

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## FIFTH SESSION

### Official Records



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### General debate (*continued*)

#### [Agenda item 9]

SPEECHES BY MR. ANZE MATIENZO (BOLIVIA), MR. SARPER (TURKEY), MR. BEVIN (UNITED KINGDOM), GENERAL RÓMULO (PHILIPPINES), MR. CASTRO (EL SALVADOR) AND SIR MOHAMMAD ZAFRULLA KHAN (PAKISTAN)

1. Mr. ANZE MATIENZO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): My Government has done me the honour to instruct me to define my country's position in relation to the grave problems which concern the world and the United Nations at a moment when there has been a breach of the peace in Asia and when all peoples are looking towards us in the hope that the Organization will maintain the peace and security which it pledged itself to safeguard in San Francisco.

2. The fact that representatives of the great Powers and those of the small countries take their turn to speak from this platform without distinction of rank strikingly reflects the democratic spirit of the United Nations and also offers tangible proof of the indivisibility and universality of peace, for peace is a matter which equally concerns all of us, regardless of the size of our country, its geographical position and ethnic composition.

3. On this solemn occasion, it is my duty to reassert my Government's faith in the principles of the Charter and to analyse the causes which, among others, interfere with the machinery of the United Nations. At the same time, I shall outline our view on these problems, it being understood that we shall exercise absolute independence of judgment in voting. I realize, of course, that we shall exert not so much a material as a moral influence on the events which, by affecting the rest of the world, also affect Bolivia directly or indirectly.

4. Before dealing with the items on our agenda, I should like to say that my Government appreciates the Secretary-General's efforts to create an atmosphere of confidence and harmony within the United Nations. It recognizes the importance of his report<sup>1</sup> which, while it records the deadlock reached on specific problems, also indicates positive accomplishments. Thus the balance is still on the credit side and the hopes of my country are still nurtured by that favorable balance.

5. At this vital stage in the life of the United Nations, I should like to point out certain inconsistencies which, in my view, exist in the Charter notwithstanding the admirable spirit, intelligent structure and wide scope of that remarkable document. This analysis is based on the belief that these inconsistencies, among other reasons, help to impede the progress of negotiations which are hampered by the ideological and political division of the world. Not that the world has no right to be divided politically and ideologically, but because the pugnacity of one part of it threatens the independence and security of the other.

6. The first inconsistency arises from the fact that, while the Preamble of the Charter affirms the principle of the equal rights of nations, Article 27 of the operative part establishes a voting system for the Security Council which disregards the principle of equality set forth in the Preamble and makes power the determining factor in the United Nations.

7. The second inconsistency which troubles me is that whereas the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is enshrined in all the Articles and Chapters of the Charter, that principle, whose observance must be ensured by each State, conflicts with the provisions of paragraph 7 of Article 2, which de-

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

finer domestic jurisdiction. That is a barrier which blocks our efforts to guarantee universal rights which are the basis of democracy and the vital prerequisite for the maintenance of peace and security.

8. Finally, there is another inconsistency, which does not derive from the letter of the Charter but from the facts. I refer to Chapter XII, concerning the International Trusteeship System, whose purpose is to promote peace and to ensure the economic, political and social advancement of the Trust Territories by the grant of all the freedoms, rights and guarantees likely to lead to their independence. The Latin-American countries, which have developed from the status of colonies to that of free States, are following with keen interest the progress of those territories towards liberation, but we must be careful not to fall into the trap which almost always exists when an attempt is made to speed up the process of emancipation without a careful analysis of the circumstances which qualify a territory for self-government but with political ends in view, the aim being that these populations, dazzled by freedom and an easy prey to communism, should fall under a totalitarian regime which would lead them into a form of slavery much more degrading than trusteeship, which is merely a passing phase in their progress toward independence. This is a situation in which we have to move with prudence and caution.

9. On Friday last I read an editorial in the *New York Times*, which publishes in its distinguished columns such excellent comments on the problems which concern the United Nations and the world. This editorial, which dealt with "expansionism" in Asia, contained an impressive list of the achievements of the so-called imperialist nations in Asia and of the territorial annexations of the Soviet Union. The conclusion is that the United Kingdom, France, the United States and the Netherlands have done a great deal for the advancement and freedom of the countries of Asia. By contrast, the USSR, which is always talking about colonialism, has virtually annexed Mongolia, has annexed Tannu Tuva outright, as well as the south of Sakhalin, and has taken over complete control of the Kuril islands; it dominates western Manchuria, controls Dairen and Port Arthur and exercises economic control over Sinkiang, or Chinese Turkestan, as well as North Korea, which it has now catapulted into a war.

10. I think it would be sound procedure to use these three points of reference for the purpose of defining my Government's policy and indicating its attitude to contemporary problems.

11. We, the small nations, resigned ourselves to accepting the principle of unanimity in San Francisco because we recognized that even in the most genuine manifestations of equality of rights among States, the facts were bound to weigh heavily, for clearly principles and declarations cannot remove the real fact of the existence of the great Powers. All that could be done was to give them certain privileges in return for the burdens and responsibilities which they were to assume and to trust that they would be magnanimous, that they would fulfil their obligations and be able to lead the way to world unity, and thereby to human greatness. Accordingly, as Mr. Belaúnde of Peru explained so eloquently [279th meeting], the veto was granted, so that the great Powers might be in a position to achieve

unanimity and so bring about political harmony in the world. Even if we had some foreboding, we could not believe that in San Francisco we were forging the very chains which were to fetter our movements in the name of power and in terms of power.

12. Unfortunately, that is what we have come to in our five-year experience. The process of paralysis is so severe that the manipulator of the powerful magic spring had to be absent from the Security Council so that the mechanism could be set in motion to cope with the aggression against South Korea.

13. I agree with the representative of Brazil, Mr. Freitas Valle [279th meeting], that the system of the Charter is based on a division of functions, the Security Council exercising the executive powers while the General Assembly is the deliberative organ which can make recommendations. But I wonder what we can do about the persistent abuse of the veto by a permanent member of the Security Council which prevents that organ from fulfilling its functions. The only course open to us is the one pointed out by Mr. van Zeeland, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, whose moving speech we applauded on Saturday [281st meeting]. The course he recommends is to seek out all the measures and means offered by the Charter, scrutinizing and analysing its wisely worded text to find procedures which open the way to pacific action within the system of collective security.

14. That is the object of the first point in the proposal of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson [279th meeting], whose firm resolve and nobility of thought are worthy of that great democracy, the United States, and in keeping with his responsibilities. I firmly believe that the four-point proposal which he has presented is the most important and most constructive initiative taken since San Francisco, because it tends to adjust the gears so that the machine which has been slowed down can proceed, and removes the disheartening impression that we have a broken-down machine in our hands.

15. My delegation will support the United States proposal and for the same reasons will support the Chilean proposal [A/1343], which on this point is identical and hence can be amalgamated with the United States proposal. I wish to emphasize that these proposals do not seek to weaken the Security Council which all of us respect, particularly after its prompt decisions in June; but we also do not wish the Security Council to become a giant that is bound hand and foot. It would not be necessary to carry out the new measures proposed by the United States and Chile if the Council worked and fulfilled its functions, and if no excessive use of the veto were made. We understand the use of the veto in moderation, but we condemn its abuse.

16. I have said that another of the inconsistencies in the Charter is related to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, so that by virtue of Article 2, paragraph 7, the concern for that principle which is shown throughout the Charter becomes a mere aspiration and at best has a persuasive effect. When we read those paragraphs of the Charter and realize what I have just said, we are reminded of the priest who from his pulpit threatens and exhorts the already repentant sinner kneeling in the temple, while the priest's admoni-

tions fail to reach the cynical and disdainful heretic passing the gates of the sacred precincts.

17. Nevertheless it would be unjust not to recognize that we have made great progress in the past two years. My country has the honour of having contributed to that progress by bringing the question of Cardinal Mindszenty to the attention of the third session of the General Assembly. I recall that with only the support of my firm convictions I pleaded for the inclusion of the item in the agenda from this very rostrum before a somewhat fearful and sceptical Assembly.<sup>2</sup> The item was included. At the fourth session of the General Assembly discussion was easier and more convincing; the world had in that short interval become accustomed to accepting collective action in defence of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the Assembly had turned its eyes to the common man, realizing that the individual was the nucleus of society and that society was the substance of the State.

18. At this present session, the leader of the Chilean delegation, Mr. Santa Cruz, has proposed that we should take another step forward, and we shall resolutely follow our good neighbour along the path which its delegation has indicated with that generous spirit which inspires its exemplary democracy. For the same reasons we shall follow Chile in its initiative in economic questions, being convinced that the step proposed to us to give effect to the Assembly's recommendations will, if approved, represent a great advance.

19. I should like to comment on the other points of Mr. Acheson's proposal, beginning with the establishment of a security force, a peace patrol. My Government not only supports the creation of this body of observers but also, as a country which has never transgressed or uttered threats, will feel strengthened and more confident because this new collective security force will be a concrete guarantee of peace.

20. Further, my country will support the United States proposal that each Member State should designate a unit from its national armed forces, and we welcome it not only as a technical means of promoting the training and unification of the command, but as an admirable method of forming an international awareness in every citizen of every country. When he sees the flag of the United Nations side by side with his national flag waving in the calm breeze of international peace at the head of the armies which symbolize and seek to defend sovereignty, it will be brought home to every citizen that, without ceasing to be a citizen of his own country, he is a citizen of the world, and at the same time he will feel that the world is open to all.

21. The fourth point of Mr. Acheson's proposal is judicious and necessary and my delegation will support it, having been convinced by the experience of the improvised action against the surprise aggression on the Republic of Korea.

