

Nations for the protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Greek State had been fully supported.

119. The same could be said in regard to Korea. Two representatives of El Salvador were serving with the United Nations Commission on Korea which had successfully co-operated, with its observations and advice, in the organization of a Government in south Korea. There was a hope of uniting the Korean people on the democratic bases on which that Government had been established.

120. In regard to the problem of Jerusalem and respect for the Holy Places, the delegation of

El Salvador supported the principle of internationalization. It had defended that principle and would continue to do so to the best of its ability in order to prevent General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) from being stultified and rendered inoperative by internal conflicts in Jerusalem.

121. In conclusion, Mr. Castro explained that his statements reflected the sincere desire cherished by the Government and people of El Salvador to co-operate in the work for peace which had been entrusted to the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Friday, 23 September 1949, at 3.p.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

General debate (continued): speeches by Mr. Vyshinsky (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Rahim Bey (Egypt), Mr. Stolk (Venezuela), Mr. van Zeeland (Belgium), Mr. Jooste (Union of South Africa)

1. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the general debate with which the General Assembly had begun its work, in accordance with its tradition, should enable it to evaluate what had been done in the past, to outline its future tasks and to create the conditions which would make it possible for the United Nations to solve the problems before it.

2. However, as the previous two days had shown, representatives were far from unanimously agreed that their task should be interpreted in that way. In fact, one of their number, Mr. Tsiang, speaking on behalf of the Koumintang Government, had attempted the previous day (223rd meeting), to use the rostrum of the General Assembly to make perfidious and libellous attacks on the USSR. Mr. Tsiang had tried to retrace historical events, but his statement had lacked basic honesty and he had grossly falsified the facts. Thus, for instance, concealing the truth of the matter, Mr. Tsiang had omitted to state that twenty-five years previously the Soviet Union had been the only country to conclude an agreement with China laying down the fundamental principles for the settlement of questions arising between the two countries. At the same time, the Soviet Union had renounced all rights granted to it under the agreements signed by the Tsarist Government in violation of Chinese sovereignty.

3. Mr. Tsiang had merely demonstrated the hatred of the Chinese reactionaries, who felt their power tottering, of the progressive and democratic elements which, in all countries of the world, were struggling for independence and for the destruction of the yoke of imperialism. But it would be undignified to enter into a controversy with Mr. Tsiang and his like.

4. Coming to the main point of his remarks, Mr. Vyshinsky said that, everyone knew that the activity of the United Nations was closely linked with the relations existing between the Member

States of the Organization and, above all, with the foreign policies of those countries which bore the main responsibility for activating its work. The attitudes of such Member States as the United States and the United Kingdom, leaders of the bloc of States which they had constituted, could not fail to influence conditions within the United Nations.

5. The past year had been marked by important events in the international sphere. Those events had shown that the Anglo-American majority in the General Assembly, far from seeking to strengthen the authority of the United Nations and thereby universal co-operation, was endeavouring to undermine the prestige of the Organization.

6. The facts demonstrated that while they gave lip service to the United Nations, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom were attempting to take action outside the Organization and often even against its interests. That became evident when it was noted that the Interim Committee had been established illegally, when it was observed that, despite the provisions of the Charter, the so-called United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans and the United Nations Commission on Korea had been created, and when a determined campaign was being conducted against the principle of unanimity, despite the fact that that principle was one of the cornerstones of the Charter.

7. It was also significant to note that, upon the initiative of the United States and the United Kingdom, several countries had signed the North Atlantic Treaty, which represented an open attempt to undermine the prestige of the United Nations. Everyone recalled that in January 1949, the Secretary of State of the United States had stated that the North Atlantic Treaty had been motivated only by the desire to strengthen the authority of the United Nations. The authors of the Treaty had invoked Article 51 of the Charter, which provided for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence in case of an armed attack against a Member of the United Nations. In actual fact, the formation of a group of States signatories to the North Atlantic Treaty was in direct contradiction with the Charter and constituted a direct violation by those States of the obligations which they had assumed when they signed that document.

8. The Government of the Soviet Union had repeatedly pointed out that Article 51 was applicable only in case of an armed attack against a Member of the United Nations. But neither the United States nor the United Kingdom, nor any other member of that aggressive bloc, was threatened with armed attack. Consequently, the references to Article 51 were quite irrelevant. They were intended to veil the true political significance of the North Atlantic Treaty and to mislead public opinion. In its notes of 20 January and 31 March 1949, the USSR Government had pointed out that the North Atlantic Treaty had been inspired primarily by the desire of the ruling circles in the United States and the United Kingdom to prevent the greatest possible number of States from having an independent domestic policy and to use those States for the purpose of putting into effect their own plans of aggression. The Government of the Soviet Union had pointed out that the purpose of the treaty was also to frighten States which were not willing to obey the orders of the Anglo-American alliance, an alliance designed to achieve world domination, regardless of the fact that the Second World War had ended in the destruction of fascist Germany and had demonstrated the madness of such ambitions.

9. The aggressive character of the North Atlantic treaty was fully confirmed by the recent statements of such United States officials as President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Bradley, in connexion with credits voted for the rearmament of the members of the alliance and for other projects furthering the preparation of a new war.

10. A number of other measures inspired by the current policy of the United States and the United Kingdom were also designed to undermine the authority of the United Nations. The so-called Marshall Plan, in particular, fell into that category. That plan, which had been a failure, was one of the cornerstones in the political and military system of Western States which was being set up against the USSR and the peoples' democracies. The authors of the Marshall Plan claimed that its only purpose was to lend economic assistance to the countries of western Europe. In actual fact, the plan had divided Europe into two camps and, by hindering the development of national industry in the western European countries, was about to deprive those countries of their national sovereignty.

11. Everyone was aware that the Marshall Plan had not normalized but had disrupted the economy of western Europe. That fact was confirmed by the United Nations Secretariat survey of the world economic situation, published in June 1949¹. The survey showed clearly that industrial production had severely fallen off in all the countries of Western Europe during the first three months of 1949. The decrease in production had been accompanied by a corresponding increase in unemployment. The number of unemployed during that period had increased by one and a half times in France, had nearly doubled in the British and American occupation zones in Germany, and had doubled in the Netherlands and Norway.

12. As everyone knew, unemployment continued to mount in the United States, where, according to official data—which should not of course be taken too literally—there were currently more than four million unemployed. The USSR representative was therefore entitled to use those facts as a basis for the statement that the Marshall Plan had struck hard at the workers of the "Marshallized" countries, had lowered the purchasing power of the masses and had helped to impoverish them.

13. But while the countries of western Europe were weighed down by the burden of the aid which they were supposedly receiving under the Marshall Plan, the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies were successfully pursuing their programme of economic reconstruction and development. The Soviet Union was steadily increasing its economic power and was improving the cultural and material living conditions of the Soviet people.

14. Figures recently published by the central directorate of statistics of the USSR showed that, in the second quarter of 1949, industrial production in that country had risen by 20 per cent as compared with the second quarter of the preceding year. The number of industrial workers was mounting; their productivity was increasing. Prices of basic commodities were decreasing and the workers' purchasing power was growing. The United Nations Secretariat, in its survey of the world economic situation, was obliged to admit that, contrary to what was taking place in the countries of western Europe and other parts of the world, industrial and agricultural production in the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies had continued to grow during the first quarter of 1949.

