoke in favour of making a last effort at conciliation with the Soviet Union, on a minimum basis, and said that if that should prove impossible, it would be necessary to unite the democratic world under a supplementary agreement for common defence against aggression and for the purpose of upholding and ensuring the observance of the principles of the Charter, in the political, social and economic spheres and in the sphere of the protection of human dignity.

90. The events in Korea have shown us that, as matters now stand, it is difficult to make any attempt at conciliation and that agreement is possible only if the democratic world can prove that it is capable of stopping any aggression and if the United Nations shows that it is willing and ready to defend any State or territory from aggression.

91. On 17 August 1950 my country therefore proposed that an item entitled "strengthening of democratic principles as a means of contributing to the maintenance of universal peace" should be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly. The General Committee has unanimously recommended that this item should be included in the agenda.

92. In the explanatory memorandum [A/1343] accompanying its request, my delegation stated that it would present a draft resolution proposing that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and the Interim Committee should be amended in order to enable the General Assembly to act more effectively and promptly to deal with any situation which might constitute a threat to international peace and security. In this respect our proposal is identical with that presented by the United States.

93. With regard, however, to improving the system of collective security, we believe that the United Nations

should go further. We have proposed that the General Assembly should recommend to Member States to subscribe voluntarily to a solemn agreement pledging themselves to joint action to observe and enforce observance of the principles and purposes of the Charter. This agreement would be open to all Member States and would not exclude any that were willing to comply with its provisions. We still believe that complete and entire security can be achieved only if membership of the United Nations is world-wide and we should not take any step which would endanger that universality while there is any possibility of making it the foundation for complete security.

94. In this agreement Member States would not lay down any new principles or purposes other than those established in the Charter, but they would voluntarily give the following undertakings:

95. First, to co-ordinate their forces and resources, including their armed forces, to give effect to the decisions adopted by the competent bodies of the United Nations with a view to repelling direct or indirect aggression;

96. Secondly, to carry out and help to carry out certain important recommendations of the General Assembly relating to the maintenance of peace and security;

97. Thirdly, to co-ordinate their forces and resources to ensure economic stability and effectively to promote the development of the backward areas of the world and, for these purposes, to carry out and help to carry out certain important recommendations of the competent organs of the United Nations;

98. Fourthly, under the ægis of the United Nations, to respect and enforce observance of the fundamental rights and freedoms which are mentioned in the Charter and laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

99. This pact would be unobjectionable from the legal and constitutional point of view. Moreover, there is no provision in the Charter which prohibits or prevents all or any of the Members of the United Nations from agreeing on common action to defend the principles on which this Organization was founded and to enable it to carry out its functions more expeditiously; there is nothing in the Charter which prohibits all Member States or any group of them from voluntarily pledging themselves to carry out jointly or separately the recommendations of the competent organs, which, according to the Charter, are not mandatory. It would, on the contrary, constitute an important step towards a better and more dignified international life which we all desire.

100. The delegation of Chile believes that unless the democratic world clearly demonstrates the sincerity of its ideas of freedom and democracy, no measure against aggression and war can be effective. Moreover, conditions exist within the confines of democracy which seriously jeopardize human dignity and can in no way be reconciled with the principles of the Charter regarding fundamental human rights. We must make an honest and sincere collective effort to put an end to this state of affairs.

101. The continued existence of the policy of racial discrimination or of the economic exploitation of large segments of the population constitute additional factors

which weaken our cause and are powerful allies of aggression.