22. The question of the *de facto* recognition of governments has been and remains a very controversial topic in the regional group of Latin-American States. Some believe in the effectiveness of collective action in preserving democracy and uphold the principle that

governments must be based on the express will of the people; others believe that the right of peoples to govern themselves as they wish or as they can should remain untouched and free from outside supervision. I do not intend here to go into this controversial subject which has been exhaustively discussed; it would, however, be impossible for me not to refer to a new phenomenon: the effective, dangerous and widespread strategy of fomenting internal revolutions as a tactical means of achieving the transformation of the world, a new phenomenon which concerns each and every one of us and deserves to be discussed with the help of documentary evidence and in the light of the facts. This is not the right time to make that study and I shall refer merely to the merits of the case.

23. Facts show that the Soviet Union annexed the Baltic States some ten years ago by diplomatic devices. The facts also show that twice it laid hands on Poland and there are some here who could tell us something of what happened in Rumania in 1945. The Security Council and the world know what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and all free peoples here have a feeling of solidarity with the heroic Greek nation which has set a fine example in defending its internal and external sovereignty. The events in Korea have been impressed upon our minds by the words of Mr. Austin, whose eloquence and above all whose integrity and goodwill we respect and admire, and who produced evidence in the Security Council to show that the forces of aggression against the Republic of Korea are trained in Manchuria and armed by Moscow. In the meantime we have heard the voice of Peiping loudly spreading the incredible falsehood that the United States and the United Nations are the aggressors in Korea. Nor can we think without alarm of what is happening in Indo-China, the Philippines, Burma and elsewhere.

24. But there is even more. Wherever we look we see evidence of underground activity and the disguised intervention of the person who hides the hand that throws the stone. Thus the stability of democratic governments is constantly threatened and our families, that is, our peoples, who used to be friendly and happy, are now being divided by hates and antagonisms and our governments are forced to use their modest resources to fill their arsenals and reinforce their police instead of filling their granaries with wheat and their storehouses with meat; they must buy guns instead of ploughs and must watch the battle fronts instead of working for the general well-being.

25. Thus the message of hope which President Roosevelt, with his magnanimous smile, addressed to the world, telling us that the world would live in freedom from fear, is already a distant echo.

26. Something must be done to combat this phenomenon, which is destroying us from within. Something must be done to prevent the occurrence of what is happening in my country, where the Government, like the United Nations, is carrying on an armed struggle to save democracy and its institutions on the home front and, with the technical assistance of the United Nations, is striving to work its natural resources in the interests of raising the standard of living, of improving the social conditions and the welfare of the people of Bolivia.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part II, Plenary Meetings*, 189th and 190th meetings.

27. The first idea which occurs to me is that, just as in earlier times, when their domestic jurisdiction was respected, the sovereign States signed pacts of non-aggression, in order, for example, to guarantee peace, it might now be necessary for us to begin considering the preparation of a new multilateral instrument to combat the new political phenomenon, an instrument which would take the form of a universal pact of non-intervention based on the provision in international law which permits collective action to prevent intervention; such collective action would be entrusted to the United Nations, so that President Truman's doctrine might be further strengthened.

28. We cannot fail to point out, moreover, the way in which, in the troubled world of today, the Soviet Union is exalting the principle of absolute sovereignty, exploiting that principle which is so deeply rooted in the hearts of all peoples. And while that country attacks the freedom of other nations wherever it can, it rashly attempts, in the name of absolute sovereignty, to undermine the economic aid which the United States is giving Europe for its reconstruction and also, through its generous contribution under the Marshall Plan, in an effort to raise standards of living and improve social conditions for all mankind.

29. For this purpose, the USSR is furthering a cold war in order to force the nations to divert their newly developed resources to rearmament. I have often thought with bitterness and sorrow of the bread of which the hungry in the old world have been deprived and of the tremendous expense entailed by the highly spectacular and co-ordinated effort deployed by the United States and the United Kingdom, with all their mechanical resources, in feeding and supplying the population of Berlin by air for so long a time.

30. Fortunately, the democratic world has sufficient resources to arm itself in order to preserve peace while at the same time contributing to the advancement of under-developed countries, which likewise constitutes a guarantee of peace through the promotion of human well-being, for the honour of our civilization.

31. For that reason, we of the smaller countries are not discouraged. We have faith in the expanded programme of technical assistance of the United Nations, and in "point four" of President Truman's programme. We have faith also in the work of the Department of Economic Affairs and the Department of Social Affairs of the Secretariat, and in the constructive work of the specialized agencies. This feeling of confidence is deeply rooted in our hearts, in spite of the fact that the USSR does not contribute to or support this work.

32. This is the proper moment to say that my country's experience in this direction has been full, serious and constructive. That experience includes certain significant points to which I should like to draw attention. First, the Technical Assistance Mission which went to Bolivia in April of this year was composed of fourteen distinguished experts from eleven of the highly developed countries of the world. It was headed by the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources of Canada, Mr. Keenleyside, who went to Bolivia in response to a request by the Secretary-General to the Government of Canada; Mr. Saint-Laurent, in a generous spirit of international understanding, agreed to give his col-

league temporary leave of absence to enable him to serve the United Nations in Bolivia. Was not this an exemplary and heartening action?

33. The Mission arrived in my country, where it was received with lively interest by my Government, although, it must be admitted, it met with indifference and scepticism on the part of the public. Nevertheless, it went about its task with such skill and devotion that little by little it penetrated the national consciousness and awakened the interest of the people throughout the country; requests were received by the Government from many different regions, asking that the Mission should visit each of these regions in order to study actual conditions, diagnose the ills, and prescribe the remedy. In this way the United Nations penetrated into the very heart of Bolivia, and I am certain that even were a future government of Bolivia to oppose the recommendations of the Mission, it would be forced to carry them out owing to pressure of public opinion. Meanwhile, Mr. Keenleyside, a distinguished Canadian statesman, had become also a distinguished servant of the peoples of the world, since as a result of his experience in Bolivia the Secretary-General appointed him Director-General of the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations, an appointment that carries the guarantee of the constructive development of the programme.

34. I wish to extend my thanks from this rostrum to Canada and to all the other countries which have sent such distinguished experts to a less highly developed country, experts who have returned captivated by our vigorous land and our good-hearted and long-suffering people.

35. I wish also to express my thanks to the Secretary-General and to stress the fact that the workers who constitute the technical divisions of the Secretariat are imbued with an idealistic fervour; they represent a type of worker whose time and energy are at the service of the entire world and who will form the vanguard of future progress. Our gratitude extends also to the specialized agencies, which generously and with determination have brought practical aid to Bolivia.

36. I should like to suggest that in each of the highly developed countries a roll of honour should be established, on which would be recorded the names of the most competent experts in each country, in order that as a reward for their achievement these experts might be named as workers in the service of world economic and social progress. In this way, while at the same time, in accordance with the plan proposed by Mr. Acheson, we are organizing armed forces for the preservation of peace, we may also organize an army of civilian experts to defend peace by promoting the well-being and progress of the peoples of the world.

37. Thus it can be seen that, in spite of the cold war, the United Nations and the democratic countries are still undertaking positive and constructive action. It can be seen that despite the "cold war", which is forcing the western democracies to devote the greater part of their resources to the armaments race, a race which they did not desire since they have no aggressive designs and are guided only by considerations of legitimate defence, those democracies believe it their duty to ensure peace through a policy of balance of power. It can be



seen that they are nevertheless concerning themselves with assisting the unfortunate.

38. The action of the United Nations has awakened a new faith in the people of my country, a faith comparable to the hope aroused by "point four" of President Truman's programme. All this leads us to believe that it is not necessary to throw the world into upheaval or to instigate fratricidal wars in order to exploit the natural resources of the world, to place them at the service of humanity, to raise the standards of living of the peoples of the world and to enhance their dignity as societies; rather, it is possible for society to evolve peacefully, without the need of communism, towards a new social ideal which is based on justice.

39. And this faith is strengthened, in spite of the insidious campaign based on the old catchphrase about Yankee imperialism and the greed of Wall Street, ideas which disturbed us in our youth, twenty years ago, but which became ghosts of the past on the day that President Roosevelt inaugurated the good neighbour policy. Today, thank God, the bogey of Yankee imperialism produces no other reaction in us than would the strident and dissonant sounds of an old clarion which once upon a time roused our energies but now merely irritates us.

40. We should ask ourselves what the Soviet Union is doing meanwhile. Is it contributing in any way to this civil mobilization for world welfare? In my opinion, it is doing the opposite; it is trying to sow distrust and dismay, because it knows that anarchy feeds on hunger. And its conduct calls forth such mistrust in us that in spite of what we have been told here in this very Assembly—that the USSR has reached such a high level of industrial development that atomic energy is used there to remove mountains<sup>3</sup>—we do not dare to apply for the services of its technicians, for we are afraid that in our countries they would leave the mountains where they are and remove the governments. For the same reasons, we cannot trust the sincerity of the draft resolution [A/1376] presented by Mr. Vyshinsky, which repeats the same themes on which he based his propaganda in 1947 at Lake Success, in 1948 in Paris and in 1949 again at Lake Success. And as hope has its roots in faith, my delegation takes a sceptical view of that draft resolution and the way in which it is worded.

41. Lastly, my country reiterates its support of the measures taken by the Security Council with regard to the invasion of the Republic of Korea, rendering heartfelt tribute to those who have died on the battlefield and expressing its admiration for those who are fighting there for peace and dignity. My Government is deeply grateful to those heroes who, in the war they wage, are the soldiers of peace, under their leader General MacArthur, symbol of the greatness of the United States, a country which lends dignity to our civilization and the genius of which is shaping the progress of the world.

42. Mr. SARPÉR (Turkey): The era inaugurated by the creation of the United Nations has been one of critical tension in international relations. The atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity in which our Organization has had to thrive has put the United Nations to a continual test, which has become more arduous

with every passing year. That is why, at the opening of each session of the General Assembly, we should take a sincere account of ourselves, examine our conscience, and try to establish, with as much precision as possible, whether, and to what extent, the United Nations has been effective and successful in solving the problems entrusted to it. We must at the same time look forward with courage and determine in good faith the course to be followed.