15. The policy of the United States and the United Kingdom, intended as it was to weaken the United Nations, was the cause of the unsatisfactory situation in such important organs of the United Nations as the Security Council, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, the Military Staff Committee and the Economic and Social Council. In all those bodies, the United States and the United Kingdom were bent on achieving their own aims, which had nothing in common with the principles and purposes of the United Nations, and were endeavouring, with the help of an obedient majority, to impose their decisions on other States.

16. That policy was responsible for the fact that over a period of almost four years, a body as important as the Atomic Energy Commission had done nothing to implement the General Assembly's resolutions on measures for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of international control of atomic energy in order that the latter should not be used for military purposes. That fact was due to continual attempts by the United States and the United Kingdom to impose on the Commission their own plans of international control, plans which no State anxious to maintain its independence could possibly accept.

17. Similarly, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, which had been entrusted with the important task of preparing measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, had not yet achieved any results.

¹ See *World Economic Report 1948*: United Nations Publications; Sales No., 1949.II.C.3.

18. As for the Economic and Social Council, that body was not dealing with fundamental problems of international economic co-operation, such as the promotion of the economic rehabilitation of countries that had suffered from the war, trade union rights, and the struggle against unemployment, which was becoming increasingly prevalent in capitalistic states, but preferred to deal with "problems" such as the effects of the chewing of coca leaves.

19. Such a position could not be tolerated. The United Nations should undertake measures to eliminate the obstacles which lay in the way of the normal operation of those organs. It should take the necessary measures to carry out the fundamental tasks that lay before it.

20. The Soviet Union considered it essential to proclaim that the situation in the United Nations could be improved only if all the Members of the Organization scrupulously observed the Charter and made every effort to increase the authority of the Organization, instead of pursuing their selfish aims.

21. Nevertheless, the United States, the United Kingdom, and certain other countries which followed in their wake, were trying to destroy international co-operation, to form aggressive groups, and to prepare a new war. The United States and the United Kingdom were carrying on a frenzied race for armaments, increasing their military expenditures, constantly establishing new military bases on the territories of other countries and as everybody knew, conducting an unbridled war propaganda.

22. A proof of the truth of Mr. Vyshinsky's assertions was that, in 1950, the United States would spend 14,300 million dollars for purely military purposes, as against 11,000 million dollars spent in 1949, 1,100 million in 1936 and 1,200 million in 1937-1938. Thus the military expenses of the United States in 1950 would be twelve times as great as the United States military credits on the eve of the Second World War. At the same time, the United States expenditures for health, public education and social security would amount only to 2,300 million dollars.

23. The race for armaments was also being conducted in the United Kingdom, where military expenses were growing annually and where Goering's old slogan, "guns rather than butter", had a wide circulation.

24. The United States and the United Kingdom had set up joint military staffs, which representatives of the States composing the aggressive blocs were taking part. Those bodies were engaged in preparing plans for a new war and were counting, to a great extent, on the atomic bomb, on which the war-mongers were pinning their hopes. Was it surprising, therefore, that the United States and the United Kingdom had refused to conclude a convention on the prohibition of the atomic weapon?

25. It was advisable to recall in that connexion that civilized peoples had long since condemned the use of gas as a weapon of mass extermination in war time, and that that instrument of war had been abandoned long ago. Nevertheless, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom did not wish to take the same course with regard to the atomic weapon and did not intend to renounce that method of mass destruction.

26. Far from taking into account General Assembly resolution 110 (II) of 3 November 1947, which called for measures to be taken against the inciters to a new war, the ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom were continuing their war propaganda with ever increasing intensity. The aim of that propaganda was to justify to the masses of the people the military measures taken by those two countries and to create war hysteria, which would enable them to allocate increasingly large sums for military purposes. That had been openly acknowledged by the American review *U. S. News and World Report*, which had stated in its issue of 5 August 1949:

"Aid abroad is harder to sell this year than last. War scare is having to be drummed up again to excite interest in a gift of arms to other nations. War talk is artificial, phony, but it is regarded as necessary to get Congress stirred up enough to produce a favorable vote."

27. In reading such statements, it was easy to imagine how much poison professional liars and prevaricators were disseminating in order to help the instigators of war to achieve their aims.

28. Such was the policy that the United States and the United Kingdom were pursuing in order to establish world domination. Generalissimo Stalin, head of the Government of the Soviet Union, had said: "The policy of the present rulers of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom is a policy of aggression and is directed towards the unleashing of a new war."

29. In contrast to that policy, the policy of the USSR was one of peace and collaboration with all nations which desired such collaboration. The Soviet Union was doing its utmost to strengthen the authority of the United Nations which, according to the words of the head of the Government of the Soviet Union, was "a valuable instrument for the maintenance of peace and international security".

30. Mr. Vyshinsky then recalled that, during a plenary meeting of the first session of the General Assembly in 1946¹, the USSR delegation had proclaimed the conviction of the Soviet people that the establishment of wide and friendly collaboration between the peoples of the world would be entirely in the interest of the Soviet Union and of all peace-loving nations.

31. In 1934, Generalissimo Stalin, the leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, had declared: "Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of maintaining peace and developing trade relations with all countries. The USSR has no intention of threatening and still less of attacking anyone. We want peace and we are defending the cause of peace, but we are not intimidated by threats and we are ready to deal blow for blow to the war-mongers".

32. Speaking again on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union five years later, in March 1939, Generalissimo Stalin had declared: "We are for peace and the development of commercial relations with all countries. We shall maintain that position to the extent that other countries display the same intentions towards the Soviet Union and do not attempt to harm our interests".

¹ See *Official Records of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly*, 42nd plenary meeting.

33. The USSR had remained faithful to the principles outlined by its great leader. In its foreign policy it consistently upheld the cause of peace by denouncing the instigators of a new war who wished to plunge the world into a new and frightful upheaval. At a time when the forces of aggression were being mobilized, the USSR felt it was its duty to protest against the preparations for a new conflict and to speak in defence of world peace.

34. A powerful movement for peace was spreading and growing ceaselessly among the masses in all the countries of the world. The forces of democracy and peace were growing a hundred times faster than the sinister ranks of the warmongers. The determination to oppose the vile manoeuvres of imperialist aggressors was also growing among the democratic elements. It was the duty of the United Nations, whose Charter proclaimed the determination of its Members to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, to add its voice to that of the millions who protested against war and demanded international peace and friendship.

35. The delegation of the Soviet Union had been instructed by its Government to appeal to the General Assembly to take steps to strengthen peace and to stave off the threat of a new war which was being prepared by the aggressive blocs of States grouped under the aegis of the United States and the United Kingdom. On the instructions of its Government, the USSR delegation was submitting the following proposals (A/996) for the approval of the General Assembly:

"1. The General Assembly condemns the preparations for a new war now being conducted in a number of countries, and particularly in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, as reflected in the war propaganda encouraged by Governments, in the armaments race and the inflation of military budgets inflicting heavy burdens on the people, the establishment of numerous military, naval and air bases on the territories of other countries, the organization of military blocs of States pursuing aggressive aims directed against peace-loving democratic countries, and the implementation of other measures having aggressive purposes.