102. The defensive struggle against aggression requires democracy to strive constantly for greater perfection. We cannot forget that arms alone do not make a cause victorious. A cause is won, above all, in the minds of men; a given objective is not attained in complete disregard of mankind. The cause of democracy will never be served through unworthy compromises involving the renunciation of its very essence. To speak of democracy will not suffice; it must be a way of life. Neither can democracy be the birthright of any given people or race. Mankind is indivisible. By the very fact that they are human beings, all men are the same. Those who say they are free cannot, therefore, think in terms of ethnical, religious or social discrimination. Hence the joint action which we are advocating must rest on the obligation to apply and enforce within our borders the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

103. We are, nevertheless, the first to realize that, if the economic conditions now prevailing in most of the world are allowed to persist, the development of democracy will be a difficult and time-consuming task. Our own Latin-American countries have shown how great an effort is needed to defend and develop democracy in the uneasy social conditions in which the inhabitants live. Hence the necessary action of the United Nations in bringing about a decisive improvement in the standard of living of the peoples of the world, even if it were not an objective expressly stipulated in the Charter, would be an indispensable means of achieving human dignity and the maintenance of peace.

104. Many are the obstacles which have so far prevented the eradication of the factors of insecurity represented by the economic and social conditions now prevailing in the world. The first is the faults we have ourselves committed: the selfishness of large sections and groups; the lack, for many years, of any decision or willingness to make of international co-operation that decisive instrument which the Charter has provided for changing the economic face of the world.

105. In fact, until "point four" was announced by the President of the United States, the great Powers had taken no serious initiative to cope with the tremendous problem arising out of the fact that two-thirds of mankind are suffering from under-nourishment, the easy prey of epidemics and diseases; that they are living under conditions which make it impossible to keep up a standard of elementary decency. Moreover, there has been another obstacle which must be mentioned: first, there was the threat of war; then came the so-called cold war and now we have the aggression committed by North Korea which has compelled all free peoples to abandon their common policy of disarmament and, on the contrary, to divert a large part of their resources to preparing their defences.

106. The financial burden of rearmament has seriously jeopardized the ability of governments to meet the urgent needs of reconstruction and development and threatens, moreover, to delay the achievement of the higher standard of living hoped for by the peoples of the world. In our opinion, the responsibility for that situation rests clearly with the Soviet Union. We believe

that its responsibility is obvious, and, that its designs are premeditated. Having been forced into rearmament for defence purposes, we find that poverty in our countries must continue and that governments are hampered and unable to take any initiative towards collective improvement. Thirty or forty thousand million dollars allocated to rearmament means so many millions of dollars snatched away from the production and marketing of goods, and withdrawn from the funds set aside for giving effect to the policy of world economic development. Such a sacrifice weakens the home front, multiplies social problems and forces low-income families into desperate straits. Internal morale thus suffers a blow, faith in democracy is relentlessly sapped and the ground is prepared for the treasonable and anti-national activity of communist parties throughout the world. This is the Soviet Union's five-year plan to achieve world domination.

107. But to confine oneself to rearmament at the cost of abandoning all action in favour of the welfare of peoples would be precisely to serve the interests of the USSR; only when superior armament is backed by armies and peoples endowed with great moral strength can aggression be contained and repulsed. Fortunately, the United States representative has stated that we must continue to fight against want while at the same time arming ourselves against aggression.

108. What do we mean by the fight against want? We mean by "want" the aggregate of social and national anxieties and aspirations. There are minimum material and spiritual needs. I have already referred to the latter. With regard to the material needs of the world, the diagnosis of the fundamental problems of mankind has already been made both within the United Nations and outside it. There has always been complete agreement about that diagnosis. It tells us of under-developed areas and under-nourished peoples. We are told that in one and the same era, in one and the same year, differences in civilization exist among peoples as a result of material limitations.

109. The studies undertaken in connexion with President Truman's "point four" programme and the United Nations expanded programme of technical assistance, the discussions in the Economic and Social Council on full employment and the financing of economic development, the final resolutions adopted on the subject,⁴ the experiences of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—all these enable us to obtain a clear idea of the problem, of its scope and of the best means of solving it. Some figures have been given. Qualified technicians have stated that some 2,000 million dollars annually would be needed for international co-operation in the financing and development of these backward regions. What are 2,000 million dollars compared with the tens of thousands of millions required for armaments? Having diagnosed what is needed, the next step must be the announcement of a bold new plan which would effectively promote the economic development of the under-developed regions, a plan intended not only to increase available resources but primarily to improve the standard of living of mankind.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifth Year, Eleventh Session, Resolutions, Nos. 290 (XI) and 294 (XI)*.