43. At the beginning of the fifth session of the General Assembly we are faced with the most crucial test we have yet gone through. Yet at this moment of grave concern for the peace of the world, some rays of hope and encouragement are also visible. Important steps have been taken for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. Indeed, the progress achieved by the United Nations in dealing with the problem of the economic and social development of economically under-developed countries deserves particular mention. Specifically, the fund which was set up as a result of the conference which met in June last for the first period of eighteen months for the expanded programme of technical assistance for the economic development of under-developed countries, is a promising beginning. Such programmes of technical assistance on a larger scale for several consecutive periods will, we hope, follow.

44. Although my delegation is convinced that it would be essential to explore the field further without waiting for the results to be obtained from these programmes and to try to find more concrete ways of assistance to nations, such as private and public investment in economically under-developed countries simultaneously with technical assistance, we must still mention the results obtained by the Economic and Social Council this year as progress in this direction. In our opinion, although this is a satisfactory beginning, great efforts are still needed in this field, and when the question of the economic development of under-developed countries is taken up in committee, we hope to be able to make detailed observations and comments on this extremely important subject.

45. Along with the creation of conditions essential for strengthening peace, we must survey the activities and potentialities of the United Nations from the point of view of the steps to be taken in cases of threats to the peace and breaches of the peace. In this direction we observe that the spirit of the United Nations has, during the course of this year, manifested itself as a reality. Its existence can no longer be doubted, nor can its disappearance be feared. It has already become part of the dignity of civilized humanity, to have and to hold and to be proud of. This spirit must be made the perpetual guiding spirit of the United Nations.

46. But the mechanism required for the most effective manifestation of this spirit in actual practice, for the maintenance of world peace within the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, still leaves much to be desired. For, unfortunately, this mechanism has either not been set up at all, or the skeleton machinery which has been set up in certain cases does not function properly.

47. To illustrate these observations I shall mention the situation in Korea, which is a most striking example.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, 33rd meeting.*

Aggressive elements in Korea have, by an actual breach of the peace, threatened the peace and security of the world, and challenged not only the decisions and actions of this august Assembly, but also the very principles of our Charter. In the face of this challenge, the high sense of responsibility and solidarity demonstrated to the world by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations was an expression of the high responsibility of the United Nations, and a living proof of the reality of a fundamental principle of this Organization, that is, that the peace and security of the world is one and indivisible and that all should join hands in co-operation and devotion in order to safeguard this sacred treasure. The action taken in Korea clearly showed that this principle was not only a theory destined to remain in the pages of the Charter, but the expression of a living spirit.

48. My country, Turkey, although thousands of miles away from Korea, and although it had had to strive for years, under considerable economic strain, to maintain the forces necessary for its own defence and existence, has shown a typical example of this moral sense of responsibility of the spirit of the United Nations, in participating in the common effort by making available to the United Nations a combat force of 4,500 men.

49. The collective action taken in Korea, the supreme manifestation of international solidarity, seen for the first time in the history of mankind, was not the result of sporadic enthusiasm but an indication of the maturity of the consciousness of civilized nations.

50. This is the spirit of the United Nations. Let us now look at the organization and mechanism provided in the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security. Let us consider how far this mechanism is able to respond to the spirit of the United Nations.

51. We must admit frankly that the present mechanism is as yet far from satisfactory. We have, unfortunately, not yet been able to create the necessary mechanism to meet our requirements and to give the desirable prompt and effective expression to the spirit of the United Nations, and to convert it into action in the material and practical field.

52. The complete mechanism provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter has not yet been set up. The veto—to which the Turkish delegation as far back as the San Francisco Conference had registered its objection—has been made a tool of obstruction.

53. We have said before, and I shall repeat it now, that in dealing with matters of vital importance to the world, we consider it improper to take advantage of an expedient—designed to serve otherwise—to nullify the will of the overwhelming majority.

54. The procedure of voting in the Security Council which allows the veto, coupled with obstructionist tactics, has made it impossible to put the provisions of Chapter VII into effect. But even assuming that these provisions had been given effect, it is unfortunately not difficult to foresee that the mechanism to be set up would be doomed to inaction and paralysis, again on account of the veto.

55. The historic resolutions of the Security Council of 25 and 27 June,<sup>4</sup> respectively determining the exis-

tence of a breach of the peace in Korea and providing for United Nations action, are in complete harmony with the letter and spirit of the Charter. As has already been pointed out by several speakers before me, the action which was taken by the Security Council in that instance and which was made possible only through particular circumstances, has provided a most striking example of how the Security Council could function if the veto were to be eliminated.

56. But the elimination of the veto is possible only through a modification of the Charter, and it has become clear that any attempt in this direction would be doomed to failure in the present circumstances. On the other hand, world events are pressing and leave no further room for delay. The setting up of a mechanism of security, able to function effectively and promptly, is imperative and the occasion urgent.

57. In Korea, in the face of a premeditated action by the aggressor, the United Nations had to improvise measures to safeguard the peace and security of the world and, consequently, was at a disadvantage. That is why the sanctions taken in Korea, in spite of the brilliant direction and leadership, did not produce results with the expected rapidity. Today it is gratifying to note that the situation in Korea is developing favourably for the United Nations, and I pay tribute to the heroic men who have achieved that.

58. But we may be faced with a new act of aggression in some other part of the world; the United Nations may have to renew its action to safeguard peace by repelling another armed attack. In such an eventuality, which we pray will never confront us, the time lost at the beginning may be disastrous for the United Nations and mankind. We may not be able to afford improvisation a second time.

59. It is therefore incumbent upon the General Assembly to consider means which will enable the United Nations to meet such situations and to perform its task as guardian of the peace of the world.

60. The United States Secretary of State, on 20 September [279th meeting], outlined from this rostrum a four-point plan designed to "increase the effectiveness of the United Nations action against aggression".

61. Changing the order of these four points, and emphasizing particularly the means of implementation to be considered if this plan is to be put into effect, I should like to dwell on the third point first. I was very much pleased to note that the representative of Bolivia, who spoke a few minutes ago, stressed the same point. I do not think we can consider that as a mere coincidence. It is an indication of the prevailing opinion in the General Assembly.

62. In our view, the third point of the programme should be considered first, for that is the point to which all the others lead. The means to be determined under the fourth point, the observation to be carried out under the second and, finally, an emergency session of the General Assembly under the first, would all lead to eventual action, and action can be taken only by the forces to be provided under the third point. In our opinion, that is the key point of the whole programme.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council*, fifth year, Nos. 15 and 16.

63. The truth is that none of the countries in the world today, including the most powerful among them, is in a position all alone to take adequate and sufficient effective measures to safeguard the peace of the world. That is why an international police force to suppress aggression is one of the essentials for the peace and security of the world. The first, second and fourth points of the programme outlined by Mr. Acheson are also parts of a mechanism of security. It would be necessary to consider whether a threat might lead to a breach of the peace or to an act of aggression, to determine if such a situation actually exists, to take appropriate steps in order to prevent it and, eventually, to decide to put into action the international police force proposed in the third point.

64. It is in view of these considerations that my delegation will wholeheartedly support, in its main lines, the programme outlined here a few days ago by the United States Secretary of State. We believe that this proposal could be the basis for a mechanism which would help the United Nations to take immediate and effective action if and when it is faced by a new act of aggression.

65. The overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations have actually brought forth irrefutable evidence, in the attitude they have taken on the question of Korea, that they have achieved a remarkable maturity in their sense of responsibility in matters connected with safeguarding the peace. On the other hand, the Charter already embodies the provisions required to translate this will of the majority into action. But we are being deprived of the benefits of the Charter through the abuse and exploitation of some procedural possibilities which are equally open under the Charter. Our Organization is thus being paralysed in this respect. But possibilities for preventing this paralysis also are open to us under the Charter. We have only to act, to act with courage, to act now. World events make it incumbent upon this session of the General Assembly to take this decision.

66. If at the close of this fifth session we leave the Assembly hall without having set up an effective and smoothly running mechanism for the preservation of world peace, we shall have been false to the ideal of the United Nations and failed to promote the cause of universal peace. For it is highly disturbing for us to note — and gratifying, on the other hand — that world public opinion is far ahead of us, and the peoples of the United Nations now expect positive achievements of their Organization.

67. Mr. BEVIN (United Kingdom): I do not intend to delay the proceedings of this Assembly very long, but I want to take this opportunity to try to explain to you the approach of my Government to the problems and difficulties that confront the world today.

68. When I made my speech in the General Assembly this time last year,<sup>5</sup> I confess that, like many others, I felt somewhat pessimistic about the future of the United Nations. I wondered whether it had taken root deeply enough in the hearts and minds of the people of the world for the Organization to survive, and whether

it was sturdy enough to weather the inevitable international storms. At the end I came to the conclusion that this great institution, on which is set humanity's chief hope for dealing with the world's problems of war and peace, would recover its original impetus and spirit. That faith has been justified. The last few months have shown with what credif the United Nations has emerged from a period of great trial. It has proved itself capable of doing what many doubted whether it could do; it has displayed the unity and determination required to take prompt and effective action against aggression.

69. Many people were taken by surprise by the recommendations of the Security Council regarding Korea. But our representatives on the Council correctly interpreted the silent feelings of millions of people throughout the world — feelings which prompted a unity in response for which the aggressors had not bargained when shaping their policy. It was clear that they had counted on being able to present the world with a *fait accompli* in Korea and to win a victory for aggression. But they had underestimated the almost immediate and overwhelming reaction of the rest of the world in resentment at their conduct. I have no doubt that this resentment would be felt and expressed just as keenly in the country of those who are responsible for the aggression if their people were as free to learn the facts as we are.

70. Now that this unity in resistance to aggression has been forged, we must not allow the slightest suggestion of paralysis to creep back into this Organization. We have always wished to see it endowed with a great moral authority, and the events of the last few months indicate that, among the peace-loving nations, there is a great respect for law in the conduct of international affairs, as great as in their own internal affairs. I do not think we need have any fear in the future about the response of mankind in resisting aggression. Much as we all hate the idea of war, we realize that if aggression takes place, we must resist it by force. And we must be prepared to face any emergency.