"2. Just as the civilized nations long since condemned as a heinous crime against humanity the use for military purposes of poisonous gases and bacteriological media, the General Assembly regards the use of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction as being contrary to the conscience and honour of the nations and incompatible with membership of the United Nations, and considers as inadmissible any further delay in the adoption by the United Nations of practical measures for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of appropriate strict international control.

"3. The General Assembly calls upon all States to settle their disputes and differences by peaceful methods, and to refrain from resort to force or the threat of force. The General Assembly taking note, in this connexion, of the undeviating desire and will of the peoples to avert the threat of a new war and ensure the maintenance of peace—as expressed in the mighty popular movement in all countries for peace and against the warmongers—and having regard to the fact that

the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lies on the shoulders of the five Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, unanimously expresses the wish that the United States of America, the United Kingdom, China, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will unite their efforts to this end and will conclude among themselves a pact for the strengthening of peace."

36. RAHIM Bey (Egypt) said that the political atmosphere in which the General Assembly was meeting for its fourth session was not what had been hoped for. Tension and anxiety prevailed. After three years of continuous and arduous endeavours to maintain peace and security, the threat of war was still hanging over the world.

37. The Berlin crisis, which at the beginning of the third session had been a definite threat to peace, had been successfully handled, but many questions vital to world peace were still pending, and differences among the great Powers were still pronounced. Still greater efforts must therefore be made during and after the session to attain the ultimate goal of peace and security.

38. Four years after the cessation of hostilities, peace treaties were yet to be concluded with Germany, Austria, and Japan. The continued inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of the Greek question and of the questions of the prohibition and control of atomic energy, Korea, Indonesia and the admission of new Members, were signs that the ultimate goal was still far off and that very little progress had been achieved.

39. In the Near East, an important and strategic area at the crossroads of three continents, the situation was far from reassuring. Signs of discontent, unrest and insecurity were manifest.

40. On Egypt's eastern frontier, in Palestine, military operations had come to an end, but misery, dislocation and instability still prevailed. About one million Arab refugees were still wandering in the desert, driven from their homes, hungry, homeless and in despair.

41. In Libya, across Egypt's western frontier, another Arab country was clamouring for its independence and unity after a long period of suffering and oppression. Its inhabitants were looking to the Assembly for the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

42. Within Egypt itself, the people were beset with anxiety since they could not forget that the Egyptian question was still pending. It had not so far been accorded the solution it deserved in keeping with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter and the self-evident rules of justice.

43. Turning to the Far East, the picture was again one of instability and insecurity. The Indonesian question was still unsolved. The valiant Chinese nation was suffering from the ravages of a continued war. The Koreans, unfortunately, were also denied their right to unity.

44. Those clouds of unrest and insecurity in Europe, the Near East and the Far East contained a real menace to the peace of the world. It was only by co-operation in the Assembly that the clouds could be dispelled and an atmosphere of genuine confidence and security created.

45. The Secretary-General in his report¹ had struck an optimistic note, attributable in the

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1.

main to the attainment of a marked degree of progress in the economic activities of the United Nations. It was not surprising, however, to hear from time to time of deficiencies in the Organization. The disturbing tendency of the United Nations to yield on certain occasions to the *fait accompli* was most alarming.

46. For its part, Egypt would loyally endeavour to contribute to finding a constructive and peaceful settlement of all the problems confronting the Organization.

47. While not intending to deal in detail with all the important problems on the agenda, Rahim Bey would dwell briefly on certain matters of vital interest to the area of the Near East.

48. The problem of Palestine was of grave concern to Egypt. The partition of that country bore an unfortunate resemblance to other partitions of territory which had taken place before and after 1914, and which had provided some of the darkest pages in the history of international diplomacy. That was evidenced by the past and still prevailing misery of the Holy Land, torn by strife and dissension.

49. As long as the agonizing problem of the Arab refugees, or indeed, the problem of Palestine itself, remained, there could be no enduring security in the Middle East. As long as that problem, with its many aspects, remained unsolved in accordance with the just principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly, real peace and stability would be lacking in that area and, in consequence, throughout the world. In that connexion the Egyptian delegation recalled with regret that even General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 remained unimplemented. In the future, as in the past, Egypt would continue to co-operate with the United Nations in order to achieve a just and definitive solution to the problem and would continue to work constructively for the re-establishment of peace, order and stability in that troubled part of the world.

50. An equally important question on the agenda was the future of the former Italian colonies. The position of Egypt on that issue was well known. It had been made clear during the debates of the General Assembly and the work of the First Committee at the third session.

51. The Egyptian delegation remained firm in its determination to press for the unity and independence of Libya. The right of the Libyan people to unity and independence was incontestable. Their maturity for independence was generally recognized and their unity was based on strong ties of religion, race, culture, common history and economic interdependence.

52. The unity and the independence of Libya was the only solution based on equity. It was wholly consistent with the letter and spirit of the Charter and had the advantage of satisfying the hopes and answering the prayers of the country's inhabitants. It gave assurance of lasting peace and security in that important area of the Mediterranean.

53. With regard to the future of the former Italian colonies in East Africa, Egypt would abide by the principles and high ideals of the Charter, which had always determined its past attitude. It would most faithfully take into consideration the interests of the inhabitants of those territories.

54. Turning to the Indonesian question, Rahim Bey recalled that Egypt had from the outset recognized the Republic and sincerely sympathized with the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Indonesian people. The Egyptian delegation hoped that the negotiations taking place between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, under the auspices of the United Nations and in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council of 28 January 1949¹, would accomplish a satisfactory result. It trusted that moderation would prevail and that all concerned in the negotiations would show foresight, patience and a true spirit of conciliation.

55. The Egyptian delegation noted with the deepest regret that because of the existing differences among the great Powers, the Security Council had not been able to create the armed forces envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter.

56. The Powers referred to in Article 106 of the Charter had so far failed to discharge the responsibilities specified in Article 43. That deficiency required a proper and adequate remedy. The continued lack of an armed force at the disposal of the United Nations could place the Organization in a precarious position similar to that which had frustrated the peace efforts of the League of Nations. Persistent disagreements between the great Powers had further accentuated that regrettable situation and had obstructed agreement, not only on the prohibition and control of atomic energy and other weapons of mass destruction, but also on the reduction and regulation of conventional armaments.

57. It was one of the main objectives of the United Nations to enlist international co-operation in dealing with the economic problems of the world. The Egyptian delegation appreciated the efforts made by the Organization and its specialized agencies, but it hoped that more positive measures would be initiated in that direction. Economic development was necessary not only in order to raise the standard of living of the people, but also as a fundamental basis for the maintenance of peace.

58. The expansion of production, world trade and consumption, the stability and convertibility of currencies, the amplification of the international flow of funds, the availability of experts and technicians, the free exchange of scientific ideas and practical experience, all those were ways and means towards that end. There was no doubt but that the United Nations and the specialized agencies had done much to promote international co-operation but much remained to be done. The Egyptian delegation expressed its hopes for a better and peaceful life for people everywhere, through the assistance to be rendered by the United Nations.

