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General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. VAN ZEELAND (BELGIUM), MR. DONGES (UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA), MR. QUEVEDO (ECUADOR), MR. ENTEZAM (IRAN), SIR BENEGAL RAU (INDIA), MR. AZÚCAR CHÁVEZ (EL SALVADOR) AND MR. DUNCAN (PANAMA).

1. Mr. VAN ZEELAND (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The man of goodwill who tries with an honest mind and a simple heart to follow the work of this distinguished Assembly must at times feel sorely perplexed. We ourselves, large as is the volume of additional information at our disposal, often have a very mixed impression, made up in unequal and indeed varying parts of disappointment and yet hope, of bewilderment and the resolve to succeed in spite of everything.

2. For those who desire to serve and to build there can be no hope of success unless they see clearly, and that is why, in spite of the time it takes, and of the customary contradictions and repetitions, a general discussion of this kind is still useful and even necessary. By good luck, the hospitable invitation extended by France has enabled us to meet in a spot where the mind of Descartes, the mind of Pascal, is still alive. Nowhere else is clear thinking so much at home as here in France. That is why I, in turn, shall attempt to take stock of the situation amid the opposing trends by which the world is shaken this way and that. I shall endeavour to express the opinion of a small country that has consistently throughout its history prized honesty and sincerity.

3. The essential task to which the United Nations has dedicated its organization is the preservation and maintenance of peace. This fundamental concept is embodied in our documents; it recurs in every speech delivered from this rostrum, whoever the speaker may be. Yet this unanimity in the expression of peaceful sentiments deceives no one. We are at present living under the threat of war, if not in a state of war itself. Since we cannot charge anyone with intent to deceive, we are forced back on the assumption that there is, in the methods envisaged, a conflict which, whether intentional or not, is yet sufficient by its mere existence to pave the way to disaster.

4. And therefore, despite a score of failures, let us take up the problem once again. I shall endeavour to sum up, under three heads, the points which I should like to make. Under the first I wish to speak of the balance, or the restoration of the balance, of the armed forces; secondly; I should like, in accordance with the suggestion of the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Eden, to analyse the disarmament proposal which was made to us by the three great Powers; and under the last heading I shall endeavour to analyse the efforts at integration of the free nations and particularly of the nations of Europe.

5. Here is the problem: two systems, two conceptions of the world and of life stand brutally confronting each other. They clash in act and in deed, in argument as in feeling.

6. We who are free believe passionately in the value of our principles. They are the justification of our existence. We prize them a hundred times more highly than our property, than our comfort, than life itself. We will defend them, if attacked, against all comers until victory has been won; and as we are convinced of their justice, we know in the bottom of our hearts that, even if we must fall, they will not perish. But because of the very grandeur and logic of our ideals, we can have no designs, and we have no designs for imposing them on others. They need a climate made up of mutual respect, of understanding, of peace and order. The peace and order we claim for ourselves, we desire no less wholeheartedly for all men, whatever their ideals or the system of government under which they live.

7. That the free world yearns for peace and prays for peace with all its heart, that it turns away from those who threaten peace, can be gainsaid only by those who are deliberately blind to the facts. We know full well that this is so. And yet the free world, which so thirsts for peace, is at this moment in the throes of a colossal and arduous effort to rearm. Do we want to make that effort? Are we making it with a light heart, or with any sort of enthusiasm? The answer of course is, no. We are making it only because we have realized that in such an effort lay our only chance of preserving in peace our own conception of life and human dignity. We do not shut our eyes to what it has already cost us or to what it will yet cost us in sacrifices, in the wastage of strength and precious material.

8. By whom has this effort been forced upon us ? We do not intend to reopen here the interminable argument about responsibilities, but in the interests of objectivity it must be said that it was not we who began the armaments race. No one, I believe, will deny what happened after the war. While the western nations demobilized and disarmed rapidly, and almost completely, others kept their military forces and continued their efforts to expand them. It was because of this reversal of the balance of power, because of the threat it represented in itself, that we had finally to enter upon the road to rearmament in our turn. Paralysed by the abuse of the veto, the Security Council had ceased to offer us sufficient guarantees in the exercise of collective security. We had, at all costs, step by step, to seek new guarantees and we sought them in agreements for legitimate defence which we have explicitly concluded in conformity with the United Nations Charter and in the spirit of its principles.

9. The democratic nations were slow to recognize the danger to which they were exposed by the change in the balance of power. They were slow in making up their minds, for nothing—as you well know—was so repugnant to their wishes and to their dearest hopes as a new armaments race. But let there be no mistake. A decision taken in cold blood, in the full knowledge of what it will cost, is no less firm, no less unshakeable than one taken in a fit of enthusiasm or in the stress of a passing emotion.

10. That certainly does not mean that any of us regards a policy of competitive armaments as an ideal of international life, far from it. Among those who, in the face of implacable necessity, recognized that it was unfortunately necessary to enter upon this course, there are many — and I am one of them — who have never abandoned the hope of revival of the prospect of genuine disarmament, that is to say, a supervised, concerted, general and balanced disarmament. No manoeuvre, no pressure, will turn us from the goal we have set ourselves, but we mean at all times to keep an open mind. We are ready not only to welcome, but even to propose, any method which may, with a clear vision of the facts, bring us closer to lasting peace.

11. Let us now turn to those disarmament proposals which have been put before us [A/1943]. We welcomed them gladly so far as we are concerned, because they open the door to a policy of multilateral disarmament. The proposals, I am aware, were from the first greeted by some with a scorn and even a sarcasm which, in our view, there is nothing to warrant. We Belgians may be too simple-minded, but we see nothing to laugh at in proposals which may ultimately lead towards peace and away from war, proposals which spell life or death for millions of human beings.

12. Briefly, what is the crux of the proposal ? Very wisely, care has been taken not to put the cart before the horse ; no ambitious scheme is suggested for an immediate reduction of armaments. The proposal begins at the beginning, with the suggestion for an evaluation of the various armed forces, for a complete census of them, of every class and kind. That is obviously the first condition if we genuinely wish to succeed. Such an objective and comprehensive inventory of existing arms and armaments, and of future programmes, would in itself do much to help us to see clearly. Would not knowledge of one another's forces tend to dispel suspicion ? Might it not eventually reveal the existence of a state of balance which would allow both sides to speak the same language without any hint of a threat ?

13. Certainly Mr. Vyshinsky could not fear the publication of such data, for he said in his speech : “ ...the Soviet Union is utilizing its entire resources, not in order to expand its armed forces... but in order to expand to the full its civilian industry... ”.

14. I ask you again, which of the two parties, if its statements are correct and its policy sincere, could find a single good reason for not informing the whole world of what is happening in its own country at the same time as in the territory of the other party ; why should it not say, just as the other side would say, what its forces are and how, why and to what extent it is increasing them ?

15. We, for our part, are delighted that the Western Powers, in making this proposal, have furnished proof of their goodwill and sincerity. It goes without saying, that to be useful, a census must command confidence. Exactitude is not enough ; no one must be able to challenge its accuracy. It must therefore be subject to inspection, verification and certification, and this certification must be performed in open court with all the parties on the same footing. Here again those who have nothing to fear, those whose policy is honest and loyal, can do no other than welcome and develop such measures of inspection, subject to complete equality of treatment.

16. Needless to say, a proposal of this kind to catalogue and publish for all to read the strength of the opposing forces is not made with the intention of promoting or perpetuating a policy of competitive armaments. The object is to pave the way for a reciprocal change of attitude, or, even better, to make it possible to proceed to disarmament forthwith. Suppose for a moment that at a given point of time the opposing forces were found to be balanced, then surely neither side would have any advantage in continuing an effort that would obviously be neutralized by a parallel effort on the other side. Would not the folly of an armaments race be apparent to both ? Would not a new chance thus be given to the world, and to peace ?