71. We must recognize that in order to deal with this latest example of aggression, the Security Council and the United Nations had to improvise, and that it was fortunate that the centre and pivot of that improvisation was a great nation like the United States. That country had the necessary power to hold the situation until the strength of the United Nations could be mobilized. I am glad that my country was able immediately to contribute substantial naval forces, which have played no mean part in the operations at sea, while United Kingdom land forces are now also in the thick of the fighting.

72. But we must not leave things to chance like that again; if we do, the world would not forgive us. Therefore we must give urgent attention to the plan put forward by Mr. Acheson on behalf of the United States Government for strengthening the United Nations machinery against aggression. I am in full agreement with its objectives and, if adopted, it will ensure that responsibility is shared by all of us, great and small alike. I am sure the United States Government will welcome constructive criticism in discussions of this plan so as to make it widely acceptable and as effective as possible.

73. We shall have before us, at this fifth session of the General Assembly, a number of grave issues which have arisen as a result of developments in the Far East.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 229th meeting.

74. The conflict still rages in Korea, but I am confident that the authority of the United Nations will prevail. However, that is really only the beginning. It is also our duty to look beyond the conflict and to find means whereby peace and unity can be restored in Korea.

75. In our view there must no longer be South Koreans and North Koreans, but just Koreans, who must be encouraged to work together to rebuild their country with the advice and the help and the support of the United Nations. It is difficult in war to see the picture in its proper perspective, but in this General Assembly we have a great opportunity to consult with one another and plan for the days that lie ahead.

76. There has been, as I have already said, an overwhelming response to the call to resist aggression in Korea and to defeat the intentions of those who sought to use force to achieve their ends, but now another test will be applied to our judgment in the settlement of Korea. Public opinion will judge us not only by the right use of our military power, but also by the sincerity and good intentions of every Member of the United Nations in the final settlement of the problem, and by the effectiveness of our actions for the rehabilitation of the country when hostilities have ceased.

77. For more than two centuries the British people were responsible for the administration of vast areas of Asia, and we believe that that long association has given us some insight into the affairs of that great continent. In accordance with the great design which underlies the conception of the Commonwealth, the peoples of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon have now emerged as independent nations, controlling their own destinies and having a vital say in the destinies of Asia and the world.

78. We are proud — and I think I can say for everyone in my country that we are especially proud — that the friendship between the British people and the peoples of these new nations is firm and that we are able to work together with them in the interests of peace and economic development.

79. It is a matter of deep regret to us that Ceylon has not been admitted to the United Nations. Why should any Power try to keep a country like Ceylon from joining this Organization? Ceylon has a great contribution to make to the world, but it is kept out of the United Nations by sheer perversity. This sort of action makes for bad feeling among the nations. I have no doubt that everybody in the General Assembly, or nearly everybody, believes that the use of the veto in the case of Ceylon was a grave injustice. It is somewhat ironical that those who are responsible should claim to be the champions of the emerging peoples of Asia.

80. Here I would recall that in 1948 we tried, in a meeting of the five great Powers, to establish a code of conduct which would ensure that none of us would abuse our power to the detriment of the smaller nations. But it was of no avail. I feel that if only those charged with such heavy responsibility could agree among themselves on a code of conduct which would be tolerant, helpful and conducive to the progress of this great Organization, it would be one of the best ways of establishing confidence in the world.

81. Another problem which we shall have to deal with in this session of the General Assembly and endeavour

to settle is the question of the representation of China. A vote has already been taken on the question [277th meeting], which is now to be studied by a special committee set up by the President, and approved by the General Assembly. I do not want to say anything to prejudice the conclusions of that committee. I wish to make it clear to this Assembly, however, that we do not intend to break our long-established friendship with China. I can assure the Chinese people that we look forward to the day when they will again take their proper place as one of the great Powers. The question of who shall represent them is a matter that can be fought out in this Assembly. Then we shall have forgotten these present difficulties and shall be ready to help China to fulfil her destiny, after so many years of struggle and civil war.

82. We refuse to accept the concept of a world divided into East and West. This planet is too small for that. To us, all peoples of the world are one family, and we are not going to allow a wall to be erected between us if we can help it. We are determined to follow in all our approaches to these problems the conception of the United Nations itself, which is a conception of one world dwelling in peace and contentment.

83. Another problem which is now on the agenda is that of Formosa. I do not believe that this problem is insoluble. I trust that the best constructive minds will be brought to bear on it. It need not be the subject of any bitter debate or ill-feeling. We can settle it together, just as we shall have to settle the Korean problem, and in so doing show the world that we are competent to solve such problems in a manner that will contribute to world peace and justice.

84. There exist other active or potential sources of danger, and particularly in Europe. At any moment situations may arise which would call for action by the United Nations as well as the Powers concerned. It remains to be seen whether the whole problem of Europe can be discussed and settled in a dispassionate way and on its merits.

85. Ever since the war ended in 1945 with the victory of the Allied Powers over Nazi Germany and Japan, we have been struggling to settle Europe. We entered upon discussions with our great Allies and, like the United States and France, we were animated by a spirit of conciliation and by a profound desire to establish peace in that continent and to re-create the work of development and rehabilitation. We soon discovered, when we began discussions on the five peace treaties, that the USSR Government was simultaneously carrying out policies in Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria which seemed to us to be a clear indication of its intention to dominate those countries, to convert them into satellites, to destroy all prospects of free elections, to stage purges and political trials and to get rid of any free political expression. In so doing, the Government of the Soviet Union was disregarding agreements arrived at between the Allied Powers before the war itself terminated.

86. It soon became quite clear to us that nothing would satisfy Soviet policy except peace treaties designed to ensure that the countries of eastern Europe should be under communist régimes which were subservient to the ever expanding authority of Moscow. Looking back, I do not believe that the USSR Govern-



ment ever had any sincere intention of acting in accordance with the spirit of the agreements which had been entered into during the war. Finally, in Czechoslovakia, the same end was achieved by means of a *coup d'état*.

87. We had the same difficulties when we tried to tackle the problem of Germany. For two years my United States and French colleagues and I strove to achieve agreement with the Russians. We enunciated principles which would have established a unified Germany, which was our aim throughout those discussions. And it is as far as my Government is concerned—I can speak with sincerity—still our aim and I believe that of my colleagues as well.

88. But it became clear that the Soviet Union Government did not want a unified Germany which was free to choose its own form of government. We wanted the Germans to choose—just as the rest of us choose—in absolute freedom. And I assert that history will not blame the western Powers for the failure to set up a united Germany as a peaceful and democratic State and bring it back into the comity of nations.

89. Now we are confronted with a divided Germany, on which we look with anxiety lest it may be the scene of another act of aggression like that which took place in Korea.

90. The present organization of eastern Germany, with its powerful militarized police force, justifies very real concern on this score. We must naturally take this into account in the shaping of our policy, and we are accused of being warmongers because we do not ignore it, for here is a threatening situation which, unless care is used, might plunge the world again into conflict. Our attitude is entirely different. We were reluctant to move a single inch towards the creation of any warlike organization, even a purely defensive one. We ran our defences down very low; our expenditure was reduced to a minimum. But we should not have been doing our duty to the world, to this Organization, and to the people, if we had not united our forces and built up our military power to resist any possible threat from the East.

91. We had to meet the terrible decision two years ago of the Soviet Union Government to try to starve Berlin. Why starve a city to get one's way? We had to deal with it by means of the famous air-lift to prevent the starvation of those people. At any moment there might have been incidents which would have caused conflict. Happily, that particular episode for the moment is now over, but the danger has not been removed, and so we have had to make our position clear.

92. If aggression takes place, it cannot be confined to Germany. As I have said, we are eager to see a united Germany, under proper democratic institutions, which would remove this constant menace to the peace of Europe. And we are ready to devote all our energies to the recreation of sound economic conditions in that continent, and also in that country.

93. While striving for a political settlement of Europe, we have at the same time been endeavouring collectively to restore our economies and to repair the terrible devastation of war. I confess that at one moment it looked an almost impossible task.

94. Here I must once again pay my tribute to the United States and to its great soldier-statesman, General

Marshall. In a quiet, simple way his message came to us in his speech of 1947,<sup>6</sup> a message of hope and friendship, and I would remind the Assembly that it was likewise offered to the Soviet Union and its satellites, and to all the countries of Europe alike. Indeed some of those countries were bursting to take part in it, but were prevented. Here was a plan bringing succour and hope to millions of people, but it was immediately turned into a violent political issue, and all sorts of threats were made. But we went forward, and the European peoples who took part are today filled with gratitude for the action of the United States.

95. Subsequent events have belied the pretensions and prophecies that were made against it. It was claimed that the plan was promoted for the preparation of war, and for doing all the wicked things one can think of. As a matter of fact, the plan has been a great contribution to peace. Europe is re-emerging. Europe has not finished its contribution to humanity.

96. This present difficult phase will pass and there are two factors which will help it to go quickly. One is the determination of the free peoples of Europe to defend their liberty; the second is the growing economic prosperity resulting from the combined efforts of the western world. The one will give us peace to till the fields, to work the factories, to win the wealth from the mines, to transport it, and finally fabricate it for the use of our people. The other will give to the peoples the opportunity to express themselves and to develop the best elements of culture in the fields of science, of art and of religion that Europe has yet known. No, Europe is not despondent in spite of all its trials. We are well aware of the tasks that lie before us but we shall, we believe, be a credit to the United Nations and to the world.