59. It was the sacred trust of Members to see that the United Nations discharged its responsibilities and did not deteriorate into an instrument of political pressure. Indeed, it was the hopeful intent of the Charter that the Organization would be the supreme forum of world opinion and the shining symbol of peace and justice.

60. The attempts which had been made to influence the solution of various problems, some of which related especially to the Middle East, and the pressure brought to bear in certain instances,

¹ See S/1234.

were indeed detrimental to the United Nations and they must not be allowed to prevail or to frustrate its efforts towards peace and justice.

61. All must unite in helping to avert that dangerous tendency by co-operating and wielding a collective influence for the cause of peace. By that means all would contribute to making the Organization a supreme body, qualified beyond any doubt to defend the interests of humanity. That should be the goal of the current and future sessions.

62. In conclusion, Rahim Bey urged Members to strive for unanimity of purpose, in order to bring light to the world in place of the shadows that had descended upon it. All gathered there had gained experience through the trials of the past and were aware that theirs was no easy road. Yet it was in their hearts to accept the burdens which had been delegated to them, so that they might bring to humanity the just solutions which were so desperately needed. It was earnestly to be hoped that the fourth session of the General Assembly would mark a step forward on the road to stability and peace in the world.

63. Mr. STOLK (Venezuela) recalled that 24 October would mark the fourth anniversary of the date of deposit of the ratifications necessary for the entry into force of the United Nations Charter, an act which had preceded the first session of the General Assembly, held in London a few months later. At that time, the optimism to which the coming into being of the United Nations had given rise had been overshadowed by the difficulties of many problems. Many delegations had emphasized that the errors of the past should be avoided and had referred continually in the discussions to the reason for the failure of the League of Nations. Various representatives had referred to the role to be played by the great Powers and by the so-called medium or small States in the development of real international co-operation. Atomic energy had also been mentioned as one of the basic problems which gave rise to the dilemma of peace and war. In spite of doubt whether it would be possible to retain co-operative unity between the great Powers after the end of hostilities, it had been hoped that difficulties would be overcome by understanding and tolerance, and that sure progress would be made towards the accomplishment of the ideals of the Charter.

64. Since that time the work of the United Nations had increased in an amazing way. Its principal organs and a great many subsidiary bodies had carried out continuous work and the Secretariat had gained great experience and had made its technical and practical contribution in an enthusiastic and praiseworthy manner. But all that work had taken place under the continual pressure of political events, of social upheavals and dangerous economic crises which had stultified international co-operation and had created a number of difficulties in finding the lowest common denominator for reconciling basic differences and bringing opposing tendencies together.

65. Hardly a year previously the General Assembly had met in Paris in an undeniable atmosphere of fear. The discord among the great Powers, aggravated by the Berlin blockade, had caused international tension which had given rise to all kinds of scepticism in public opinion. But common sense and the firm desire to explore all possibilities of agreement had prevailed in the

United Nations, and especially in the General Assembly, which had unanimously adopted its resolution 190 (III), sponsored by Mexico, requesting the great Powers to renew their efforts to settle their differences and to establish permanent peace. At the same time, the Presidents of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, together with the Secretary-General and the Argentine, Belgian, Canadian, Chinese, Colombian and Syrian delegations, had exhausted all means in their power to find a solution to the Berlin blockade dispute which would be acceptable to all parties.

66. The lifting of the blockade and the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris had resulted from that co-ordinated action. But fundamental differences still existed between the great Powers, and the final post-war settlement and the signing of the peace treaties were still indispensable prerequisites for the functioning of the United Nations and the proper solution of the aforesaid political problems. Many of the Charter's provisions could not be implemented until that prior condition had been met, and the real and effective co-operation of all Member States could not bear fruit until the difficult task of post-war settlement had been accomplished. The nations' path to their final goal was fraught with difficulties which helped to maintain mutual distrust, and many nations, anxious to preserve their common interests and the basic principles of their civilization, had felt obliged to group themselves against any possible emergencies.

67. But the possibilities of progress towards permanent peace appeared more promising than the previous year. In the introduction to his report, the Secretary-General had stated that he was frankly optimistic, and the President had supported him by expressing the hope that the current session would be known as that of the "Peace Assembly" (220th meeting). And the containing of the differences between the great Powers within peaceful limits, the lessening of the fear of a new war and the positive work carried out by the United Nations in recent months augured results more constructive than those of the past.

68. Mr. Stolk referred to the mediation and conciliation negotiations initiated by Count Bernadotte, who had died in the accomplishment of his efforts for peace in Palestine, efforts which had culminated, under the Acting Mediator, in the armistice agreements between the parties concerned. That showed the undeniable value of peaceful procedure when used as an instrument of the United Nations for the settlement of disputes. In Indonesia, again as a result of the conciliation efforts of the United Nations, a beginning appeared to have been made along the path leading to final harmony between the indigenous inhabitants and Europeans. It was hoped that in Kashmir too the active progress of the Commission would finally assure a system likewise offering equitable guarantees for the settlement of the conflict.

69. In economic and social matters a great effort had been displayed during the year covered by the Secretary-General's report. There had been close collaboration between the United Nations and its specialized agencies in improving conditions for the production and distribution of food, and attention had been given to questions of

labour, health, nutrition, child welfare, narcotics control, education and refugees. Mr. Stolk referred to the granting of fellowships for specialized studies, to the organization of seminars and similar social welfare services, and emphasized the special interest devoted during the preceding year to the problems of economic development of under-developed countries, the promotion of full employment and economic stability, and the technical assistance necessary to attain such aims together with a general improvement in the standard of living of the peoples. The Venezuelan delegation had always been very interested in the question of economic development; the many aspects of the problems of development of under-developed countries would be studied on the basis of the co-operative programme of technical assistance for economic development through the United Nations and the specialized agencies, submitted by the Economic and Social Council.¹ All that activity in the economic, social and cultural fields tended to neutralize the political tendencies which hindered a rebirth of international confidence.

70. The United Nations Trusteeship System was being progressively strengthened and was promoting the interests of the Trust Territories, in order to enable the respective populations freely to determine their own destinies. The General Assembly had carefully considered the position of the so-called Non-Self-Governing Territories and had decided to establish a Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. Thus peaceful collaboration between the Administering Powers and other Member States in the interests of all those peoples would be possible, without any derogation from the sovereignty of the former.

71. Mr. Stolk repeated that the principal causes which hindered the Organization's action and the application of certain provisions of the Charter lay in the disagreement between the great Powers.

72. The application of the unanimity rule had created new obstacles. Its effect had made itself felt recently in the question of the admission of new Members. On that point, the Venezuelan delegation confirmed the opinions it had previously expressed.