17. There is, of course, nothing extraordinary about ideas like these ; they are merely applied common sense. But common sense so applied amounts to an act of great wisdom. It was necessary that at this very moment the voice of reason and moderation should be heard in commendation of concrete proposals to be realized step by step.

18. Moreover, the present proposal is an advance on all the others, at least in one respect : it places all arms of whatever kind on the same footing ; the atomic weapon is no longer excepted. For the first time someone has had the courage to propose that what has hitherto been a jealously guarded secret should be revealed. True, the ideal would be an embargo on all arms, atomic and all the rest, and a ban on recourse to violence. But we know full well that we must proceed by stages. We know that the only chance of succeeding is to ask that both sides accept the same rules, the same inspection, the same progressively applied commitments. I sincerely believe that at the present juncture a fairer proposal could not be made, with so many prospects of success.

19. Lastly, I believe that in its present form the proposal has this further advantage, that it can be applied immediately even in the present state of acute world tension in which we find ourselves today. There is no obstacle to rapid action. It would be possible at once, while assessing the opposing forces, to try to work out and develop by mutual agreement objective criteria which could be applied as soon as the basic data were known and determined. If only the preparatory work were begun with a minimum of

mutual goodwill, the effect would soon be apparent on the state of men's minds throughout the whole world. And it would be a very powerful effect, I feel sure.

20. The broad outlines of the free countries' policy seem thus to stand out more and more clearly. The aim is and remains peace : peace for all, with order, and with respect for the rights of others. To ensure that, the balance of forces must be restored and maintained ; hence the necessity for the Western World to make a mighty, an urgent effort to rearm. Yet, sure of the road they are taking, the free countries remain ready to talk, to resume discussions at any time on equitable conditions, equal for all and in the full light of day.

21. Thus the parallel lines of a long-term policy emerge : to secure the might required for the service of the right, and at the same time to keep alive the proposals for agreement, joint disarmament and international meetings.

22. To the first of these lines belong the Five-Power Pact, the North Atlantic Treaty and the efforts to organize defence throughout the world.

23. The second gives rise to the noble words, instinct with charity, pronounced by President Auriol ; the new disarmament proposal put forward by the three great Powers, on which President Truman has so admirably commented ; and countless gestures of goodwill, countless words of understanding that have testified time and again to the spirit of tolerance and charity which is still the lamp of our civilization.

24. But for such a policy to succeed it must be evenly balanced and the two pillars supporting it must be equally strong. To dare speak, as we do at this moment, of agreement, understanding and disarmament, we must be strong, we must feel ourselves strong. If the language of goodwill and charity is not to be misunderstood it must be based upon facts so patent that no one will be tempted to see in it a sign of weakness or indecision.

25. We are now creating those facts. As we approach balance of power, the fears of those on our own side will diminish and the chances of aggression from any quarter will subside ; our voice will be heard more and more clearly and our intentions be better understood. That is why, with the same unflagging resolution, on the one hand, we must persevere in the offers of agreement and disarmament that have been made, in other words, unceasingly confirm the offers we have set down in the record of international relations ; and on the other hand, we must pursue and achieve without delay, without losing a day, and by the most effective means, our plan for a balance of armaments.

26. There are, however, certain essential conditions which are vital to the success of the effort of the free nations. None of the free nations, no matter how powerful in the economic and military fields, is capable of defending itself single-handed. Even less can it assume responsibility for defending all the rest of the world. The effort of the free world must necessarily be a co-ordinated effort, one that engages the whole community. And that is why we are striving constantly to extend and render more effective the defence pacts in which the free Powers have joined together.

27. In the conditions governing contemporary life, any such endeavour inevitably reacts upon all factors of national and international existence ; it has a direct bearing on the economic equilibrium and social standards of every country.

28. Two immediate consequences derive from these premises.

29. In the first place, the effort must be a co-ordinated, a harmonious effort, placing in a common pool the resources of all those concerned and taking into account the capacities and the weaknesses of each, in order to get the most out of the community as a whole.

30. Secondly, though this effort must be immediately developed to the greatest possible extent in view of the urgency of the danger, it is nevertheless restricted by limits beyond which it would wreck the economic equilibrium and disrupt the pattern of society and so tend to destroy itself and to weaken instead of strengthen the forces of freedom.

31. As we see it, the solution to the problem I have thus stated can be summed up in a single fundamental rule : the manifold efforts put forth by the free countries must be more and more closely integrated. There is nothing new in that conclusion. We have all understood and accepted it. The lesson of the last two wars has been clear enough, the lesson that taught us the abiding value of the notion of collective security.

32. It is in application of that same rule that the forces of the United Nations are waging a hard and heroic fight against aggression in Korea. A speedy end to the struggle there would be one of the finest achievements that this General Assembly of the United Nations could place to its credit.

33. The same need to join together in defence of our ideal of freedom has impelled us, as I have already said, to unite first in the Treaty of Brussels, and later in the North Atlantic Treaty. Watching closely and reacting to the situation as it develops, we are at this very moment reinforcing and extending those common bonds.

34. We are engaged in building up the Atlantic community within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with its rules. We hope therein to find a common strength which will exceed the sum of the forces of its individual members in the defence of peace.

35. It was the same concept that gave birth to and must never cease to guide that splendid co-operative scheme set forth in the plans for technical assistance to the under-developed countries.

36. If this argument is generally speaking true, if it is true for all the free democracies, it applies *a fortiori* to Europe, to free Europe. Why "*a fortiori*" ? If a catastrophe should befall, if an act of aggression were committed, the conflict would doubtless soon extend to the entire world. Foolish indeed would be the nation that hoped to remain neutral and escape the consequences of so gigantic a struggle between good and evil. Yet, it is certain that the first to be exposed, the first to be attacked and perhaps the most cruelly afflicted would be, as so often in the past, the countries of Europe. Fortunately, they have realized the danger in time. For years now Europe has been seeking to organize a single line of defence in order, with the assistance of friends in other continents, to safeguard its freedom and fulfil its high vocation.

37. Do not, I beg you, forget that Europe is among the most seriously disabled victims of the war. The body of Europe is still suffering from cruel mutilations ; of the twenty-six nations of Europe only fourteen are now represented among us here in the United Nations.

38. Nevertheless, the countries of Europe, impelled by the strong current of public opinion, have made a magnificent recovery. The Council of Europe is in operation. It is far indeed from fulfilling the hopes of its founders or meeting the new needs of our time. But ideas evolve and take shape; in the orbit of the Council of Europe there is a chain of organizations at work. They are, I agree, as yet insufficiently co-ordinated, but they are at work defining problems, seeking and sometimes finding solutions, and, at all events, preparing the way for the future.

39. Two great experiments, the credit for initiating which belongs to France, are under way: the European coal and steel union (the Schuman Plan) and the European defence union (the Pleven Plan). Both are demonstrations of Europe's resolve to restore its unity and to do so if necessary by new methods. Either, if it succeeds, is calculated to add greatly to the strength of the free world and also to remove the restrictions on the military, economic and social effort to which European States have set their hand to further by co-operation the common cause.

40. Is it not clear that in following these bold and rugged paths, the peoples of Europe are demanding tremendous exertions of themselves? Such undertakings require courage, great courage; in some countries they call for the sacrifice of legitimate individual interests to a lofty ideal of the common interest. No doubt in the long run such sacrifices will serve the greater interest of each and every one. Nations do not embark on such a course unless they can no longer achieve by other means, that is, in national isolation, the primary aims of every human society.

41. It is doubtless wise to go no further along the road to unification than is necessary to attain the ends in view. Yet, even with these reservations, even within these limits, public opinion in the European countries must show rare political maturity and weigh the needs of the moment with exceptional insight, if it is to be capable of the act of faith, the act of courage, which these new policies demand.