97. I must now turn to the problems of disarmament and the control of atomic energy which have been raised. No country has in the past played a greater part in endeavouring to bring about world-wide agreement on disarmament than my own. One of my predecessors between the two wars, Mr. Arthur Henderson, strove very hard to achieve this end at the last great Disarmament Conference in Geneva. But he could not get the conditions which would make it possible to bring about disarmament. There were already factions growing up which, notwithstanding their talk of peace, really wanted war. And what are the conditions needed for disarmament? It cannot be dealt with merely by a resolution of the United Nations, as proposed by the Soviet Union representative [A/1376].

98. If we consider in the first instance atomic weapons, the point of dispute between us is extremely simple. As I said at the third session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris<sup>7</sup> it is all a question of confidence. Thus if one country, when entering into an agreement of the kind proposed, closes all its doors and pulls down all its blinds and will not even let you look through, can you wonder that the rest of the nations, whose citizens' lives and liberty are at stake, say to that country: "We are quite ready to enter into an agreement, but will you please show us that your

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings, Vol. I, 82nd meeting.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part I, Plenary Meetings, 144th meeting.*

country is also carrying it out? What is there to hide if you are abiding by the agreement and honouring it? No one wants to interfere with your sovereignty. But if, by every act, you give rise to suspicion, it is impossible to get a firm basis for the establishment of the necessary confidence upon which disarmament must be built."

99. Then there is the USSR proposal for a one-third reduction in armaments. Well, really! And we are asked to accept that as a genuine proposition. The Soviet army today is larger than the armies of all Europe, and its armaments are greater than all of ours put together. This makes it look as though this talk of peace and signing petitions and peace campaigns is really a kind of propaganda barrage to weaken the victim before launching the attack.

100. The Soviet Union Government must not be surprised if we are not taken in by it. Before there can be a change, there must be withdrawal of the fifth column from the countries of free peoples. There must be no interference in any form with other States in their evolution. Let there be real sovereignty — for it is sovereignty which the USSR claims it wants to maintain. If that can be accepted, then we might reach a stage where this problem of disarmament could be discussed in an atmosphere of absolute confidence.

101. The fact is, however, that during the last five years in which we have been struggling to get out of the morass caused by war, we have been hampered at every stage by their fifth column, which is led by the Cominform and instigated by Moscow to produce chaos, strikes and difficulties of all kinds, in order to prevent the common people from having a decent standard of life. It has been done on the basis of the philosophy that if enough chaos is created it is possible to seize power. I say with all the solemnity at my command that this is a dangerous policy which has already been carried too far for the liking of the free world. No amount of signing peace petitions, or anything of that character, can have any effect towards protecting peace.

102. It is actions, not words, that are needed. For example, we have been struggling for years now to get agreement on a peace treaty for Austria. A year ago we appeared to be quite near to agreement. Now, for the whole year, there has been complete deadlock, and it seems that we cannot have a treaty unless we are prepared to sacrifice the whole economic future of Austria. Why go on torturing a little country like that, and not give it peace? If the Soviet Union representative were prepared to act in accordance with his proclaimed willingness to reach agreement, we could have a treaty tomorrow.

103. Meanwhile, I repeat, no amount of calling us warmongers or hurling names at us will divert us. We are determined to pursue peace and to maintain it. We are equally determined, if necessary, to fight to the bitter end for the liberty for which we struggled so hard and which we are resolved to defend.

104. Since the foundation of the United Nations, my Government's policy has been based on respect for and loyalty to the principles of the Charter. We have played our full part in the work of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and we have co-operated closely with the Economic and Social Council. We have done our best to help to establish the principles of inter-

national law and have supported the reference of controversial legal questions to the International Court of Justice. On more than one occasion we have shown our willingness to submit issues in which we were involved to the decision of the Court and to abide by the result. We have also signed the optional clause. There is, indeed, no lack of facilities for the settlement of any disputes and difficulties that arise, if there is anxiety for such settlement, and we for our part are fully determined to make full use of every one of these facilities.

105. Considerable progress has been made during the past year in the field of economic and social development. But the problems before us are still enormous. The nations which have made most progress in industrial development must be ready—as indeed they are—to assist those which, for a variety of reasons, are less advanced.

106. In the areas for which my Government is responsible we have been working on two lines. One is to pour in millions of money to help development. The second is to adjust our institutions to bring about the gradual education and development of the people, so that ultimately they may be given freedom and self-government.

107. I welcome the greater understanding of the part the United Kingdom is playing in the development of these territories, as shown by the report of the Trusteeship Council.<sup>8</sup> It is very gratifying that most of the recommendations and resolutions of that Council have been adopted unanimously during its past two sessions. I have not time today to discuss these matters in detail, but in the work of the United Nations they must be given high priority and must not be overlooked on account of the other problems with which we have been occupied so far.

108. The work of the United Nations is such a vast subject that one is tempted to go on and on. One is bound to feel a thrill at having the privilege of being associated with such a tremendous institution as this. It will have its disappointments and setbacks. It will have many difficulties to overcome. But I believe that this last year has seen the Organization turn the corner. As I said earlier in my speech, it must feel stronger now because it now knows that it lives in the hearts of the people. Before, we did not know whether it was backed by governments alone. Now we know that it is the whole people which is pinning its faith in it. But that increases our responsibility, for it puts upon us the duty of a wider and a higher statesmanship than ever. The people will not fail; and we must not fail them.

109. General ROMULO (Philippines): I shall take only ten minutes of the Assembly's precious time.

110. At the beginning of this crucial session, it is essential that we keep certain important facts in mind.

111. The first is that the United Nations, for the first time in its history, has decided to use armed force to put down aggression. The application of military sanctions in Korea is in itself an act of the greatest significance. Even more significant, however, is the manifest desire of a growing number of Member States to give the practice regularity and permanence. The wish is not unreasonable, since it springs from a clear recognition

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 4.*

of necessity, nor is it impracticable, since the framework already exists, and all that is required is to give life to a hitherto dormant portion of the Charter.

112. My Government welcomes the concrete proposals to this end which the United States Government, through the Secretary of State, has placed before the Assembly. We are prepared to support these proposals on the general principle that the United Nations is greater than any of its organs, and that the United Nations cannot permit the failure of any of its organs to destroy its own existence or threaten the peace of the world. The Organization's sovereign right of survival becomes doubly paramount when it coincides with the duty to safeguard humanity's right to live.

113. Under the Charter, the greater Powers, acting in and through the Security Council, have primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The dead weight of the veto has hampered the effective discharge of this responsibility. The decision on Korea was an outstanding exception, made possible only because there was none to cast the veto. We should not expect this fortunate accident to be repeated, nor leave to luck or chance the possibility of our acting together to combat any future breaches of the peace or acts of aggression. The time has come when the other Member States must endeavour to keep the door for such collective action open at all times through the instrumentality of a stronger General Assembly.

114. The Philippine Government, for its part, has given concrete proof of its support of the principle of collective security by sending troops to help the United Nations forces in Korea. Those troops have actually landed in Korea and may now be in action. And, by the way, the latest news reports are to the effect that the blue and white flag of the United Nations is now flying in the heart of Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. By an act of the Philippine Congress, the troops sent to Korea were organized, equipped and dispatched, to use the language of the enactment, "for service in the enforcement of United Nations sanctions and policies", thereby making the Philippines one of the first Member States to make part of its armed forces available for duty with the international police force envisaged by the Charter.

115. Our duty is so to develop the residual powers of the General Assembly in matters involving international peace and security that this accidental yet most hopeful beginning towards collective security may be carried to a speedy and successful conclusion.

116. The second fact which we should bear in mind is that the accomplishment of this vitally important duty need not preclude the possibility of agreement by negotiation. I reject the careless thinking behind the unhappily popular notion that peace by negotiation is tantamount to appeasement. We are fighting for the peace and security of the world, and I cannot agree that we should let peace and peaceable intentions become the monopoly, even only apparently, of the States that continually and most vociferously profess them.

117. If these States have any proposals for peace, we should examine them carefully. If the proposals are dishonest, we shall have enough sense, I am sure, to see them for what they are and reject them as we have

rejected them in the past. If, on the other hand, there should be even the slightest evidence of sincerity and good faith in such proposals, then we must leave the door open, lest it be said that we betrayed peace through blindness and the hardness of our hearts. This we can and must do without letting down our guard or allowing ourselves to fall into any wicked snares and deceptions. The assurance of our own strength is excellent capital to negotiate with while we can or to fight with when we must.

118. There should be no question of accepting peace on terms dictated by the other side or by any party, for that matter. That would be surrender, not negotiation. We can and will negotiate only on the basis of the terms that were dictated and agreed upon in San Francisco.

119. The third fact is that, in the present state of the world, moral power must be supplemented by adequate military power to maintain a rule of law among nations. In the case of Korea, there was never any doubt as to where the moral authority of the General Assembly lay and still lies. Though that moral authority has now been backed by military force and is, for the moment, overshadowed by it, we should ever remind ourselves that in the equation of force and principle, moral power is and must remain paramount. We must remember that we are fighting in Korea not merely to compel respect for the authority of the United Nations or to restore any particular political regime in Korea. We are fighting in Korea for a way of life—the way of truth, of freedom, and of human dignity—and we want the peoples of Asia, Africa and elsewhere to know that this is the road which we are preparing for them. We must, therefore, look beyond the military victory and formulate even now a programme that will ensure not only the independence but the rehabilitation and unification of the Korean people under a government of their own free choice.

120. This leads us to the fourth fact, which is that the case of Korea is in a sense only a symptom of deeper, more elemental problems affecting the stability and security of all Asia. In many of its aspects, the Korean crisis is the end-product of conditions that are well-nigh universal throughout Asia. Those conditions have long been identified with colonial imperialism in the minds of the Asian peoples, and the reminder that a new and more hateful imperialism now threatens to overrun the region will impress them but little unless we show them that it is not the power to dominate and exploit them that we seek to maintain but rather the opportunity to help them to improve their lot and achieve their freedom. Military victory will give us this opportunity, but only genuine understanding will enable us to exploit it. We must give proof of that sympathy and understanding right now.