73. The use of the veto to bar the admission of States to membership in the United Nations was unjustified when it was based on reasons other than those indicated in Article 4 of the Charter; it was in opposition to that express provision and disregarded the opinion given by the International Court of Justice.² The fact that a State was peace-loving, accepted the obligations of the Charter, and was willing and able to carry them out, was sufficient reason to act on its application for admission; the delay on the fourteen applications which were pending was reducing the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

74. The interpretation of the provisions of the Charter had given rise to contradictory decisions and violent statements, in particular whenever attempts had been made to determine the exact scope of the principle of non-intervention set forth in paragraph 7 of Article 2, safeguarding the sovereignty of States Members in matters which were essentially within their domestic jurisdiction. The question was often determined

by political factors, with the consequent danger of contradictory interpretations. On several occasions the minority had categorically rejected the opinion of the majority, on the ground that it violated the provisions of that Article. That deepened division and prejudiced international co-operation in matters as important as human rights. Perhaps not a few States Members would be unwilling to subscribe, in due course, to the covenant on human rights and to the measures of implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the General Assembly had proclaimed by its resolution 217 (III) of 10 December 1948, if they found that politics were going to be used as an instrument of pressure to interpret particular clauses in cases of alleged violations. The Venezuelan delegation considered that an effort should be made to define the scope of the principle of non-intervention, as set forth in the Charter, in the light of those provisions of the Charter which established the general principles of international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. The International Court of Justice or the International Law Commission might perhaps render valuable service if they were to consider the matter and give an opinion on it. The Venezuelan delegation also thought that the Court was called upon to play a role of cardinal importance whenever disputes arose in the General Assembly regarding the existence of facts which, once proved, would constitute a violation of an international obligation.

75. It had also been impossible to give effect to Article 43 of the Charter. Disagreement on the problem of armaments and the prohibition and control of atomic energy and other means of mass destruction subsisted more or less as before. It was argued that so long as security had not been achieved, there could be no disarmament, but at the same time the delay in reaching agreement on those problems caused a continuance of the fear which made armaments seem indispensable for the protection of peace and security against possible aggression. The same unfavourable circumstances prevented any agreement between East and West in working out means of guaranteeing that atomic energy would be used for peaceful purposes only. The Venezuelan delegation hoped that the obstacles to the solution of those problems would not result in a long postponement of the efforts necessary for their solution.

76. Mr. Stolk concluded by saying that the Venezuelan delegation wholeheartedly shared the hopes and aims of all those who wished the General Assembly's deliberations the greatest success. He did not believe that the accusations of the past would fail to break out again during the discussions. Nevertheless, the Venezuelan delegation was confident that the favourable circumstances to which Mr. Stolk had referred earlier in his speech would finally justify the bright hope expressed by the President of the Assembly that the current session would prove to be that of the "Peace Assembly". Only through the activities of the United Nations, inspired by truth, justice and equity, could all countries reconcile their interests and find the way that led to agreement, friendship, and effective international co-operation.

¹ See *Technical Assistance for Economic Development*: United Nations Publications; Sales No., 1949.II.B.1.

² See *Admission of a State to the United Nations (Charter, Article 4), Advisory Opinion*: I.C.J. Reports 1948, page 57.

77. Mr. van ZEELAND (Belgium) said that, in commenting on the opening meetings of the General Assembly, an American newspaper had recently expressed the belief that the United Nations had already come of age. That was perhaps an over-optimistic view. So vast an Organization, the objectives of which were rightly and necessarily ambitious, could not be expected to mature early. Many of the difficulties encountered by the late League of Nations had been due to the excessive hopes and over-impatience which had presided at its birth. The United Nations was still taking its first steps. It would not do, however, to take refuge behind an easy scepticism and ignore mistakes, forget shortcomings, let opportunities slip and thus run the risk of once more arriving too late. The advantage of free general discussion was that it enabled Members of the Organization to make their points, to bring up questions of a magnitude beyond the scope of any commission and far transcending their solution in importance.

78. The speeches hitherto made had focussed attention on many aspects of the life of the Organization, on its needs and potentialities. Mr. van Zeeland would in his turn submit to the Assembly a few reflections, which were admittedly of a general nature, but which had nevertheless a close bearing on the concrete realities of the time. Those realities were of direct concern to the United Nations by virtue both of the limits they imposed and of the opportunities they afforded for action on the level appropriate to the Organization, namely the world level.

79. It would be vain to harbour illusions. The role played by the United Nations since its inception in the relations both between States and between individuals had disappointed large sections of the population. The severest critics of the Organization included those who, despite everything, were the most convinced of the need to organize international relations at the world level.

80. Was it the time to inquire into the causes of the relative failure of the United Nations? Mr. van Zeeland thought that it was not. He wished to emphasize, how far the United Nations had fallen short of the magnificent objectives it had set before mankind at the close of the war—lasting and universal peace, economic prosperity, better material and spiritual standards of life for all men throughout the world. No one would deny that responsibility for such shortcomings and deficiencies lay with the nations which constituted the United Nations, particularly with those Powers which, either *de jure* or *de facto*, had assumed its direction, and especially with those Powers which had used their rights and powers for ends other than those of the community as a whole.

81. It must nevertheless be recognized that, however great the goodwill inspiring the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations, whatever support they had received from the departments working under their orders, the problems confronting the peoples after the recent world war had been beyond the scope of any organization in their magnitude, complexity and diversity.

82. Furthermore, some of those problems arose at a level at which they could not be dealt with effectively by an international organization conceived and established at the universal level. After the war, national States were confronted with numerous problems which were of equal

gravity and urgency but which required vastly differing solutions.

83. Some of the problems were related to activities which only a national State could exercise within its own frontiers. Other problems at the opposite end of the political scale were beyond the capacity and competence of any national State. Their solution was inevitably and solely dependent upon agreement among all the peoples of the world, sought at the level of the United Nations.

84. But between the two categories of problems there was a third category which could be solved neither by the national State acting in isolation nor by the collective intervention of the United Nations. The proper solution of such problems required the intervention of intermediate organizations, and particularly of regional arrangements, for the existence of which provision had been made in the United Nations Charter.

85. The failure of the United Nations in certain spheres—whether temporary or otherwise was unimportant—had made it particularly clear that the establishment of such intermediate organizations was both mandatory and of immediate urgency.

86. Even had it been otherwise, even had the United Nations from the beginning, and with universal consent, acquitted itself satisfactorily of all its tasks without exception, the need for intermediate organizations would still have made itself felt. For that method was imposed by concrete realities from the demands from which there was no escape.

87. It had been one of the weaknesses of the late League of Nations that it had failed to make use of such forces and had in fact by-passed problems by making a direct transition from the national State to the world organization. But, as always happened when an idea was right and mature, the desire for regional association had nevertheless found expression in many parts of the world.

88. Mr. van Zeeland referred briefly to two groups of very different character and with widely differing objectives, which nevertheless served to illustrate his argument: on the one hand, the organic association of peoples' republics under the aegis of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and, at the other end of the world, the strengthening of the bonds constituting the Pan American Union.

89. He then pointed out two other signs of the need to organize nations at a level between that of the national State and that of the United Nations, and in that connexion referred to Europe and to the forms which the expression of the people's will had taken in order to regain for the old Continent, decimated by the war, its role, its prestige, and its former prosperity. He recalled that because of his functions he had been called upon to preside over some of the councils of the new Europe, but explained that he would deal with those problems only from a personal point of view.

90. Thanks to the Marshall Plan, nineteen countries had benefited by the efforts of the United States to restore normal conditions of life, production and exchange throughout the world. They had grouped themselves in an organization of limited aims but very great significance, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. That title stated precisely what it was intended to state. It comprised, in fact, the four essential words corresponding to the basic ideas of the

whole undertaking and, in Mr. van Zeeland's opinion, it met the needs of modern times.