42. For my own part, without wishing to make rash prophecies, I should like to express one conviction: I believe that the countries of Western Europe will have that courage and that wisdom. I believe that they will find a balanced formula which will enable them to create ere long both the European coal and steel union and the European defence union. In so doing they will display once more their desire to contribute, at the price of enlightened but none the less far-reaching sacrifices, to the free world's mighty effort to defend itself. When the present turmoil is spent, a new Europe will arise, a united and harmonious Europe, able once more to devote all its venerable prestige to the greatest of all causes, the building of a better world.

43. If the Europeans follow that path, you will surely agree with me that they will have acquired a new right to the gratitude and respect of all those States which share with them the responsibility for western civilization or for, what is greater still, the dignity of man. Let more fortunate peoples not forget that many European countries have twice within the span of one generation known the ravages of battle and the exhausting rigours of enemy occupation.

44. That is why, having made and continuing to make its full contribution to the joint effort, Europe can without humiliation, demand of others that they should be generous in assessing their own share, so that the joint effort may be made in time and in such a way as to guarantee its success, that is to say, the peace.

45. I now come to my conclusion. Can we draw any conclusion from these general considerations? Perhaps, and perhaps even a conclusion of practical value, since it would amount to a rule of behaviour.

46. There is no doubt that we are living in a dangerous, bewildering age, an age of transition. The very foundations of life and happiness are being constantly called in question. We avoid one danger only to fall into another. And yet we feel that this tide, which sweeps us giddily onwards, may lead us afar—we know not where—but it may be to better, just as likely as to sorrier times.

47. It is for us to stand firm. As you entered the Palais de Chaillot, you will have read, inscribed in letters of gold on the façade, these admirable words of Paul Valéry: "*Il dépend de celui qui passe que je sois tombe ou trésor*". We have a clear and direct policy. It is ready for any eventuality, good or bad. Let us keep faith in ourselves; let us remain calm and strong, wise and persevering. The future will be what we make it.

48. Mr. DONGES (Union of South Africa): May I at the outset add the thanks of the South African delegation to those already expressed by previous speakers to the Government of France for the kind and warm welcome which has been accorded us, as well as for the magnificent arrangements which have been made for the present session of the General Assembly.

49. There are many good reasons why we should henceforth meet at our permanent headquarters in New York when once it is completed, and we should, therefore, make the most of our present opportunity of assembling in this great city which enshrines within itself so much of the glory and achievement of our world civilization. Certainly in no capital of the modern world is there greater evidence of the triumphs of the human spirit, or a more moving reminder of the constructive achievements of peace and of what we stand to lose by the ravages of war.

50. Peace is what matters to the United Nations; and none of our achievements, significant as they are in limited fields, will be remembered for long—nor will we be—unless we are successful in our primary obligation of securing the peace of the world. Even as we meet at this moment, our thoughts cannot be far away from the tragic battlefields of Korea where, at grievous cost, the forces of the United Nations are engaged in vindicating in a practical and solemn manner the principles of collective security. We are mindful of their heroism and their sacrifices. We pay homage to the memory of the men from many nations who have made the supreme sacrifice in this great cause, and we acknowledge with gratitude and admiration the special burdens assumed by the United States in the leadership of our common effort.

51. As the representatives know, South Africa has always maintained that it cannot assume military commitments in the Far East, as its own position on the African continent would render such commitments unrealistic. However, my Government decided, in the case of the Korean conflict, to give more than moral support to the principles of collective security. We realized that if the United Nations were to be enabled to present a united front to the aggressor, on the occasion of this first challenge to the system of collective security, it would be necessary for us all to make such contributions as our respective circumstances permitted. The Union of South Africa, therefore, has at this moment a fighter squadron operating in Korea, a squadron which has borne its share of loss and which, we believe, has taken a not unworthy part in our collective military effort.

52. The United Nations forces have already a great achievement to their credit. The forces of aggression have been beaten back and are now held firmly at bay. The principle of collective military action has been decisively vindicated by this Organization. The ultimate objectives in Korea have been defined and are known to everyone. Before these can be secured, however, the fighting must be brought decisively to an end, and the observance of a cease-fire properly secured. We therefore watch with anxious concern the progress of the cease-fire talks at Panmunjom and pray that the United Nations forces will not have to endure a second winter campaign in Korea. We express our sympathy with the terrible sufferings of the Korean people, whose country was made a battlefield by the aggressors from the north.

53. While on the subject of the Far East, I should like to say that my Government welcomes the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, which it regards as an essential step towards the establishment of stability and security in the Pacific. My Government, therefore, wishes once again to record its full appreciation of this significant contribution towards the establishment of a peaceful world system, and, to those who worked with such devotion to bring the treaty into being, I would, from this rostrum, express our gratitude.

54. There is another area of vital significance to the whole of the democratic world, and of special interest to States like the Union of South Africa which are concerned with the defence of the African continent. I refer to the Middle East. Here, as little as anywhere, can the democratic world with safety allow the existence of a power vacuum, for here, at the bridge between East and West, there also stands the only land approach to Africa. The South African Government has followed with the deepest interest the projects which have lately been developing for the maintenance of security in the Middle East. It has undertaken specific commitments for the defence of that area and, of course, of the African continent; and it has declared its willingness to participate in the establishment of the new Middle East Command, along with the four sponsoring Powers and Australia and New Zealand.

55. On 10 November a declaration was issued by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Turkey setting out the principles which guide them in the formation of the Command, and making it clear that they would welcome the adherence of Middle East States which are willing to join in the co-operative defence of the area. The South African Government was fully consulted in advance about that declaration and, as one of the participants in the Middle East Command, would wish to make it clear that the South African Government agrees with the terms of that declaration and gives it its full support.

56. The Middle East Command is merely a logical extension of the idea involved in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is as little opposed to the principles of the Charter as is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Both are regional defence arrangements in full accord with the principles of Article 51 of the Charter. In neither case do these defence arrangements in any way infringe the national independence or sovereignty of the participating countries. Nor do either of them threaten any one except the potential aggressor. Their whole purpose is defence against a possible attack from outside: the securing of peace through strength. It is sincerely to be hoped that in a region where the peace

and security of so many nations are at stake, each will make its full contribution to the common effort symbolized in the Middle East Command.

57. It is sometimes argued that the establishment of these regional pacts is inconsistent with the universality of collective security. The authors of the Charter thought otherwise and wisely realized that, particularly in the field of defence, the formation of regional pacts was a necessary concession to realism, and an indispensable aid to an effective system of collective security for the whole world. Our experience in Korea has shown that the responsibility of all often becomes the responsibility of only a few.

58. It is, of course, obvious that if these regional pacts are to have their full effect in the over-all pattern of world security, they should have the support of each of the countries directly concerned in the proposed areas. It is my Government's urgent hope, that, setting aside all minor differences, the logical partners in the Middle East Command will join in this common effort.

59. In regard to the African continent itself, the South African Government has clearly a prime interest in promoting the well-being and security of all its peoples. In the field of security I can inform the Assembly that in August the South African Government, in conjunction with the United Kingdom Government, convened an African defence facilities conference at Nairobi with the object of facilitating the movement of troops and supplies in time of war or emergency. To this conference all Powers with African interest were invited. I am happy to say that the conference proved an unqualified success and that its results will, we hope, contribute greatly to the security of the continent and, therefore, of the whole democratic world. In the technical field, too, South Africa has continued to play its full part in the orderly development of the African continent and in promoting the physical welfare of the African peoples. In this respect we believe that we have made material progress among the less developed people in our country. This progress has been largely possible because of our unique experience over many decades with the African problem.