110. Such a plan would further constitute the principal guarantee of economic stability in the industrialized countries and an essential element in achieving a stable peace. Prosperity, human dignity and peace are indivisible. Simultaneous action must therefore be taken in all these directions. Indeed it could be said that the foundations of this plan, which is designed to strengthen economic and collective security as a complement to collective political security, have been set out and debated on the international level both within the United Nations and outside this Organization.

111. The "point four" programme covers the principal elements of this action. They may also be found in the extraordinary work done by the Economic and Social Council during the past few years in connexion with its programme of technical and financial assistance for economic development, in its plans for social and child welfare and in its recommendations for ensuring full employment in the world. Moreover, the necessary machinery to carry out such a plan is in existence. All that is lacking is a decision to provide the international institutions and organs with the necessary means to carry out the plan on the scale and with the speed required by the exigencies of the international situation. This calls for boldness and willingness commensurate with the danger and the need. We can now see the need and the danger.

112. As was done in the case of Korea, where we were faced with a choice, we must, in this constructive and indispensable aspect of international co-operation, return to the spirit of the Charter.

113. The past five years have taught us a great lesson. Rather than strive for a high standard of living in a future world at peace, we must, through a splendid collective effort, seek peace through a higher standard of living for all the peoples of the world.

114. Mr. VAN ZEELAND (Belgium) (*translated from French*): Never before have men throughout the world more fervently and unanimously wished for peace. Never have they seen more clearly than now the horror and the vanity of war. And yet, through an irony of fate, never has the whole earth resounded more loudly to the clash of arms. Never have the nations, in times of peace, made such an effort to rearm.

115. This cruel paradox is not of recent origin. The threat that weighs upon us has been increasing week by week for the past three or four years. Two and a half months ago, out of a sky already heavy with dark clouds, the aggression against South Korea came like a bolt of lightning. In this exceptionally serious situation, the United Nations lived up to the trust which the free peoples had placed in it. It reacted promptly and unequivocally. At the moment, all eyes are upon it.

116. In spite of the disappointments of these last few years, this time everyone has come to New York with the stubborn hope that the Assembly will have something new to offer to the cause of peace, that it will help to enlighten men's minds and to determine responsibilities, that it will once more appeal to forces whose names are familiar to us—justice, international-co-operation, law, security, the principles of the Charter. We have used these great, just and noble words so much that they have become worn; in the eyes of some they have lost part of their attraction and prestige.

And we must admit that they have sometimes been abused in an attempt to conceal sordid interests or reprehensible actions. Yet we cannot do without them; they arise before us every time we undertake a great task. That is because these words express the ideal for which we fought and the great truth which we tried to incorporate in the Charter of the United Nations, and without which nothing would be left in the world but the law of the jungle.

117. Without, however, abandoning these high and necessary goals, we must face realities. The Korean adventure has helped us to do that. It has spelled out a triple lesson which our generation will never forget.

118. First, it has shown that aggression is still one of the means to which rulers dare to resort to further their plans.

119. Secondly, it has shown that military preparations carried on behind a curtain of mystery sometimes pay, in that they may give the aggressor a real though temporary advantage.

120. Lastly, it has shown that when preparations to repel aggression have not been made in time, there is no choice but to make the effort later under the pressure of events, though under much more difficult conditions.

121. These are not, of course, the only lessons of the Korean affair. It would be well if some of them were weighed on the other side of the fence as well.