121. Beyond the battle for Korea lies the far more crucial battle for the faith of the Asian peoples. Though not as spectacular, this latter battle must be waged with equal resolve and without delay. It is therefore highly important that we should seek and continue all necessary measures to raise the standards of living and to advance the political, economic and social well-being of the peoples of the under-developed countries and the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is equally important that the principle of seeking counsel with the peoples

of Asia on matters that concern them, which was proclaimed by the recent Baguio conference of South-East Asian countries, should be accepted as established policy and meticulously observed in practice.

122. Asia is emerging as one of the principal proving grounds of the United Nations. Korea has already put to the test the determination of the United Nations to maintain the rule of law in international relations, by means of military sanctions if necessary. Greater still is the challenge posed by Asia's poverty and the remaining chains of Asia's bondage. The United Nations will gain in strength and prestige to the extent that it can help to achieve in Asia and in other underprivileged regions of the world the noble purposes proclaimed in the Charter—"to reaffirm faith . . . in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". In the final reckoning, the United Nations will stand or fall by its successes or its failures in the places that are in direst need of its assistance and protection.

123. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): A year ago, in this same hall, I had the honour, as representative of El Salvador, to congratulate General Carlos Rómulo, representative of the Philippine Republic, upon his election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. On that occasion I said, and I now repeat, that in choosing its new President from among its members the General Assembly had carefully taken account, above all else, of his excellent personal qualities. General Rómulo, like our present President, Mr. Nasrollah Entezam, representative of Iran, was not chosen because of the military or economic power of the State he represents, but simply because in our debates in this somewhat heated atmosphere of the General Assembly of the United Nations we had come to recognize in him, as we recognize in our present President, the highest qualities of intelligence, experience and equanimity, together with the very essential quality of a high moral stature.

124. Therefore, on behalf of my Government and of the delegation which it is my privilege to head, I wish to extend the most cordial congratulations to our colleague, Mr. Nasrollah Entezam, upon his well merited election to the presidency of the most genuinely democratic organ of the United Nations, the General Assembly, of which all of us are members. At the same time, I should like to congratulate the Assembly itself on its wise choice of a new President to guide it in its labours during this year of most serious problems and indescribable difficulties confronting all free States.

125. In the months which have elapsed since the close of the fourth session of the General Assembly, there have been many events which have completely altered the atmosphere in which we should work. We had become accustomed to heated controversies arising from the divergence of opinion between governments as to the best way to conduct the affairs of the world so that all humanity might maintain peace. We had also become accustomed to the ideological clash between certain governments which believed that peace and freedom were as indivisible as Siamese twins, which cannot live apart, and certain other governments which held a very different view and considered that peace was the out-

come of action by force, despite the fact that such action entails the complete suppression of human ideals and freedoms.

126. Those two very different ways of thinking and feeling have naturally produced two opposing political systems whose rivalry in the international field is plainly inevitable. The resulting estrangement between two important groups of nations has given rise to the so-called cold war, a name chosen to distinguish it from those conflicts in which the roar of the cannon drowns the voice of reason.

127. The months which have elapsed since our last session have been sad, they have filled the peoples of the world with anguish and have created an atmosphere of pessimism in which it is very difficult to know what to do to give the peoples what they want: they want only to live quietly in their own homes, profiting from the innumerable resources which nature offers to satisfy material needs and to enable man's creative spirit to develop fully and to produce new levels of well-being and progress.

128. It is sad to have to recognize that the situation has become much worse in such a short space of time and that the United Nations, which was trying to bring opinions into harmony and to diminish friction, today finds itself engaged in armed conflict and for the first time is using the military force of its Member States to combat aggression and to restore international peace in a region where it has been violently overthrown. Our debates therefore cannot be pursued without taking into account the serious considerations of the present moment, because we all recognize that the primary purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of peace.

129. When the aggression against the Republic of Korea occurred<sup>a</sup> and while the invading forces from the north rapidly advanced thanks to their heavy military equipment, fifty-three free States gave their complete approval to the resolutions of the Security Council condemning that aggression and requesting all Member States to give military aid to the invaded nation. I wish to recall this incident because of its grave implications.

130. The United Nations number fifty-nine States and some of them certainly ignored the appeal of the Security Council; a more serious fact, however, was that within the small group of dissident States, accusations arose against our Organization on the one occasion when the Security Council had been able to act effectively in defence of peace.

131. In the Council itself, the representative of one of the permanent members asked for the rescission of the resolutions passed and the withdrawal of the forces fighting against aggression. It should be noted that it was precisely the permanent members of the Security Council which, under the United Nations Charter, assumed a responsibility greater than that of the other Members of the Organization in the fundamental task of maintaining peace and preserving world order. It was the insistence of some of the permanent members that created the problem of the veto in the Security Council voting, for it was the establishment in the United Nations Charter of the requirement of unanimity among those five permanent members which we have come to be called the great Powers, as an indis-



pensable condition for the passage of any important Council resolution, particularly resolutions requiring the use of force to stop aggression, which produced the factor that has paralysed the Council and, with the single exception of the case of Korea, prevented it from fulfilling its task of maintaining peace and re-establishing it when it is broken.

132. When the United Nations Conference on International Organization met in San Francisco in 1945, the delegations of many of the materially less powerful States strongly opposed the requirement of unanimity on the part of the five great Powers in Security Council voting. Those delegations most rightly feared that the desired unanimity would become a myth, as did in fact happen. It is a distressing fact, but none the less true, that the spirit of co-operation upon which that unanimity should be based has not since then been in evidence.

133. We well remember how simple was the argument used in favour of the veto. It was considered to be the essential condition imposed by the Soviet Union in return for its acceptance of membership in the system of international co-operation envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and previously at Yalta and Teheran. It became obvious that, if that requirement were not accepted, the United Nations Charter would not be adopted, because the representatives of various powerful States would not sign it if the USSR were not to be a party to it.

134. Again, we heard many fine stories about the spirit of co-operation among the great Powers during the Second World War; and that prompted the attractive conclusion that with the coming of peace that spirit would grow even stronger and the world would enjoy complete security, thanks to the excellent understanding which could not fail to continue between the members of the Security Council.

135. Although that illusion seemed almost childish to the delegations of the small States, as the major wars which have shaken the world have been the result of rivalries between the powerful States, they did not wish to be held responsible for the failure of the San Francisco Conference, for that failure would have prevented the formation of the United Nations Organization. Therefore most of them abstained from voting on this point, thus by their non-resistance making possible the birth of the Organization, with all its inherent defects.

136. There is no doubt that at that time the small States had much more political foresight than the great Powers, though I do not mention this in order to congratulate myself, much less to blame anyone.

137. I merely wish to make some observations which may be of use in the future. It is not true to say that the only reason for the requirement of unanimity among the great Powers in the voting procedure of the Security Council was the desire to obtain the co-operation of the Soviet Union at all costs and at any sacrifice. There was something which was never mentioned, not even informally, but which was present in the thoughts of all who really studied the matter. The Soviet Union might, of course, have had special reasons for fearing that other rival Powers, with their great influence in the world, would succeed in dominating the young United

Nations Organization; but those other Powers also had reasons of their own for defending the veto.

138. Those reasons were based on another fear, possibly also shared by the USSR, namely, that if the proposed unanimity was dispensed with and if the votes of all members, permanent or otherwise, had equal weight in the Security Council, as is the case in the General Assembly, this might place the control of the United Nations, and hence of the fate of the world, in the hands of the materially less powerful States which form an overwhelming majority in our Organization. However, the development of events during the past five years, since the middle of 1945, has made it abundantly clear, whether it be in the case of Greece or China or Korea, that the small nations always support good causes, because it is in defending the fundamental principles of the United Nations, such as the equality of rights of States, self-determination and non-intervention, that the materially less powerful States most effectively safeguard their own political stability.

139. Of the fifty-three nations that have announced their support of the Security Council resolutions condemning aggression against the Republic of Korea, the majority are small, peace-loving States, ready to fulfil their international obligations as Members of the United Nations. It is greatly to be hoped that this lesson will prove a fruitful one for the powerful States, particularly the five permanent members of the Security Council, so that when the Charter is revised, as it one day must be, the harmful privilege of the veto will be withdrawn and democratic principles will be followed in determining the rights of States Members and the structure of all United Nations organs.

140. Let us now return to the problem of Korea. It is distressing to have to note that all the world's concern with this problem turns upon the attitude of the USSR Government, which, in contrast to so many others that have supported the Security Council resolutions, persistently condemns them as illegal and even supports the aggression by demanding the withdrawal from Korea of the United Nations forces which are assisting the invaded Republic.

141. We are accustomed by now to the lack of co-operation shown in previous cases and even to the Soviet Union's boycott of important recommendations of the General Assembly, such as those which established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, intended to help Greece against foreign intervention, or the United Nations Commission on Korea, established to help restore the country's unity and organize it as a free State. But at that time we had not foreseen, and did not wish to predict, that the Soviet Union itself would come to the aid of the aggressor and would make other efforts to nullify the effects of the enforcement measures which the United Nations has been compelled to undertake to re-establish peace. We cannot but openly condemn this attitude on the part of the USSR, because it endangers the very existence of our international Organization.

142. An overwhelming majority of the delegations here is convinced that if the Soviet Union refrained, even now, after all that has already happened, from giving its moral support to the aggressor forces, and for this purpose announced its approval of the Security

Council resolutions, the present conflict in Korea would come to an end and in a very short time.

143. The United Nations has two aspects. In the first place, it has the primary function of maintaining and re-establishing peace; secondly, it has the function, which is also very important, of organizing international co-operation for the advancement of the highest interests of humanity, such as the fundamental human rights with which God has endowed man, and the improvement of the standard of living of the peoples.

144. In this speech I shall deal only with the first aspect, that is, with the United Nations in its primary function of maintaining peace. In that respect, the United Nations is a defensive alliance against aggression and against any threat to international peace, with the very special characteristic that the protection offered by that alliance is also extended to non-member States because our Organization, since its very foundation, has always sought to become universal in character. That explains why protection is now offered to the Republic of Korea, which is not a Member of the United Nations.