60. I should now like to express a few thoughts which are much in the mind of my Government about the United Nations itself. Six years have elapsed since those assembled at San Francisco completed the blueprint for our Organization. That design was conceived in an atmosphere of hope—an atmosphere in which it was believed that peace would be the sincere desire and the goal of all nations—that war would not again in our time become an instrument to further national or imperialist ambition. It was hoped by all those at that conference that the nations of the world would be ensured the climate of peace and security which would permit of fruitful international co-operation and the achievement of better and healthier conditions of life. No one could believe that the destruction and suffering which had attended the war, a war which our civilization had only just survived, would have failed to persuade the most doubting nations represented of the complete futility and folly of reverting to relations and actions which so often in the past made armed conflict inevitable.

61. Since the San Francisco Conference we have sought to build according to the plan and specifications of the Charter. We have endeavoured to develop this Organization as an instrument of peace, an instrument for the promotion of human welfare and happiness. Unfortunately, however, we have allowed certain defects to creep into our construction, defects which, unless removed, must necessarily render our Organization weak and incapable of achiev-

ing its high purpose. South African spokesmen have often drawn attention to this fact, and have consistently warned against departing from the clear provisions of the Charter. Our warnings have not always been heeded and, I fear, have sometimes been resented. May I point out that we in South Africa stand as much to gain by the healthy growth and proper functioning of our Organization as any other nation belonging to it, and that we also stand to lose should the Organization ultimately collapse and international order, peace and security give way to international anarchy. Our criticism is, therefore, not intended as destructive but rather constructive, and it is in this light that I would wish representatives to receive my further comments.

62. In accepting the Charter, Member States agreed to certain far-reaching commitments which might entail a surrender of sovereignty. This is, of course, not uncommon, as such sacrifices have often to be made in consequence of international arrangements. However, in the case of the Charter, the scope and extent of the possible surrender of sovereignty was broader than had ever before been conceived in bilateral or multilateral arrangements or in international organizations such as the old League of Nations. The need for this broader scope was born out of the realization that aggression often had its roots in economic conditions and ambitions and in ideological imperialism. The choice at San Francisco thus lay between this broader base and, on the other side, the proved ineffectiveness of trying to isolate and restrict the threats to peace within a narrow compass. On the other hand, the Member States were not prepared to barter away their sovereignty, unconditionally and absolutely. They required, rightly required, and obtained a guarantee against unwarranted encroachments on their authority and against meddlesome incursions into matters which fall essentially within their domestic jurisdiction. The Charter, therefore, provided, and provides, a specific and over-riding safeguard in this respect. I make bold to say that no State, certainly no small State which has not the veto power, would have been able to accept the far-reaching provisions of the Charter without this fundamental safeguard.

63. I go further and state my firm conviction that, without this specific safeguard, the Organization would have exposed itself to disintegration in the course of time. Because this safeguard removes the temptation to interfere in the internal organization of a State, it eliminates the possibility of exploiting conditions in any country for selfish and ulterior motives, and it removes the threat to peace which such gratuitous meddlesomeness must inevitably constitute. In other words, this safeguard was inserted not because of any exaggerated regard for national sovereignty, but to obtain the adherence of smaller nations to provisions which might otherwise have worked an injustice to them; and, even more particularly, it was inserted to ensure the continued existence of the Organization itself and to avoid the dissipation of its energies away from its primary object of international co-operation, the preservation of peace and the outlawing of aggression.

64. As the Assembly is aware, South Africa has unfortunately been the first victim of arbitrary action beyond the explicit terms of the Charter, and we are therefore perhaps better able to appreciate the dangers which will attend this unhappy course if persisted in. When I speak of "the terms of the Charter" I do so advisedly, and I refer to the interpretation given to those terms by the architects of the Charter at San Francisco, and not to any political gloss which some of their successors have from time to time sought to place on those terms for their own purposes and in confor-

mity with opportunistic canons of construction which would probably make the authors of the Charter turn in their graves.

65. But if South Africa was the first victim of such an arbitrary interpretation of the Charter, it is gradually beginning to dawn on other Member States that South Africa may not be the last victim. Somewhat belatedly, but still not too late, other countries have been forced to visualize the possibility of their being hanged on the gallows designed by some countries for South Africa, unless timely action is taken. We trust that this growing apprehension, which is no longer imaginary, may serve to rally those who do not wish to unmake the work of our predecessors at San Francisco, and so place the future of our Organization in jeopardy.

66. There are other tendencies which in the view of my Government could usefully be checked, and I should like to refer to a few of them.

67. When building up an organization like that of the United Nations during a period of international tension, such as that through which we are now passing, it is wise to concentrate on the urgent and over-riding problems. Energy and time expended on secondary issues may be wasteful and defeat the larger objective. These are days which make enormous demands on governments and on individual statesmen and, if the United Nations is not to wane in prestige, it is clearly desirable that its sessions should be attended throughout by representatives with Cabinet responsibility, not because they are necessarily wiser or more experienced than others but because in their respective countries they are responsible for policy, they are the formulators of policy. The overloading of our agenda, year by year, with questions of secondary and even doubtful importance where they are not definitely harmful to peace, has led to the prolongation of our meetings beyond all reasonable limits. Representatives are now expected to be absent from their countries for as much as three months on end. Even then their time is taken up so much with matters of lesser moment that questions of vital concern to the whole world are sometimes considered only perfunctorily or in an atmosphere of physical exhaustion.

68. There are surely many matters of lesser significance that might usefully disappear from our agenda altogether, or that could be dealt with appropriately by the Interim Committee, meeting when the Assembly is not in session. I was particularly impressed by Mr. Eden's admonition to us to "grasp definite and limited problems and work for their practical solution". It seems to me necessary that we should apply the pruning shears to our agendas, and cut away items which clutter up the agendas without providing any prospect of finality or even progress. It seems to me further that it would be desirable to introduce some system of priorities with regard to the items that remain so as to ensure, firstly, that the Assembly is not called upon to meet for more than six weeks in the year and, secondly, that the Assembly is enabled to devote the greater part of its time to the dominating issues, to working for the practical solution of definite and limited problems. I fear that unless some attempt along these or other lines is made to ensure a more frugal and fruitful use of a more limited time, the Assembly will have to face the prospect in the future of a deterioration in the calibre of its delegates. Already the more important formulators of policy find themselves obliged to hurry away from our discussions after perhaps a fortnight, during which period the Assembly has scarcely yet settled down to its work.

69. Another tendency which, unless curbed, is likely to be most damaging to the prestige of the United Nations, and which in addition has proved most wasteful of time, is the tendency to indulge in the vituperation and vilification of fellow delegates and Member States. Let us have criticism by all means, informed and constructive criticism of each other's view points; after all, out of the clash of ideas and views, truth may be born. But is it really conducive to the dignity and prestige of this Organization, or to the furtherance of their own case, for representatives to stoop to the language that is sometimes heard in this august Assembly? The calling of names and the use of sneers cannot, after all, take the place of argument; yet in the United Nations armoury of some representatives these are the chief weapons, in addition to the sowing of suspicion, the ascribing of motives and the employment of threats. It may be, of course, that the temptation which a world forum offers is partly to blame for this state of affairs, but our aims should surely be to use this forum in the constructive cause of world peace and the promotion of a better feeling between countries, rather than to exploit it for our petty bickerings, our national vendettas and mutual recriminations. Such abuse of this forum may gain cheap applause and fleeting fame, but what does it do to build bridges between nations and to promote understanding?

70. I am bound to observe that the parliaments of many Member States are growing increasingly uneasy at the scale of expenditure on international agencies. Members will be only too well aware that in the last three years the cost of maintaining the United Nations and its specialized agencies has risen from a yearly total of \$72.5 million to \$81 million, a sum which excludes the large sums voluntarily paid towards various forms of international relief. The problem which we must now face is to be solved only by drastic cuts in the over-all budget of the United Nations and particularly by a rationalization of United Nations activities. Here I must emphasize that my Government does not contemplate any measures which might have the effect of reducing the high state of efficiency of the various United Nations services. The intention rather is that we should employ our present not inconsiderable resources in a manner which would produce the maximum result. We must consider such problems as whether the United Nations itself is the most suitable body to undertake a particular task or whether, for example, some other organization already operating in that field would not be better fitted to do so. I think that if we are to employ our resources most usefully, we must all realize that the United Nations is not a universal provider, and that the very act of referring a problem to the United Nations does not in itself bring with it a final solution. Perhaps here again it is a question of priorities.