122. Thus, it already seems clear that violence and surprise succeed for a relatively short period only.

123. Furthermore, it has been most comforting to see that moral force and the force of law still operate in our era. There is still such a thing as the conscience of mankind. It would be equally unrealistic to ignore the psychological reaction to the use of violence.

124. Finally, the United Nations has shown that in certain circumstances it can be, even as the Charter says, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends".

125. It may not be out of place to refer briefly to recent events. When right, after it has been flouted, is again supported by might, it ultimately triumphs. The Nazis learned this to their cost. And even as the United Nations is fighting in Korea to stop aggression, we are gathered here to seek, as is our duty, the means of strengthening the right, of preventing aggression, and of avoiding war.

126. From the first day, the general debate in the Assembly justified the high regard in which that forum of the United Nations is held everywhere. The representatives of several great countries at once began to deal with the most important problems. The Brazilian representative spoke in distinguished terms of eternal principles and of experiences which, even when they were disappointing, were most instructive. Today the representatives of the Netherlands and Chile followed in the same strain to speak with frankness and clarity. On the very first day the United States representative, in a particularly constructive speech, made positive suggestions concerning ways of preventing possible aggression and of pursuing more effectively our struggle against all forms of human hardship, hunger, fear, disease. The USSR representative repeated the prin-

ciples which he says his country proposes to observe in the pursuit of a policy of peace.

127. Those two last statements, given the circumstances in which we find ourselves and the power of the two nations on whose behalf they were made, are necessarily of very special significance and must not be left without reply. In the name of the Belgian delegation, I wish to comment on some of their aspects.

128. We listened with mixed feelings indeed to the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union. When, with befitting words, he spoke of exalted principles, we felt astonishment, some incredulity and yet some hope; but when, on the contrary, he made allegations which have been repeated often and almost as a matter of routine and which are contrary to facts reliably known to us, amazement, doubt and at times even indignation marked our reactions.

129. I had listened attentively to Mr. Vyshinsky's speech [279th meeting]. I then re-read it, word for word. I found in it many sentences to which I would subscribe without hesitation, for they express the ideal for which, together with so many men of good-will, we have been fighting in the international scene since our youth. Here are some examples, and I quote:

"[An answer must be given] to the question of what should be done . . . by the General Assembly . . . to respond clearly and firmly to the urgent appeal of the conscience of millions of human beings who hate war and long for peace."

That is correct.

"At the present moment the problems with which the United Nations is faced—averting the menace of a new war, strengthening co-operation among nations and ensuring international peace and security—have become even more acute."

"[The United Nations is] based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all its Members, respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of every State . . ."

130. I could go on with such quotations. If we could unreservedly believe in such declarations of principle, if they were not in conflict with a series of actions carried out so far under auspices of the Soviet Union, we should certainly have cause for rejoicing.

131. I should like, incidentally, to refer to two points in Mr. Vyshinsky's speech, in order to define our own position: the condemnation of the armaments race and the renewed suggestion for a policy of disarmament.

132. The attitude adopted by Belgium from the outset, that is to say, from the time of the League of Nations, has never varied: we have always favoured, and continue to favour, a policy leading to a reduction of armaments, a gradual, concerted, general, balanced, effectively supervised reduction; we have never missed an opportunity to support the efforts, made here and elsewhere, for international disarmament. We are not relinquishing this ideal. Today, as in the past, we believe that the danger of war is inherent in a policy of competitive armament; such a policy imposes upon the peoples of the world burdens which involve a waste of strength and slow down the rate of social progress.

133. A disarmament policy, however, can be contem-

plated only if it is truly multilateral; it must be sincere, realistic, honest from the start and protected by concerted guarantees. It must be pursued by all the nations. It must develop in an atmosphere of trust; and this atmosphere can exist only if nothing is hidden from the nations voluntarily prepared to entrust themselves to one another's good faith and good-will.

134. It is surely obvious that such an atmosphere is entirely incompatible with the policy of absolute secrecy maintained behind an iron curtain.