145. We must recognize that the Security Council acted in the case of Korea with relative effectiveness although there were notable deficiencies.

146. It is unpleasant, however, to have to note that the temporary absence of the representative of the Soviet Union from the Security Council was the sole reason which enabled the Council to adopt its resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 condemning the aggression committed against the Republic of Korea and calling upon States Members of the United Nations to offer military assistance to the invaded nation.

147. The return of the USSR representative to the Security Council made further resolutions impossible, although it could not cancel the effect of the resolutions already adopted, which promise the re-establishment of peace in the near future. If the Soviet Union would change its policy and co-operate as a true Member of the United Nations, the conflict would end immediately. Nothing would be more conciliatory than such a change in policy, which would be welcomed by the majority of the delegations here present as a promise of peace and tranquillity for the entire world. If this invitation, which is in the minds of all of us, is not favourably received by the one nation which can carry it into effect, it is obvious that the only alternative remaining to the world in order to protect its own security is to expand existing regional systems and even increase the number of such systems in order to establish an effective curb against all future aggression.

148. Such regional systems, and the right to organize collective defence, are recognized in Articles 51, 52, 53 and 54 of the Charter. At the present juncture, when the Security Council is paralysed by the veto and therefore unable to fulfil its essential function of preserving peace, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro are the only hope of mankind for restraining any imperialist tendency, from whatever quarter it may come.

149. All of us know that much must still be done to make those pacts completely adequate, so that they can effectively ensure the collective defence of the States

which they include; but that development is bound to occur and even to be intensified under the pressure of circumstances.

150. All these considerations are based upon objective facts and not on conjectures. The world, or rather humanity, which is being bled white by wars, insists that the General Assembly of the United Nations, in which a majority of free States is represented, should do everything within its power to make possible the adoption of all such measures as are compatible with the spirit of our Organization and are aimed at remedying the effects of the chronic paralysis from which the Security Council suffers.

151. The delegation of the United States has made very important proposals in that direction. Those proposals, as well as any others made by other delegations seeking the same objective, will receive the most sympathetic consideration on the part of the delegation of El Salvador.

152. The principal agenda items of the General Assembly have already been considered at previous meetings of this important organ of the United Nations. The delegation of El Salvador has made its attitude quite clear in regard to those items; hence all I have to say is that that attitude is the same as it was in previous years and that we shall continue to support the same principles.

153. I now conclude the statement which I deemed it necessary to make on behalf of the delegation of El Salvador. Its only object was to contribute as far as possible to the debate and to help to guide us towards the practical solutions which are required at the present moment. I thank the representatives for their kind attention in listening to me and I offer them the most sincere co-operation of my delegation in attempting to obtain positive fruits of international understanding as a result of our present session.

154. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before calling upon the next speaker, I should like to recall that the time limit set for closing the list of speakers expires at 6 p.m. today.

155. Sir Mohammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): May I be permitted to congratulate the General Assembly on its choice of a President for the fifth session. It is a matter of gratification to my delegation that the deliberations of this crucial session will be controlled and guided by so distinguished a representative of a country with which we have long-standing and intimate ties of culture, faith and friendship. You are aware, Mr. President, in what high esteem and affection I have always held you, and I repeat the prayer that I uttered to you when the choice of the Assembly became known: that God, of His grace, continue to bless you with the strength needed for the discharge of your high responsibilities and rightly guide your judgment at every step.

156. We are met at a time of crisis. Grave events wait upon our words, upon our deeds. What we say and what we do here may turn out to have been pregnant with destiny.

157. Humanity has during our generation been astir with strange yearnings: mankind has felt itself uplifted through glimpses of heavenly visions; it has seen its hopes dashed in nightmares of despair. Which shall be

ushered in, become a reality and prevail—the visions or the nightmares? We and those whom we represent are the instruments through which the consummation will be achieved or the ruin compassed. We carry heavy responsibilities; we have been called upon to pronounce on momentous issues. It is true that the decisions here rest mainly with the big Powers, but not altogether. On occasion a solitary voice charged with truth and sincerity may serve to avert a calamity. Passion or prejudice may, on the other hand, push us, and with us all those whose hopes are fixed on us, over the brink of disaster.

158. It behooves us, therefore—every one of us—to think, if not along lines of loftiness and serenity, at least along those of sanity; and to tread, if not paths of wisdom, at least those of circumspection. If we cannot at once soar to the sunlit heights, let us at least safeguard ourselves against being hurled into the dark abysses.

159. Mankind is on the march; it may be guided but it will not be stayed. Are we competent to furnish the guidance? A new order is struggling to be born. Can we provide the skill that is needed to ensure its safe and healthy birth? A new heaven and a new earth have been decreed. Are we ready to assume the responsibilities of becoming their architects and builders? If the answers are in the affirmative, then let us cast out all fear and step out boldly and with courage along the paths of high endeavour and beneficial achievement, ready and willing cheerfully and joyously to render in the fullest measure all that may be required from each of us to make man's existence upon earth progressively fuller, healthier and happier than in each preceding stage. Surely that is the task that confronts us, and that in plain language is the object that we have been organized together to achieve. All the rest is but the means to this end; even the preservation and maintenance of international peace is but a means towards this end.

160. The first realization that is needed—and it will bear reiteration—is that mankind is one. Everything that calls that fundamental in question or is in conflict with it is based on falsehood and must be speedily set right and brought into accord with it. This applies to all spheres, spiritual, moral, social, economic, political. So long as any such conflict remains unresolved, all beneficent effort will be obstructed and end in frustration.

161. With regard to our economic conflicts, the basic reality here is that we must eliminate want, exposure and sickness. A man who is hungry, ill-clad, exposed or disease-ridden will not long cherish ambition or sustain hope and will soon become desperate. He will fall an easy prey to disorders and diseases of the mind, intellect and spirit that destroy more widely and effectively than hunger and disease of the body.

162. I shall not here enter upon a comparison of competing economic "isms" and ideologies. For my present purpose it is needless to institute any such comparison. The result is well expressed in the homely aphorism, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating". Call a system what you will, give it any name you please, mankind is bound ultimately to adopt that which fulfils its needs and is beneficent in its operation. Let us, there-

fore, make all speed towards fulfilling those needs as beneficently as we may be capable of, lest ambition flicker out, hope die and man in his desperation seek release from suffering in ruin and annihilation.

163. In this connexion we must not forget that each of us, individuals as well as nations, is a trustee in respect of every gift that has been bestowed upon us, whether that gift be of the spirit, of the intellect, of physical prowess, material resources or other talents, treasures and possessions. The only beneficent exploitation of these gifts is to spend them in and devote them to the service of mankind.

164. I am not, of course, forgetful of all that this great Organization has undertaken and is projecting to that end; nor am I unmindful of the generous efforts and offers made by this great country in various spheres and regions. I fully appreciate all this and gratefully acknowledge it. I endorse every word said in that connexion by Secretary of State Acheson in his speech here the other day. But what I desire to stress is that the economic crisis is as clamant and urgent as the political crisis; indeed the former lies at the root of the latter. What is needed and can alone prove adequate is action on a generous—I might almost say—on an extravagant, a prodigal, scale. Nothing short of this will avail. If properly applied, assistance of this kind will prove a blessing both to him who gives and to him who receives. Every one of us can in some respect or the other be both a giver and a receiver. The greater number of our projects have, however, not yet proceeded beyond the stage of programmes and planning. These are, of course, essential, but the pace must be speeded up lest the patient expire while the diagnosis is in progress and the remedy is still undetermined.

165. In the political sphere there are many danger spots, each threatening the maintenance of international peace, but the gravest of these threats proceeds at the moment from Korea. The elements of the Korean conflict appear to us to be clear and to admit of no controversy. Resolutions 112(II), 195(III) and 293(IV) of the General Assembly dealing with Korea were directed towards the establishment of a united, sovereign, independent Korea. The Assembly set up a Commission for the achievement of that purpose. It was North Korea that withstood and obstructed every effort in that direction. The Commission was thus compelled to confine its activities to South Korea. A sovereign government based on the freely expressed wishes of the people was there set up which was recognized as such by the United Nations. The Commission had certified the withdrawal of occupation forces. A second election had been held and the government formed thereafter was busy putting its economic and political affairs in order when North Korea embarked upon its campaign of aggression against South Korea. What has since transpired is clear proof of the fact that this campaign must have been preceded by long and careful preparation and was not the outcome of a chance or casual collision or conflict.

166. In these circumstances the duty of the Security Council was clear, and for the first time in its history the Council gave an immediate and a bold reply to the challenge, so grave and impudent, to the authority, nay, to the very existence of the United Nations. The Assembly will recall that the Government of Pakistan

was among the very first to announce its support of the Security Council action, through the mouth of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who was then recovering from a serious operation in a hospital in Boston.

167. The attitude of the Security Council *vis-à-vis* the Korean conflict has been contrasted with its dilatory and ineffective handling of other situations of a more or less similar character. We too have noted that contrast. But the fact that Security Council action in other cases has not been so speedy, so vigorous or so forceful makes us not less but more appreciative of the assumption by the Security Council of its proper role in the case of Korea, and strengthens the hope that this welcome recognition and acceptance of its responsibilities by the Council will prove an earnest of its resolve to discharge its responsibilities more vigorously and effectively in respect of other problems on its agenda also.

168. I have referred to other danger spots. Some of them are prominently present to our minds. Kashmir is an instance. Sir Owen Dixon, United Nations representative, has just submitted his report<sup>9</sup> to the Security Council. Unfortunately, it records the failure of his mission. I have no doubt, however, that the Security Council will take up the question at an early date and pursue its consideration with speed and vigour so as to determine and prescribe the method by which the parties can be brought and, if necessary, constrained to carry out what they have agreed to do, namely, to accept and bring about the conditions which will ensure the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite to enable the people of Kashmir to determine whether the State shall accede to Pakistan or to India.