71. While on the subject of expense I wish to express the appreciation of my Government of the consistently good work and judicious comment of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. Certainly its activities are in the interests of individual Member States, but they are in the best interests also of the United Nations Organization, for economy frequently goes hand in hand with efficiency.

72. If I have been rather outspoken in my comments on the functioning of our Organization, I can only say that there are occasions when the candid friend is the best friend. It is to me a healthy sign that many of the speeches to which I had the privilege of listening last Monday, the first occasion on which I attended the Assembly, showed the same concern for the future of our Organization which I feel; the introspective bent of such speeches and the obvious

desire of the speakers to be helpful and constructive, while being honest, has emboldened me to follow the same course. We speak of this debate as our annual stocktaking, but balance sheets based on inaccurate inventories are as dangerous as faked balance sheets, for they may disclose non-existent assets and ignore hidden liabilities. The ills from which we are suffering are, in my opinion, more functional than organic, and the beginning of the cure lies in honest and fearless self-searching.

73. I shall now conclude. I do so by expressing the fervent hope that this session will bring us all closer to our main goal, namely, a real and lasting peace. We cannot continue on this present course without the danger, the very real danger, of once again bringing destruction and suffering upon a world which, although the Second World War was concluded more than six years ago, is still struggling to emerge from the chaos left in the wake of that last gigantic struggle. It is imperative that the dread of war be removed and I would add my voice to those from this rostrum that the men responsible for this fear, this suspicion, this hostility which surround us, should endeavour to align their policies with the policies of the democratic world, the democratic world which wishes to threaten no one, but is fiercely determined not to be subjected to foreign oppression or to foreign ideologies, which is determined to maintain its own way of life and the institutions which constitute its heritage and its hope.

74. Mr. QUEVEDO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): It is not the democratic world which by military action, revolution fomented from abroad or *coups d'état* has imposed individualistic or capitalistic régimes on countries which had voluntarily accepted a socialist or collectivist régime. The opposite is true.

75. The democratic world has been compelled to begin rearming in face of uninterrupted communist expansion, the latest manifestation of which is the Korean war. The United Nations, in instituting common action against aggression, has gained renewed vigour. In seeking the consolidation of a system of collective security it is not threatening anyone, but is endeavouring to safeguard its own free existence.

76. Yet we should note that the collective security system ought preferably to be based on regional agreements, particularly from the point of view of the individual contribution of each country; that is, that the countries grouped in the same regional organization should negotiate their contribution and its employment on a regional basis.

77. But notwithstanding the progress implied in the joint repudiation of aggression and the organization of collective security—organization that my delegation and my Government believe should certainly be maintained and strengthened even more—we cannot lose sight of the increasing seriousness of the international situation: violent opposition between the communist Powers and the Western Powers; prolonged cold war, the seed of new dangers; the subversive and destructive activities of the communist fifth columns; the employment in military expenditure, inevitable under present circumstances, of a large part of the States' economic resources which might otherwise be used for the purposes of civilization; poverty, discontent and anxiety affecting the majority of the world's population; the justified desire for independence of peoples of age-old history, who are nevertheless in one way or another subjected to a foreign domination that eventually will come to an end in obedience to the inexorable laws of history; inevitable nationalist trends in groups of nations linked by geography, race, language and history; the need for a new, just and equitable

balance in the economic relations of the industrialized and non-industrialized countries, between the international prices for raw materials and the international prices for manufactured goods.

78. My delegation believes that the basic social and economic problems should be attacked by methods and systems of international co-operation. President Truman's Point Four programme and the effective action for rehabilitation, on a small scale though it is, of United Nations technical assistance and of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund are an earnest of what could be done through international co-operation on a broad scale.

79. My delegation is convinced that the democratic world has neither sought nor provoked the present situation of danger and international tension in the face of communism. But at the same time it believes that if the United Nations wishes to obtain the real and unreserved co-operation of all its Members and desires to achieve real universality, it must place increased emphasis on social activities and seek social justice even more vigorously, in order to achieve the well-being which the majority of mankind does not yet enjoy.

80. My delegation also believes that the United Nations should not oppose either directly or indirectly the historic movements for the independence of the peoples now taking place; and that it should also recognize the vitality and justice of nationalist and regional trends of opinion, which are concrete facts in our present political life.

81. We recognize the reasonable basis upon which the great democratic Powers are seeking a genuine and balanced disarmament in which all who act in good faith shall receive safeguards, and we believe that on this basis formulae can be sought which would be acceptable to all those States that have an over-riding interest in it. But we believe that the growth of the danger threatening peace necessitates fresh and redoubled efforts to defend it. It has already been pointed out that war would damage all States, large and small alike, perhaps the latter even more than the former.

82. All of us therefore have a particular interest in avoiding war, even though the basic responsibility may fall, as it does in fact fall, on the great Powers.

83. The United Nations Charter was signed on the assumption that the peaceful coexistence of opposed social and political systems was possible. Let us not lose faith in that assumption. It is our hope not only that the strengthening of the West will be continued but that that strengthening may be a fresh guarantee of peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, the worsening of the danger of war lends greater emphasis, in our opinion, to the timely suggestion made by the President of the French Republic.

84. This great country has not only offered us cordial hospitality but a constructive idea which may be the most fertile of those so far expressed at this session of the Assembly: the need for direct personal contact between the heads of the great States with world-wide interests in a supreme effort to ease the tension that separates them and to avert the deadly danger that threatens the whole of mankind. If the moral sense of the world is crystallized in this way during this Assembly, we believe that this step will be facilitated in the near future and that we shall thus have made a considerable advance towards peace.

85. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (*translated from French*): In addressing this august Assembly today, I wish solemnly to reaffirm the unshakeable faith of my country in the United Nations.

86. The geographical position of Iran at the cross-roads of the Middle East imposes upon us special responsibilities with regard to international peace and security. We are aware of our duty and so have always supported the Organization to the best of our ability. Our foreign policy is and has always been based on the Charter, and we hope that the sincere application of the principles of that instrument will eventually produce a tranquil atmosphere in which all nations can make economic and social progress.

87. Although the principal purpose of the United Nations is to save mankind from the scourge of war, which has brought untold sorrow, another of its purposes is to establish the conditions necessary for the maintenance of international justice and for the improvement of the standard of living of all peoples. The Charter also lays down in so many words that the United Nations should be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends.

88. In surveying the work already accomplished, we must acknowledge that satisfactory results have been achieved in certain spheres. Effective intervention by the Organization has prevented the aggravation of international disputes. Nevertheless, it would be idle to allege that all the hopes which the small nations have placed and still place in the United Nations have been fulfilled. Of course we understand the difficulties which such an organization encounters, and we can conceive the great efforts which it must make to overcome them. We also know that great goodwill has been manifested in order to facilitate the task and to make of the United Nations, as is laid down in the Charter, the supreme refuge where all nations, great and small, can co-operate on an equal footing to ensure their common well-being. Nevertheless, we still have a long and difficult road ahead of us before we can reach our goal. Our Organization is capable of making the necessary effort and is the only body which, in the existing circumstances, can fulfil the tense expectation of the peoples. We remain faithful supporters of this Organization and, because we desire it to avoid the setbacks which were fatal to the former League of Nations, we take the liberty of submitting today some comments which we think may contribute to its equilibrium and vitality.