135. There exists, however, a danger to peace even more serious than the armaments race. That is unilateral disarmament, an international situation in which one group of States foregoes the preparation of its defences, while another group devotes its best efforts to the development of its armaments.

136. On this point we, the representatives of the free nations, are able to state that our conscience is clear. After the last war, our countries acted with complete honesty; they did, of course, comply with the specific commitments they had entered into in respect of international co-operation, but they did even more—they retained, for as long as possible, the feelings of esteem and solidarity which they had for their war-time allies. If we must reproach ourselves for anything, it is for having pushed those feelings to the point of imprudence. Our countries believed in peace. They disarmed rapidly. They neglected to take the precautions which were perhaps indicated. In running this risk, some of us have tried to give an irrefutable token of the purity of our intentions. But we were grievously disappointed. For while we were following this line, the Soviet Union was expanding its military equipment to a point which, so far as we know, has never yet been attained by any people in time of peace.

137. We are, I think, entitled to say to the Russians that if they had followed our example, disarmed while we did, stopped arming instead of rearming more and more intensively and checked their policy of expansion, the problem now before us would not have arisen, the organization of peace would proceed in an entirely different atmosphere. It is the Soviet Union which has brought about the armaments imbalance from which we are suffering. And such an imbalance invites war; it creates the danger of war more assuredly than anything else.

138. In the end, the free peoples, unable to achieve the general disarmament which they desired, have had to recognize that they had no choice but also to rearm. So far as they are concerned, this is not an armaments race; it is an attempt, undertaken reluctantly but resolutely, to redress the balance in armaments which has been disturbed by others, and so to restore the chances of peace. Such is the spirit in which we have allied ourselves under the Treaty of Brussels and the North Atlantic Treaty; such is the spirit in which we have decided now to regain the military strength of which we are capable.

139. If only the USSR representative, after mentioning the admirable principles which have never ceased to inspire us, had said, for example that the Soviet Union would scale down its military power to the level now prevailing in other countries, we should have had faith in the principles invoked and we should have been

entirely willing, ourselves, to pursue once again, as zealously as in the past, the organization of the peace on the basis of disarmament. But the mere attempt to formulate such thoughts shows how vain—I was going to say naïve—they are. Accordingly we are inevitably led back to the solution, which is admitted only with difficulty but is now quite settled, that at the present time the road to peace leads through the balance of armaments.

140. Hence we shall continue with all the energy at our command this policy of defence, of defence proper, of defence of the peace. Such a policy, however, does not at all release us from the obligation to carry on with the organization of international relations—political, economic and social—within the framework of the United Nations. On the contrary this policy makes it even more our bounden duty to carry on with this task.

141. I thus arrive quite naturally at the specific proposals [A/1377] made by the United States Secretary of State for strengthening international co-operation and fortifying the bulwarks against aggression.

142. Far be it from me to take issue with Mr. Vyshinsky's argument that the great Powers have a special function to perform in the maintenance of peace. I agree with him that it is extremely important "that five Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and the Soviet Union—should unite their efforts towards peace".

143. Nor do I fail to realize that the Charter itself has conferred upon the Security Council the principal responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. But we should dwell on this point a little longer. Those who settled the terms of the Charter at San Francisco were inspired by the hope that the five great Powers would continue to act as they had done during the war, that is to say, in harmony, with a common outlook on the essential points.

144. Unfortunately, we cannot ignore the facts; this hope has been disappointed, this foundation has collapsed, the Security Council has not functioned as it should have done. The mere fact that one of the great Powers has seen fit to exercise its right of veto forty-four or forty-five times shows that there is a flaw in the mechanism of the Security Council.

145. But surely this is not a good enough reason for us to give up the whole business as a bad job, to forego recourse either to the Security Council or to the United Nations. It is our duty to take fullest advantage of everything the Charter offers. We have the right to make use of every single one of its Articles; they are all of equal value.