91. In the first place, it evoked the concept of co-operation between peoples. There was no need to stress the cardinal importance of that idea. Everyone was convinced that there was not a single State, however powerful, in the modern world which could isolate itself in its own power and aim at achieving its own happiness without concerning itself with others. Mankind had reached complete unanimity on that point, but divergences arose in respect of the methods of achieving such co-operation or the goals to which it must be directed.

92. Next, it expressed the idea that such co-operation among States at that time must be carried out in accordance with a specific, organic method. Hence the term "organization".

93. Thirdly, the word "European" emphasized the necessity for Europe to organize itself at a level above that of national States but below that of the world Organization. That was the idea of regionalism, the region, in the case in point, being Europe.

94. Finally, that complex title evoked the idea of the need for a special effort in the economic field. It was hoped that through such an effort nations would be assured of the material conditions which strengthened their freedom of action, while the peoples of Europe would be assured of the standard of living to which they were entitled at the current stage of scientific and technical knowledge.

95. Mr. van Zeeland would not go so far as to say that the OEEC had so far been more successful than the United Nations. He would refrain from giving his opinion, but many believed that the OEEC had so far merely touched upon the fundamental problems facing Europe.

96. To be sure, by technical methods and by the most efficient use of the possibilities of immediate action placed at its disposal by the enlightened generosity of the United States, OEEC had made possible a stabilization of the material situation which struck any impartial observer visiting the old countries of Europe. But obviously that did not suffice. The OEEC was faced with a magnificent but formidable task. It had to prepare and to foster the economic integration of Europe by organic and, hence, lasting methods. That was the task to which he hoped it would devote itself thenceforth, without neglecting others.

97. He did not wish to minimize the difficulties of the task; but in his opinion the time for half-measures was past. If Europe wished to regain its former status, it must restore its economy on new foundations. It was essential, by whatever method and whether in one or two stages, but without delay, to recreate a vast territory where goods would be exchanged and where capital would circulate free from the obstacles that had hampered or immobilized it so far.

98. The removal of quantitative trade restrictions, the freeing of payments, the distribution of investments, were all problems capable of technical solutions eminently favourable to the production of goods, in other words, solutions that would meet the interests of all, both inside and outside Europe. The direct and courageous solutions so long awaited must be put into effect at once, as part of a long-term policy.

99. But the will to restore to Europe, through true, solid and lasting organization, the place it had enjoyed before the previous wars, had led the European nations to take a step of probably decisive, and in any case, historic significance, namely, the establishment of the Council of Europe.

100. The events preceding the birth of the Council were worthy of emphasis. It was obvious that in that matter European public opinion had preceded the desires and actions of the Governments themselves. It was true that the new organization was based on a decision whereby the Governments concerned had expressed their common will. But the pact had been signed by the Governments because congresses organized by private initiative had succeeded in making clear to Governments, and at the same time to the general public, the determined, spontaneous and active will of a large section of opinion in each of the countries of Europe. It could be said of the Council of Europe, with even more truth than of most of the bodies established in democratic nations, that it was the expression of the free will of the peoples.

101. That, in Mr. van Zeeland's opinion, was the explanation of the surprising success of the first Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. About one hundred men had met there, from thirteen different countries, representing very divergent political tendencies, and with no other point of contact than the desire to create a new Europe. It had been necessary to start from scratch; no one could have foreseen what personal reactions, what clashes of ideas and national sentiments, what difficulties of language there might be. Yet there was not a single experienced parliamentarian who had not left Strasbourg with the impression that the Assembly of the Council of Europe had deliberated in an atmosphere of high dignity and genuine efficiency.

102. Mr. van Zeeland did not wish, in any way, to express an opinion on the resolutions of the Strasbourg Assembly. They would be submitted to the Committee of Ministers according to the Statute of the Council. But it seemed obvious to him that the European spirit had been expressed at the Strasbourg Assembly with such lofty power and dignity as to ensure that the resolutions would not remain a dead letter.

103. In such circumstances, a question immediately sprang to mind, namely, whether there was no juridical conflict between such regional organizations as the Council of Europe or OEEC and the United Nations, whether there was not in fact a danger that their activities would clash.

104. Anyone who had attended the meetings in Strasbourg or Paris, or had taken part in them in any capacity whatsoever, could easily reply to that question.

105. The most convinced champions of European organization were aware both of the needs and of the limitations of such an organization.

106. Again and again, it had been stressed that the errors made and repeated by nations should not be carried over to the regional organization. No region of the world could isolate itself, nor could any State. The region was a necessary intermediary, but it fulfilled its role only if it acted as a link between the national State and the supreme Organization.

107. Europe would live and realize its political mission only if it were closely integrated in the

universal Organization. Such was the spirit which had guided the founders of the new organization. It was for that reason that the authors of its Statute had inserted a clause stipulating that all precautions should be taken to ensure that the meetings of the European organs should in no way hamper those of the United Nations; though only a detail, the point was significant.

108. That being so, it was true to say that anything done to organize Europe directly served the same ends as were being pursued by the United Nations, namely, the improved organization of relations among men throughout the world.

109. The setting up of such organizations unquestionably emphasized one aspect of a general problem which had already been mentioned during the current session by some Members of the United Nations, notably by Brazil (222nd meeting), namely, the multiplication of international bodies with overlapping functions.

110. The time had come for the United Nations to concern itself about that multiplicity, to take steps for the re-establishment of order and clarity, to co-ordinate and to simplify. Mr. de Freitas Valle had cited some impressive facts concerning the organs of the United Nations. The problem had already made itself acutely felt in Europe, and it was clear that the respective functions to be carried out by the Council of Europe, the OEEC and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe must be reconsidered.

111. The earlier that co-ordination was achieved, the more valuable it would be. Nevertheless, it was better that two organizations should be doing the same work, even though they might, in their zeal, sometimes interfere with each other, than that nothing at all should be done.

112. He wished to draw a general conclusion from one of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, a conclusion which affected one of the items on the agenda of the current session.

113. After careful work in committee and a general discussion of a high standard, the Assembly had approved, by a majority of more than two-thirds, a resolution to the effect that a court of human rights should be established. In so doing, its object had been one which was shared by many of the representatives at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and which had been expressed in the far-reaching discussions concerning the means of ensuring the implementation of the international bill of human rights. The vote had shown that the members of the Strasbourg Assembly considered that any violation of the fundamental rights pertaining to a human person was a matter which, as such, was outside the purview of the powers and responsibilities of the national State; it should be possible, subject to the necessary precautions, to bring such a violation before a supreme court, an organ whose authority went beyond that of national States.

114. There could be no clearer evidence that any violation of those fundamental rights was of direct concern to the collective entity as a whole. Mr. van Zeeland regarded such a vote as an obvious step forward on the path of freedom and respect for the human person, the path which led to the achievement of one of the highest purposes of the United Nations itself.

115. He believed he was expressing the ideas which inspired all those who had worked unceasingly through long years for the establishment of a more secure and more just international order, when he said that such an order, could exist only if at the base there were the national State, at the apex, the United Nations and, between the two, the intermediary groups duly integrated for international action, each pursuing the same purposes, namely, to serve the individual and the collectivity.