89. Our first remark is addressed to the great Powers. As permanent members of the Security Council, they bear the heaviest responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Indeed, the failure of the United Nations fully to achieve its aims is due to the differences between the great Powers. We do not consider that they have done everything possible to resolve these differences, since, if they had made every effort to settle their disputes according to justice and law, the Organization would have been able to operate under better conditions. Unfortunately, six years after a murderous and merciless war the difficulties, instead of progressively diminishing, seem to have increased. We are now faced with a divided world. The choice which small nations have to make between a number of blocs cannot serve the cause of the United Nations. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the ideological differences between the Members of our Organization are an obstacle to the maintenance of peace. Peoples can live in peace in their own ways if the great Powers try to find common ground with due regard to the interests of all the members of the international community.

90. Another factor in the existing situation—and this is our second remark—is the failure of certain Powers always to respect the political and economic independence of other countries. They have interfered in the internal affairs of these countries, in spite of the explicit provisions of the

Charter which recognize the domestic jurisdiction of every State. These Powers have sometimes not shrunk from measures threatening the territorial integrity and political independence of other States. Such activities are absolutely unjustifiable and undoubtedly contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter.

91. I should like now—and this is my third comment—to address the Powers which have not always favoured the national aspirations of peoples who have lived for many years under systems of political and economic oppression. It is impossible to exaggerate the degree of fundamental evolution which has taken place among those peoples since the beginning of the twentieth century. The impetus of an increased interchange of ideas and of an unprecedented growth of communications has progressively awakened those peoples. This movement of emancipation, which is especially strong in Asia and Africa, cannot be ignored. We sympathize whole-heartedly with the national aspirations of the Islamic countries.

92. The attitude of certain Powers towards this development, their misunderstanding of these national aspirations and rejection of the rightful claims of those peoples, will produce, if not a general catastrophe, at least unfavourable results for mankind in general. We note with regret that the Powers which exploit for their own profit the natural wealth of other countries are unwilling to abandon their privileges. For the sake of justice and peace, is it not essential to renounce this selfish policy and to consider the awakening of nations who wish to attain political and economic independence? The desire of those nations to use their natural wealth to promote the well-being of their people and to raise their standard of living is absolutely normal and comprehensible. This is a vital problem. It would be disastrous for the whole international community to temporize any longer and to bargain over the national aspirations of peoples. It is high time to realize this.

93. Although I do not intend to refer here to all the factors which may disturb the peace, I should like to dwell on one which is of vital importance. This will be my fourth remark. I wish to draw attention to the poverty and destitution which prevail among two-thirds of the inhabitants of the world and represent an outstanding threat to world peace. Only by alleviating the misery of mankind, only by improving the standard of living of the greater part of mankind, can peace be established on a solid and unshakeable foundation.

94. This aim is within our jurisdiction and, as I recalled earlier, is formulated in the Charter itself. It is our duty to combat social evils and to establish genuine economic and social co-operation among all nations. We can accomplish this urgent work. The economic plans for under-developed countries can assist very effectively in its performance. Exchange of technical knowledge within a scheme of international co-operation would contribute much towards achieving our aims. But these programmes, in order to be effective and facilitate the progress of the less advanced nations, must be planned on an international level. Only thus can they lead to the well-being of peoples, which is an indispensable condition of stable, peaceful relations.

95. Under-developed countries need the experience of more advanced nations. But this co-operation must be based on absolute equality, for it is essential to recall that certain developed nations have tended in the past to consider themselves superior to others, not only from the point of view of technical development, which would be comprehensible, but also ethically and racially. Such an attitude is wrong and dangerous. While agreeing to co-

operate with the advanced nations, the under-developed countries intend to retain their national rights, and especially the sacred right of self-determination. Genuine international co-operation presupposes the free disposal by peoples of their natural wealth. That is the keystone of peace. Advanced States cannot provide technical assistance and at the same time exploit the wealth of less-developed countries, as they often have.

96. Fortunately, our Organization has always been aware of this vital problem. From its earliest days, especially at the time the Charter was signed, the problem of general security has seemed to us inseparable from the struggle against ignorance, disease and poverty. In order to inspire and stimulate economic and social progress in under-developed countries, the United Nations has adopted technical assistance plans in various fields. For this work the United Nations and its specialized agencies deserve much credit. Nevertheless such plans, even if executed on an adequate scale, are insufficient in themselves, especially in view of their limited aims and of budgetary difficulties.

97. One of the greatest difficulties which confronts retarded countries is lack of funds to finance their economic development. It was hoped, justifiably, that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development would provide those countries with at least part of the funds necessary to establish and accelerate the plans. Unfortunately, the Bank has not only failed to carry out the intentions of its founders in this connexion, but has also often greatly disappointed under-developed countries. Its action, or rather its inaction, has sometimes even hampered the plans made by these countries. Indeed, its existence and the hopes to which it gave rise have prevented these countries from obtaining the necessary equipment by other means when they could still do so. Even if there were still hope of obtaining a loan, it should be emphasized that the cost of equipment has more than doubled. In the five years of its existence the Bank has applied less than 600 million dollars to development projects. Considering that 80 per cent of mankind belongs to the under-developed countries, the Bank may justly be said to have failed in one of its principal aims.

98. Iran has special reason to complain of the policy pursued by the bank; but, as we do not wish to take up any more of the General Assembly's valuable time, we reserve the right to return to this question on suitable occasions in the competent committees.

99. These are the remarks I wish to make to you today. In dwelling on some of our present difficulties I have no desire to under-estimate the work undertaken by the United Nations or to give way to the fatalism of despair. On the contrary, I wish to draw the attention of representatives to the problems which endanger international peace and security and may threaten the very existence of our Organization.

100. We should always bear in mind the anxiety which preys upon all mankind. We should be aware of the servitude and hardship afflicting a very large part of mankind. We should also never forget the fear of war which constantly weighs on all minds. Fortunately for us, the road to disaster is by no means inevitable, as certain persons think, and our Organization can and must take the necessary steps to save humanity from the catastrophe. In order to ensure peace, we must act with goodwill and candour, and abandon forever the idea of exploiting human communities.

101. Of course the collective security measures in the famous resolution [177 (V)] on "Uniting for Peace" may prove effective. Of course the report of the Collective Measures

Committee¹ may be useful and lay the foundation of the General Assembly's future work in this direction. Nevertheless, our most urgent task is to determine the factors which are disturbing the peace and to try to eliminate their causes. That is why we felt that we should give our views on this subject. We are convinced that, if these ideas are taken into account, real co-operation can be established among nations and the general welfare resulting therefrom is bound to strengthen the foundations of world peace.

102. Representatives would be surprised if the Iranian representative restricted himself to these general considerations without touching on a question fundamental to the economic and social policy of his country: the nationalization of the oil industries.

103. I have already recalled the duties undertaken by each Member State under the Charter to promote the welfare of its people. Precisely in order to fulfil its duties, both national and international, Iran, after fifty years' bitter experience with a foreign company which, not content with taking the lion's share of our national wealth, has unscrupulously exploited the country and its people, has unanimously decided to nationalize its oil industries.

104. I have no intention of enlarging upon our grievances against the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, nor on the difficulties created to prevent us from implementing our social reform programme. I merely wish to say a few words to refute the baseless accusations which have been wrongly made against us.

105. As you know oil is the main source of our national wealth. It is therefore proper that we can countenance its exploitation only as a way of ensuring the general welfare of our people. As hitherto organized the oil industry has never contributed to this aim and, what is worse, has not contributed effectively to the technical and industrial progress of our country.

106. This truth was stressed by the United Nations experts in their report on the economic situation of the Middle East (I refer to document E/1910/Add.2/Rev. 1 of 31 January 1951).² They conclude with the following words: "There is, therefore, a striking contrast between the huge potential wealth represented by the oil reserves of the Middle East and the current benefits so far derived by the countries to which the reserves belong".