146. That is why we regard as timely and practical Mr. Acheson's suggestions for expanding, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Charter, the function of the Assembly. In cases where the very purposes of the United Nations—promoting peace, fighting against aggression—are at stake, the Assembly is not relieved of its own responsibilities by the mere fact that some other organ of the United Nations falls short of its task; on the contrary, in such a contingency the Assembly has an added responsibility.

147. In adopting this attitude, my country remains faithful to a policy which it has followed ever since the

establishment of the United Nations. At San Francisco our representatives on several occasions sponsored proposals or supported amendments all of which were designed to give the Assembly a more important and more decisive role.

148. We have no desire to recall past history, nor on this occasion do we advocate amendments to the Charter. We simply take the view that it would be wise and expedient to make use of all the opportunities afforded by the Charter for the more effective attainment of the purposes of the Organization.

149. We therefore support the idea of simplifying the conditions under which a special session of the Assembly could be called in case of emergency.

150. We also favour the creation by the Assembly of something in the nature of a standing commission of inquiry which, with the consent of the country concerned, could immediately visit any area in which an international conflict appeared to be imminent; the idea is a sound one and reflects the experience gained by the Organization in a variety of circumstances and again, quite recently, in Korea.

151. Lastly, we consider that it would be useful for the Assembly to give immediate consideration to practical methods of utilizing the forces which the United Nations would place at the service of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

152. But we should be so happy if we could go beyond the sphere of strictly defensive measures, of measures designed solely to remove a threat, to safeguard the peace. We should be so happy if we could devote all our attention and all our efforts to constructive measures. There is so much we could do to create wealth, to make that new wealth available to men, to raise the standard of living, to improve health, to prolong life and to open wider doors that lead to the highest realms of the spirit.

153. Nothing, however, prevents us from undertaking these multifarious tasks at one and the same time. For our part, we consider it right and necessary that, as soon as Korea has been liberated from aggression, the United Nations should help the Korean people in the task of reconstruction with which it will be faced. This must be a twofold effort; on the one hand, we must rebuild the ruins caused by the war and, on the other, we must take the opportunity to help Korea in rapidly reducing the gap which separates its economic and social circumstances from those of the more advanced countries.

154. We wish to associate ourselves straightaway with a great project whose conception, in present circumstances, is at once an act of faith, of hope and of human solidarity. When peace has been assured, when an effective organization of international relations has given the peoples security for the future, when it has become possible to reduce the crushing burdens imposed on national budgets by the struggle for equality of armaments, the resources thus released must be used to sustain an immense and common effort to make available to the less advanced nations the means of overcoming their backwardness and of attaining full economic and social development. This is an idea which is at once generous, realistic and fruitful. The sooner it can be carried into effect, the sooner will the world regain stability in peace and progress.

155. As you see, I find myself impelled to repeat, in concluding these remarks, the great and noble words I used at the beginning—universal peace, international stability, progress and prosperity. But why, after all, should we fear these words, since we are sincere? It is for us to give them their true meaning, scope and prestige.

156. We are none of us under any illusion as to the effort which such an undertaking will entail or the serious risks which we shall continue to run, perhaps for a long time to come. But what does it matter? Our duty is plain. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Let us act. And perhaps eventually our generation, on completing its task, will leave to its successor a world which is better ordered, in which the past may be thought of with gratitude and pride and the future may be contemplated without anxiety and even, perhaps, with calm and steadfast hope.

157. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Although we had decided that our meeting on Saturday should last until 2 p.m., I have no more speakers on my list.

158. Before adjourning the meeting, I suggest that the time limit for entering names on the list of speakers in the general debate should be fixed at 6 p.m. on Monday next. All delegations wishing to take part in this debate are requested to have their names entered on the list before that time. As there is no objection, I note that it is so decided.

159. Our next meeting will be held on Monday, 25 September, at 10.45 a. m.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.