116. Belgium had never ceased to work for and serve that ideal of international organization. In the past it had served it within the League of Nations; in the future it would serve it within Benelux, the West, Europe and, above all, the United Nations.

117. In conclusion, Mr. van Zeeland expressed the hope, that the same spirit should prevail at each level of the international organization, the spirit of loyal and effective co-operation among all Members, the same respect for the fundamental rules of social life, and the same concern that the legitimate interests of each should be served while the interests of all were respected.

118. If that condition were met, then the Members of the United Nations would be enabled to draw gradually nearer to the ultimate aims which the Organization had set itself and short of which it could not rest without defeat. At that price the world might one day know peace with security, material prosperity, the raising of living standards for the masses and with—social justice. To achieve such ends, no effort could be too great; though clouds might gather on the political horizon, Belgium remained convinced that no endeavour in the right direction was ever completely lost.

119. Mr. JOOSTE (Union of South Africa) stated that it was the wish of his Government that its delegation should take that early opportunity to raise once more a matter which must be of real concern to other countries as well as to the Union of South Africa, namely, the difficulty, arising from the existing exchange position, meeting the demands on the national exchequer resulting from United Nations activities.

120. It was not the intention of his delegation to advocate any course prejudicial to the effective functioning of the United Nations. Moreover, the question of finance would of course be debated in the appropriate Committee. He wished, however, to draw attention at that stage to one important aspect of the problem; namely, the working of the Assembly and the effect of its protracted meetings on resources of foreign exchange.

121. The United Nations had been in operation for approximately three years and nine months, and although the current session was only the fourth regular session of the Assembly, it had in fact met on no less than seven separate occasions. The records showed that during the forty-five months of the Organization's existence, the Assembly had been in session for approximately eleven months. In cases where Member Governments had been represented throughout by Cabinet Ministers with adequate staffs, it had entailed the absence of those ministers and

officials from domestic duties for an average of three months per year. Those periods of absence were still further prolonged when travelling time was taken into consideration, especially in the case of countries such as the Union of South Africa, which were far removed from the venue of the meetings. The burden in terms of time and expense was evident when an adequate number of representatives had to be sent from the home country, and when it was remembered how the functions and responsibilities of Cabinet Ministers in their own countries had been increased in consequence of the emergence of national problems since the recent war.

122. Mr. Jooste mentioned those facts because his delegation desired at that early stage to emphasize the importance of a more effective and expeditious discharge of the business on the agenda. The delegation of the Union of South Africa had received and studied the helpful report submitted by the Special Committee on Methods and Procedures of the General Assembly (A/937), and would, at the appropriate time, debate the views and findings put forward in that report. Meanwhile, it wished to stress to the Assembly its Government's view that the tendency of the Assembly to prolong unreasonably the sessions prescribed in the Charter should be resisted in every possible way. It was well aware of the heavy burden placed upon the Assembly and would in no way minimize its achievements, but, in the light of its own experience and very real difficulties, it felt obliged to appeal to its fellow Members to ensure that problem a high priority in the deliberations of the Assembly. It was imperative that the Assembly should be rendered as effective as possible; its task and its prestige demanded that. It was essential, however, to guard against the development of any procedure or tendency which militated against effective operation. The shortcomings of the Assembly were nothing to do with the machinery of the United Nations; the real causes of those shortcomings were generally recognized and no good purpose would be served by recapitulating them.

123. In spite of the fundamental differences which threatened its very existence, in spite of the almost insuperable difficulties under which it had laboured, the United Nations had achieved a great deal. It was customary when enumerating its positive achievements to point to the work of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies. Their progress had been encouraging. It must also be granted, however, that the United Nations had achieved a measure of success in the political field which the emphasis on its failures had tended to obscure. In Palestine the tide of war had receded, in Kashmir a cease-fire had been negotiated, and in other parts of the world crises had been averted. For the first time since the end of the war, the international scene was less ominous and credit must be given to the United Nations for its contribution to that state of affairs. The Organization filled an essential place in international affairs. It was generally realized that a world in which each nation would seek to exist in solitary sovereign independence must inevitably relapse into chaos and war unless there were a common meeting place where mutual problems could be considered and differences settled.

124. At the same time, it was essential for the United Nations to recognize its limitations. Without in the least minimizing the great achievements of the United Nations, it had to be admitted that it could not be omniscient, and that, wide as might be the sphere of its endeavours, comprising as it did the many fields of human effort, including the effort for the preservation of peace, there were yet matters on which it could not pronounce. The United Nations was not a world government. It could not, by its constitution, by the circumstances of its origin and by the very nature of its proper function, be a world government. Once that fact was recognized, the true significance of international action taken independently of the United Nations became clear and understandable. The North Atlantic Treaty, the Council of Europe, even action such as the discussions between Mr. Bevin and Count Sforza on the former Italian colonies, which had taken place at the beginning of the year, did not constitute defiance of the United Nations, nor did they usurp its high function. In the perspective of history it would be recognized that those actions had been taken to supplement the task of the United Nations in preserving peace and fostering international collaboration. It was no derogation from the function of the United Nations that such agreements and organizations had become necessary. All they amounted to was a recognition of the limits of the capacity of the Organization and a sincere attempt to supplement its action or to assist in its heavy task. As such, the success of some of those steps could not be questioned. They had contributed substantially to the maintenance of world peace and to the furtherance of international collaboration.

125. Unhappily those efforts had in some cases been subjected to destructive criticism. Those who viewed the North Atlantic Treaty or the Council of Europe with suspicion, instead of regarding them as means towards the same objectives which animated the Assembly, namely, the attainment of world peace, had sought by every possible means to discredit such sincere endeavours.

126. A similar technique was being employed in regard to the continent of Africa. In that vast area of the earth's surface, peopled by upwards of 150 million human beings, some still in early stages of development, scourged in many cases by every form of disease, threatened by droughts and soil erosion, in short, the biggest field for human endeavour, efforts were being made to develop its immense under-developed areas, to raise the standards of living of its peoples, to save the continent for those who inhabited it. For there must be no doubt as to the importance of the orderly and peaceful development of Africa. In the conflict between democratic civilization and opposing forces, Africa occupied a central position. The very conditions which called for urgent concerted action in Africa, by their very nature provided a fertile field for the doctrinaire and the demagogue. Nowhere in the world had the alleged exploitation of indigenous races been more widely publicized than in Africa. Nowhere had there been more sustained and widespread efforts to sabotage the great work of reclamation of land and human beings which for a century had been carried out by the Powers with responsibilities in that continent. Those who had had experience of Africa recognized the facts. They

knew that development of Africa implied great effort and immense individual sacrifice.

127. The representatives of the United Kingdom, of France, of Belgium, of Egypt, of Ethiopia and of Liberia would bear witness to those statements, for their countries had all participated fully in that gigantic task. Mr. Jooste felt that a tribute must also be paid to the work of Portugal, which was a good neighbour of his country in Africa. Those were the nations which knew Africa, which had made the greatest constructive efforts to lift parts of Africa out of primeval darkness. Those were the nations which by their long experience and their record in Africa were the best equipped to deal with its unique problems.