107. We shall illustrate the truth of this observation taking a few figures at random. In 1948, for example, according to the balance sheet published by the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company—which, by the way, could never be checked by the Iranian authorities—that Company reaped a net profit of 62 million pounds. The total amount of royalties and taxes accruing to Iran in 1948 was 9,800,000 pounds, whereas the Government of the United Kingdom, quite apart from the dividend from its shares in the company, obtained more than 28 million pounds sterling in taxes alone. That is the derisory revenue which our country used to obtain from its main source of natural wealth.

108. That is only the financial side of the question. What was even less tolerable was the interference of the former

Company in our internal affairs, its underhand manoeuvres and its machiavellian intrigues to keep us in a constant state of dependence and thus better exploit us.

109. What country valuing its independence and dignity could tolerate such a situation? We have ended it in order to establish our oil industry on a new basis, better befitting our independence and more likely to ensure the welfare of our people. In doing this we have exercised an unchallengeable right unherent in our national sovereignty.

110. Under international law the nationalization of any industry is a sovereign right of every nation. A contract concluded with a private company cannot limit its sovereignty. Every State may nationalize property belonging to aliens by compensating the persons affected.

111. The Iranian legislature has made specific provision in Articles 2 and 3 of the Act of 28 and 30 April 1951 for compensating the former company. Moreover, the Iranian Government has on several occasions invited the representatives of the former Company to come and discuss compensation. We have declared ourselves ready to follow various procedures for this purpose, particularly the one adopted by other countries which have carried out nationalization policies. It is the Company which has refused so far.

112. The broad terms of our legislation and the choice offered by our Government to the former Company show, beyond any possible doubt, that the accusations that Iran has confiscated property are without foundation and constitute vain attempts to arouse the hostility of world opinion against our country.

113. It is altogether wrong to allege that Iran has violated international law. On the contrary, our Parliament has definitely acted in accordance with international law. The Iranian Government rightly feels that no international body is competent to consider the nationalization which it has undertaken. Our action is in fact legal. The only question to be settled is that of the compensation to be paid to the former Company. That is a purely domestic matter which concerns only this Company and the Iranian Government. That the problem has not yet been settled is not our fault but that of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which refuses our invitation to come and discuss compensation. The action taken by the Iranian Government cannot therefore be regarded as confiscation of alien property.

114. Furthermore my Government, in order to show clearly its desire to co-operate, has emphasized that it was prepared to sell the necessary oil not only to the United Kingdom but also to all customers of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Article 7 of the Act of 28 and 30 April 1951 lays this down unequivocally. Thus those who claim that the Iranian Government is not observing international principles and does not wish to co-operate are either far from the truth or are biased in their judgment.

115. Who is guilty of acting in violation of the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charters?

116. Are we guilty, or are those who, in order to impose their political views and to defend the selfish interests of a company concerned only with its own profits, have resorted to measures of intimidation such as sending warships to the limits of our territorial waters and mobilizing paratroops and land forces in close proximity to us?

117. Are we guilty, or are those who, in violation of international rules, have not hesitated to threaten the territorial integrity and independence of other States?

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 13*.

² See *World Economic Report 1949—1950: Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East*; United Nations Publications, Sales No.: 1951. II.C.3.

118. Are we guilty, or are those who exercise economic pressure to impose conditions which can be accepted only at the expense of national independence and dignity?

119. Are we guilty, or are those who desire by their manoeuvres systematically to misrepresent the truth before international bodies?

120. Fortunately the Security Council has remembered its great responsibility and has refused to be influenced by them.

121. The Iranian Government, as a faithful and loyal Member of the United Nations, remains jealous of its independence and sovereignty. The maintenance of peace and of international security, the main purpose of our illustrious Organization, demands that the United Nations should assist Iran in exercising its most natural and unchallengeable right to promote the welfare of its people in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter.

122. There is no need to recall that the Iranian Government is prepared to participate in any work of international collaboration, but on condition that co-operation is based on the full equality of nations and on justice. It is greatly to be regretted that we are asked to admit that might is right and not asked to co-operate on a dignified and equal footing. This attitude has been condemned by the twentieth century. No country in the Middle East can any longer accept these precepts derived from the colonial policies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

123. We are convinced, however, that the United Nations will be faithful to the spirit and letter of the Charter and able to frustrate such designs. We are sure that it will assist the peoples of the world to achieve their national aspirations.

124. Sir Benegal RAU (India): I should like to begin, as so many others before me have done, by expressing my delegation's grateful appreciation of the warm welcome extended to us by the Government of France.

125. The United Nations has now completed the first five years of its life, a period long enough to permit a review of its activities and the drawing up of a balance sheet of its achievements and failures. Such a survey would show that we have no ground for undue pessimism or for undue complacency, and that while there is room for hope, there is also need for ceaseless effort. I have, however, no time for a comprehensive review and must content myself with a brief reference to what appears to us to be the most promising achievement of the Organization during the last five years, and then to one or two of our main failures.

126. Undoubtedly, our most important achievement has been in the economic and social field, particularly the systematic aid which the United Nations has begun to give to under-developed countries. The scale of this aid will have to be multiplied many times before it can perceptibly reduce the dimensions of the problem, for two-thirds of the world's total population has still, amongst it, less than one-sixth of the world's total income, and nearly one-half of the world's population still lives well below the minimum necessary for health and efficiency. But the important point is that the United Nations has made a beginning, and more important still, there is a general awareness today, as never before, of the responsibility of governments and individuals in the more advanced countries of the world for the uplift of the under-developed. The spirit of our Charter, with its promise of "better standards of life in larger freedom" has begun to influence the activities of governments and groups of governments, of private foundations and even private individuals. I have said that

this spirit has begun to affect even private individuals. I have had several proofs of this in recent months in New York; it will suffice to mention only the latest. A few weeks ago an American couple who have honoured me with their friendship offered in effect to make a gift of the cost of two tube-wells to be sunk in any Indian village where they were needed. Quite a small project: in terms of money it may mean some \$10,000 to \$15,000, but as a seed of goodwill between the peoples of the two countries it is of incalculable value. It may inspire others to like generosity and there is also the possibility that the village receiving the gift may, in its turn, out of its increased crop production, repay the donors by making a similar gift to a neighbouring village, and so on, until there is a whole network of wells over a large area. Thus the original gift may multiply and spread from village to village, carrying with it a message of friendship and goodwill between people and people. In these days when there is so much depressing talk of international tension, it is well to remind ourselves that it is not the whole picture and that there is still a reservoir of goodwill among the peoples of the world, upon which we can draw if we will only try.

127. I have dwelt at some length and in some detail upon this part of the activities of the United Nations because it is of particular significance to India. India is now in the midst of a general election with a total electoral roll of about 175 million voters, based on universal adult franchise. It has been described as the biggest experiment in democracy the world has yet seen. This immense democracy will face formidable problems of low and deteriorating standards of life and if it fails to solve them quickly, democracy as a form of government may be discredited among the vast populations of the East. We in India are therefore straining every nerve to make it a success, because of our fundamental faith in the ideals of democracy.

128. Let me now turn for a moment to what the United Nations has so far failed to achieve. We have not yet achieved universality of membership or representation and we cannot yet claim to be an organization fully and truly representing all the countries and the peoples of the world. This is not merely a formal defect; it may seriously impair the usefulness of our deliberations. For example, to mention only one point, we shall soon be discussing plans for reduction of armaments and armed forces, in the absence of any representative of the government controlling one of the most important armies in the world, namely, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. My Government's views on the subject of China's representation have been fully explained here more than once and are well known to you all. New China is a fact, and if the United Nations continues to ignore this fact, its deliberations may become somewhat unreal. It is therefore a matter of deep regret to us that the General Assembly should have decided to postpone almost indefinitely consideration of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

129. Another obvious failure is that we have not yet been able to implement the Article of the Charter relating to the regulation of armaments. This is an old theme and it is difficult to say anything new on it. I shall, therefore, repeat what I said last year, apologizing for the length of the quotation. This is what I said:

"At the root of all the conflicts inside and outside the United Nations is a pervading fear of aggression...