169. But there are other danger spots, though most of them are not yet in eruption. The fatality is that effective action is delayed till an eruption takes place. I have in mind all Non-Self-Governing Territories. What is called for is active effort and sustained action both on the part of the Organization and what are called colonial Powers to push forward the setting up of all these peoples and territories as independent sovereign States. No doubt the preparatory period will differ in each case, but what is needed is decision and determination on the part of the governing authority voluntarily to speed up the process of equipment and preparation and, where necessary, even of persuasion, prompting and incitement towards independence. The subordination of one people to another is an illness afflicting both the dominant and the servient peoples of which both must cure themselves as speedily as possible. It is also a temptation, almost an invitation, towards aggression, which must be eliminated as fast as conditions make it possible.

170. Colonialism has already been one of the major factors leading to the two world wars. It is now imperative that the people of these territories should become convinced that in each case the colonial Power concerned is keen, eager and anxious to speed them on towards complete independence. This conviction alone can create that sense of confidence which would guarantee the peace and security of these territories.

171. The frustration that the Security Council and the United Nations have experienced in the handling by the Council of the Korean and other problems has

induced Secretary of State Acheson to sponsor a set of proposals designed to strengthen the General Assembly in dealing with problems of security. The Assembly will recall that this is not the first step that has been proposed in that direction. The Interim Committee was also set up with the same object. We are constrained to observe that that experiment has failed to justify itself. These proposals, however, are of a much more far-reaching character. It is obvious if the United Nations is to achieve the objects and purposes for which it has been set up, it must be enabled to function effectively. In far too many instances has its action been impeded, obstructed or rendered ineffective by recourse to procedural devices and tactics. Anything that is designed to enable the Organization to function more speedily and effectively deserves and will receive our earnest and sympathetic consideration.

172. I shall now proceed to comment on two or three specific matters by way of illustration to show where, in our view, the United Nations action or approach has not been calculated to promote understanding and stimulate co-operation.

173. The first of these, namely, the question of China's representation, has already been the subject of debate during this session. That debate caused us deep disappointment, not because we found ourselves in the minority, for that is a situation in which each of us may in turn find himself — and indeed, a minority may as often be in the wrong as it may be in the right — but because in the course of the debate we could discern little inclination to face the question at issue, and even less to reason it out. There was noticeable much oratory and great vehemence but in most cases the height of the oratory and the degree of the vehemence served merely to emphasize the absence of relevance. There was throughout a sustained appeal to sentiment, but this is exactly the type of question that needs to be dispassionately examined and impartially determined. The issues arising out of it must not be permitted to be obscured by sentiment.

174. First, let me attempt to clear the ground by stating that the determination of the question has no reference to personalities, and even ideologies. Were that not so, the question would present little difficulty from our point of view. Our own contacts and relations have, until lately, been all with the Kuomintang. I had the honour of being selected, in the middle of the war, as India's first diplomatic representative to China. In that capacity I was the recipient of many gracious kindnesses from Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Mayor K. C. Wu, now Governor of Formosa, and many other dignitaries of the Nationalist Government. I have known Mr. T. F. Tsiang all these years and have always held him in the highest esteem on account of his sterling qualities and lofty character. The dignity with which he has continued to sustain his very difficult role during these last few months compels my admiration. But these are not considerations on the basis of which the issue with which we are faced has to be resolved.

175. Equally irrelevant are considerations bearing upon the character and composition of the Peking Government. Much stress has been sought to be laid on whether that government is peace-loving or not, and whether it is able and willing to discharge the obliga-

<sup>9</sup> See document S/1791.



tions contained in the Charter. This is the language of Article 4 of the Charter itself, but those who have sought to base themselves upon it appear to forget that Article 4 relates to the admission of new Members and not to the validity of representation, with which alone we are here concerned. China is not applying for admission to the United Nations. It is a Member State, a permanent member of the Security Council, one of the Big Five.

176. I do venture to submit that whether it is peace-loving or not peace-loving, whether it is willing or not willing to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter, it is entitled as of right to be represented in the United Nations like every other Member State, until it is — a contingency that might apply to every other State also — expelled in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

177. The sole question is: who is entitled to represent China, a Member State, in the Assembly? What are the undisputed, incontrovertible facts bearing upon that question? The government from which the delegation present here purports to draw its authority has for months ceased to exercise jurisdiction over any portion of the Chinese mainland. The struggle for supremacy in China between the two contending Chinese governments has come to an end. The status of the island of Formosa, where the Nationalist Government is now based, is itself the subject matter of determination, as witness the question placed upon the agenda at the instance of the United States delegation. In these circumstances, can it be pretended that it is the Nationalist Government that effectively represents China, in other words, the Chinese people? Or can it be denied that the Peking Government does in fact represent them?

178. I have said that ability and willingness to discharge the obligations contained in the Charter are not a factor relevant to the issue before us. But, assuming for a moment that it were, where would it lead us? It has been argued that there is an apprehension that the Peking Government would not be willing to discharge those obligations. Even if that were to be conceded — and it is no more than an assumption — can it be denied that that government is certainly able to discharge those obligations were it so willing, and that its willingness is a matter of its own choice, which it is free at any time to make? As against this, however willing the Nationalist Government may be, it must be admitted that it has lost the ability to assume or discharge those obligations on behalf of and in respect of the people of China and that this lack of ability cannot be remedied at its own choice.

179. The truth of the matter is that the General Assembly is unwilling to concede the existence of a fact, not because the fact has not been established but because the majority regard it as unpleasant. It is easy to conceive what the verdict would have been had the position been reversed, and it is this reflection that is so disquieting. Instances have not been wanting in the past — and I need not further particularize the matter — where a State declared, while its application for admission was pending, that not only was it not willing but that it was determined not to carry out the obligations incumbent upon it under the Charter — the obligations which were the very foundations of that State

being brought into being — and in the face of such a declaration, that State was admitted to membership.

180. This question of the representation of China is important in itself, but it is even more important as indicating the chances that the gulf that at present divides some of the great Powers and prevents understanding between them may be bridged at an early date. The consequences of this gulf widening or remaining unbridged would be vast and incalculable and are terrifying to contemplate. There may yet be time, through a sober and realistic approach towards this and other cognate problems, to avert the deadlock which threatens to overtake the functioning of the United Nations Organization. We humbly and earnestly plead for such an approach.

181. The second instance that I have in mind is the deadlock that already exists and has for some time now existed over the admission of new Members. This is another problem in respect of which a fresh effort should be made so that a way may be found of moving forward. Is there not a single applicant from among those who have hitherto been blocked, or, perhaps, at least one from each side, which may be regarded as fulfilling the conditions laid down in Article 4, and whose admission may be recommended by the Security Council as a token of the fact that the permanent members of the Security Council are now prepared to move forward in respect of this question on some reasonable basis?

182. The third instance I have in mind is the treatment to which Spain has, from the very inception of this Organization, been subjected. Four years ago the Assembly adopted resolution 39(I) barring Spain from membership of the Organization and from participation in its activities, and calling upon Member States to withdraw diplomatic representation from Spain. From almost the moment that Pakistan became a Member of the Organization, it raised a voice of protest against that resolution. To say the least, that resolution ignored realities. At its worst, it was capable of causing grave mischief. In any case it is incomprehensible what the object of that resolution was. Was it penal — to inflict some penalty upon Spain for having accepted its present regime? Or was it reformatory — passed in the hope that the moment the people of Spain learned of the resolution they would rise in revolt against that regime and set it aside? At the most it could but have been passed in some such hope, but no consequences of that kind have flowed from it. The General Assembly passed the resolution and the walls of Madrid did not fall.

183. Where do we stand today? The object of this Organization is to achieve, at as early a date as possible, universality in respect of its membership, and almost one of the first things that it does after it has been set up is to bar a particular great country from membership for reasons which, whether they were good, bad or indifferent, had all emerged before the Organization itself came into being.

184. Here are two outstanding matters which must be taken into consideration. However objectionable from the point of view of some Member States its character and composition may have been, that regime remained neutral during the war, when it was well known and fully realized that if it intervened at all it would intervene on the wrong side. That position could not have

been maintained without a great deal of courage and a great deal of difficulty. Surely it required some appreciation on the part at least of those who were anxious to maintain and safeguard international peace?

185. Since its establishment, that régime has been guilty of no aggression against anyone. Surely, again, that is a record which might gain some appreciation from an Organization charged with the duty of maintaining peace and pledged to the maintenance of peace? In the meantime, what has been the fate of the resolution itself? Numerous breaches and contraventions have driven holes through the resolution, which must, ultimately, tend only to weaken the authority of this Organization.

186. When action is taken in haste and in the grip of emotion or sentiment, results of that kind are bound to follow. We would again plead that all these and similar questions be approached from a sober and realistic point of view. When a mistake has been made, we should be ready and—when we realize it—anxious to undo such a mistake.

187. I have used these as illustrations. In all these instances, the Government of Pakistan has acted not in accordance with its likes and dislikes, accepting and supporting the pleasant and agreeable and rejecting and opposing the unpleasant and disagreeable, but in ac-

cordance with what we conceive to be the spirit of the Charter and inspired by the single-minded desire to promote international understanding and co-operation. I am here once again to reaffirm that Pakistan will continue pledged to that course.

188. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before we adjourn, I should like to inform the Assembly that we shall begin tomorrow morning's proceedings with the consideration of the report of the General Committee [A/1386]. I venture to mention this so that you may have time to study that document before taking any decision concerning it.

189. I shall ask Mr. Cordier to read the list of the speakers who are still to take the floor before the conclusion of the general debate.

190. Mr. CORDIER (Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General): The list is as follows: Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Colombia, Ecuador, Canada, France, Israel, Poland, Venezuela, Liberia, Uruguay, India, Norway, Panama, Syria, Argentina, Egypt, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Lebanon, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Ethiopia. The Secretary-General will also address the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.*