128. Their record was an impressive one. Great strides had been made in the scientific and technical fields. For many years the Powers in Africa had collaborated with success to combat human and animal disease, to increase the fertility of the soil, to develop agricultural production and to raise the standard of living of the peoples of the continent. It was they too which had put an end to intensive tribal strife and brought peace and order to the continent.

129. An indication of what had been done and what was envisaged was provided by the series of conferences on African technical collaboration which had been promoted during the previous few years by the Powers with African responsibilities. Notable in that series was the Regional Scientific Conference which was due to begin at Johannesburg in October 1949. That conference had for its main object the co-ordination of scientific research in Africa, and the pooling for that purpose of scientific data, resources and man-power. The Union of South Africa had invited representatives from the States directly concerned with those common problems, as well as representatives from the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO and the National Research Council of America. That was a genuine attempt by the nations most directly concerned to build constructively for the future of that part of the African continent.

130. Unhappily the motives of the nations directly concerned with African problems had been subjected to a constant stream of destructive criticism by certain Powers which had little or no knowledge of the problems involved, and whose main preoccupation often appeared to be to sow seeds of discord from which they hoped to reap ideological fruits. There were, of course, criticisms which fell into a different category, criticisms which were well meant and made in all sincerity. But how often did those criticisms show evidence of a constructive approach? How often did they indicate the ways and means of attaining objectives which all were agreed were desirable? To promote educational and social progress, to raise standards of living, required heavy capital expenditure. Even Europe itself, with its age-old civilization, required a great deal of outside aid to maintain its standard of life.

131. How much greater, therefore, was the problem of raising the standards of Africa. Yet what a tribute it was to the nations of western Europe that, despite the economic privations of the post-war years, they had devoted so much of their depleted resources to the promotion of

social progress in their African territories. That had been a sacrifice on their part which had received little recognition. Indeed they had often received abuse rather than credit. Only those who knew Africa could appreciate how much they had achieved and how much they were achieving.

132. There was, however, another and even more important aspect of the problem. Few of the critics could have any conception of the immense and complex difficulties involved in the rapid—sometimes too rapid—adjustment of some of the African peoples to the strains and stresses of modern civilization.

133. The industrialization of western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had brought with it social problems of almost overpowering magnitude. Those problems had been solved, but they had been solved on the basis of the knowledge and experience of centuries of civilization.

134. The same pattern was being repeated in many parts of Africa, but among peoples of whom some had emerged from barbarism only during the preceding few decades, and among whom ritual murders, witchcraft and juju societies were still unhappily prevalent. The problem was therefore much vaster. Was it not infinitely wiser to entrust its solution to those who had the background of western civilization and who combined with that knowledge practical experience of African conditions and of African psychology? Above all, was it not wiser to recognize that those who had the practical experience should also have the immediate responsibility and that the ultimate responsibility should be left to them? They welcomed constructive advice and criticism, but the final decision must lie with them until such time as their wards attained a comparable level of responsibility. For should they fail, should things go wrong through the acceptance of well-meant but ill-judged criticism, there would be no one else to take up their burden. The United Nations could not do so. It was not equipped for the task. It had neither the man-power nor the resources. And should they fail—as a result not of their own weaknesses but of ill-informed external pressure and interference—what Power, what ideology was likely to step into their place? That thought merited very earnest reflection.

135. In conclusion, Mr. Jooste wished to refer to the address delivered by the representative of India (222nd meeting), whose remarks concerning the proposed round-table conference between South Africa, India and Pakistan in connexion with the Indians in South Africa, while couched in restrained terms, had contained an implied criticism of the part played by the Government of the Union of South Africa in the preliminary discussions, a criticism which his delegation felt was not justified by the facts of the case. His Government had therefore requested him to express its astonishment that it should have been found necessary at all to give public expression to views and criticism of the Government of the Union of South Africa in a matter which should be considered as *sub judice* between the Governments concerned. Such utterances were not calculated to create the most favourable atmosphere for the anticipated discussions. His delegation considered that it would be unfortunate if any further discussion should take place which might prejudice the settlement of the issue.

136. The leader of the Indian delegation had also referred to the question of South West Africa. That matter appeared on the agenda, and the delegation of the Union of South Africa would therefore refrain from dealing with it until the item was discussed.

Report of the Credentials Committee

137. Mr. BRAÑA (Cuba), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, presented the following report of the Credentials Committee:

"The Committee was composed of the representatives of Belgium, Brazil, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Iran, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and Uruguay.

"The Committee examined the documents from the Member States which were submitted to it by the Secretariat. It found that the credentials for the representatives of the Governments of the following forty-three Member States completely satisfied the requirements of rule 23 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Sweden, Thai-

land, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

"The following Member States have transmitted provisional credentials for all or some of their representatives: Afghanistan, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Israel, Lebanon, Paraguay, Philippines, Syria, Turkey and Venezuela.

"The following Member States have not presented any credentials: Bolivia, Guatemala, Poland, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Their delegations have advised us that these documents have been dispatched.

"The Committee will, in due course, examine the final credentials of the representatives of the States named above who have presented provisional credentials and of those whose credentials have not yet arrived. In the meantime, the Committee proposes that these representatives should be seated provisionally in the General Assembly, with the same rights as the other representatives."

138. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) drew attention to the fact that his Government had presented provisional credentials. The report would therefore need to be corrected as far as Guatemala was concerned.

The report of the Credentials Committee was approved.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Saturday, 24 September 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

General debate (*continued*): speeches by Mr. Wierblowski (Poland) Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile), Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan), Mr. Aklilou (Ethiopia), Mr. Kiselev (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

1. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) said that in taking part in the discussion of the Secretary-General's annual report¹, he would dwell first of all on the statement that, during the year which had just elapsed, the fear of war had decreased.

2. Ten years had gone by since the outbreak of the war, and more than four years since its end and the victory of the democratic forces over fascism. Yet after six years of suffering and bloody warfare, after four years hard work to rebuild what the war had destroyed, the fact that the fear of war had decreased was regarded as an achievement.

3. No doubt such a statement could be made and it was certainly justified. Nevertheless, it was an admission of the tragic fact that in 1949, as in 1939, the peoples were living in the fear of a new war, in the fear that death might once again threaten millions of human beings and that massacres and the barbaric destruction of the material

and cultural wealth of mankind might once again take place.

4. Mr. Wierblowski represented a nation which had just celebrated, on the preceding 1 September, a tragic anniversary. Ten years before, his country had been bombed without mercy and mangled beneath the tracks of Hitler's tanks. The criminal attack against Poland had marked the formal beginning of the Second World War. He said "formal", because in fact the world war had started well before that.

5. Hitlerism, fascism and Japanese militarism had gained new territory and new positions long before September 1939. At the same time, they had obtained increasing support from the Governments then in power in Great Britain and France. The German attack on Poland had been the climax of the criminal and treacherous policy of Munich.

6. It was not without significance that, as early as November 1937, Lord Halifax, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had informed Hitler that the members of the British Government were fully aware of the fact that not only had the Fuehrer achieved a great deal inside Germany, but that Germany could rightly be regarded as the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism.

7. On the eve of the total war for world conquest, hitlerism had been regarded as a bulwark

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1.