"We may be sure that the people of no part of the world, whether in the West or in the East or in the Far East or anywhere else, want war, and yet they feel compelled to spend vast sums of money on preparations for defence

against aggression. Can we do nothing to dissipate this constant and wasteful dread of war?

"I speak with great diffidence, but the subject is so important that I cannot refrain from making a suggestion or two. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France are all present [here]. Could they not meet... and discuss or re-discuss at least the most outstanding matters of disagreement between them? Could they not have something corresponding to one of those... periodic meetings of the Security Council which are prescribed in Article 28... of the Charter?"

"Perhaps such discussions have not been very fruitful in the past; they may fail again; but the attempt is worth making. Even if nothing else came of them, the Ministers could at least reaffirm jointly what each of their countries has already affirmed separately in signing the Charter, namely, that they would settle all their international disputes by peaceful means, and the psychological effect upon an anxious world would be far from negligible [286th meeting, paras. 93-96]."

130. That is the suggestion which I ventured, very diffidently, to make last year. I am emboldened to repeat it now, because a somewhat similar suggestion occurs in the inaugural address of the President of the French Republic to which we had the privilege of listening last week [333rd meeting]. Two good reasons can be adduced in favour of the suggestion. The first and most obvious reason is that once war, as a possible solution of any question, is finally ruled out—and this is what is implied in a joint no-war declaration—the minds of those concerned must inevitably turn to peaceful solutions. And as peaceful solutions emerge, tension will ease and progressive disarmament can be expected to follow. So long as existing tensions continue unabated, it would be unrealistic to expect disarmament. The other reason is that there is a point beyond which "open disagreements openly arrived at" merely vitiate the atmosphere and retard a solution. We appear to have reached this point now and it is therefore better that outstanding questions should be first discussed privately between those chiefly concerned; any agreements reached can then be put forward publicly in the United Nations. This would make discussion less acrimonious and more fruitful. Particularly, as regards disarmament, unless there is a plan agreed to by all the Powers having large armed forces, a proposal to reduce or abolish armaments or forces would necessarily be unilateral and therefore impracticable. The smaller Powers would probably readily agree to any programme of control of armaments upon which the great Powers were agreed. My delegation knows only too well the difficulties as well as the importance of this subject and will consider most carefully every plan put before us. If any particular plan does not go far enough or is otherwise defective, by all means let us examine the defects and if possible remove them.

131. So much importance does my delegation attach both to disarmament and to the aiding of under-developed areas that we brought forward a draft resolution^{*} linking the two together in the First Committee last year. The idea of the draft resolution was to create a United Nations fund for war against human misery in the under-developed areas of the world and to divert to the fund at least a fraction of the vast sums which nations now spend, or feel compelled to spend, on armaments for war against each other. Even a small fraction would go a long way. The draft resolution

was ultimately withdrawn, because a number of delegations that were sympathetic to the proposal wanted time to study it in detail. If sufficient support is forthcoming, my delegation may revive the proposal during the present session.

132. Of the subjects on the agenda of this session, India is directly concerned in the one relating to the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa. It will be recalled, as I said a day or two ago, that in December last the General Assembly adopted a resolution [395 (V)] containing two recommendations the second of which was to be operative if the first one failed. The first one has unfortunately failed because the Union of South Africa was unable to accept it as a basis for any conference and so the General Assembly has now to consider what should be done to implement the second recommendation. It is no pleasure to my delegation to have to bring this subject year after year before this Assembly. If the Union of South Africa would accept those ideals of partnership and brotherhood in the Commonwealth of which the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom reminded us two or three days ago, the problem would be largely solved.

133. We in India have been witnessing for some years the rising tide of nationalism not only in our own country but also in various other parts of Asia and Africa. Our own experience shows us that nationalism when thwarted creates difficult problems; but if it is dealt with sympathetically and with understanding and in good time, it responds with friendship and generosity. We greatly hope that this will be borne in mind in dealing with those remaining areas of the world where the natural urge of nationalism has not yet been satisfied.

134. I started by referring to the manner in which the activities of the United Nations were influencing even private individuals, but the reverse is also true. During the past twelve months, scores of men and women have come to me with their hopes and fears for the United Nations, with plans and suggestions for the solution of this or that problem, with proposals for improving our system of representation or our mode of voting, with draft resolutions on disarmament and the creation of a world peace force, and so on. I remember, in particular, one old man of ninety, hardly able to walk without support, or even with support, coming to my apartment repeatedly with detailed suggestions for ending the war in Korea. He was a distinguished lawyer in his day and, in spite of his years, his mind was as active and clear as ever. All this shows how keen and anxious is the interest which a good many people outside the United Nations are taking in its affairs. The United Nations is their great hope and, in some measure, they are the hope of the United Nations. Let the United Nations not fail them.

135. Mr. AZÚCAR CHÁVEZ (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): As Chairman of the delegation of El Salvador, I feel that it is appropriate for me to take the floor in the general debate in this important international Assembly to express the views of my delegation and the basic principles which will determine its attitude towards the main items on our agenda.

136. I should like to mention at once the great satisfaction felt by the Salvadorean delegation in collaborating with the delegations of the other Member States of the United Nations in the task of maintaining peace to be carried out by this international Organization, which today is more than ever essential if the innumerable dangers threatening the world at this historic moment are to be averted.

* Document A/C.1/598, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 69.*

137. The Government of El Salvador is deeply disturbed by the impediments preventing the Security Council from contributing as effectively as the United Nations Charter permits to the attainment of one of the most important objectives of this international Organization, that of becoming the real legal community of all free States. The opposition in the Council to the admission of States such as Ireland, Italy and Portugal, which are effective bulwarks of peace at the present time, cannot fail to give rise to the greatest anxiety throughout the world. These States, according to repeated declarations made by this Assembly itself, fulfil all the conditions for membership of the United Nations under Article 4 of the Charter; nevertheless, for reasons wholly foreign to the stipulations laid down therein, their admission has not been possible owing to the excessive exercise of the veto power in the Security Council. This has unfortunately produced a most justified uneasiness throughout the world, because it means that all possibility of effective co-operation within the United Nations is thereby denied to States which could make a considerable contribution to the maintenance of international peace and order. Furthermore, the unfortunate result of the unjustified rejection of these States' requests for admission, due to the opposition of a single vote in the Security Council, is that the United Nations is unable to assume that universality which was the principal intention when the Charter of our Organization was signed.

138. The Government of El Salvador initially proposed [A/1899] the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the important item, admission of new Members, thereby emphasizing its extreme interest in this matter and its intention to co-operate as effectively as possible in the removal of all those impediments which still hinder the admission to our international Organization of States fully qualified to be Members. The Salvadorean delegation has noted with great satisfaction that other American governments have made the same or similar proposals, because that shows very clearly that these governments share the Salvadorean Government's uneasiness with regard to this matter.

139. At the United Nations Conference to set up the international organization, held at San Francisco, California, from April to June 1945, the Salvadorean delegation made every effort to see that the General Assembly of the United Nations should be given in the Charter the widest possible powers to make it the most effective factor for the maintenance of international peace and order. Again and again our delegation has pointed out that the General Assembly is the only genuinely democratic organ of the United Nations, because all Member States are represented in it with an equal vote. At the same time, the Salvadorean delegation endeavoured, unfortunately in vain, to combat the veto power with which each of the five permanent members of the Security Council was to be invested. The apprehensions then harboured by the Salvadorean delegation have been fully confirmed in the course of the last six years. The Security Council is now suffering from the chronic paralysis which the Salvadorean delegation foresaw in 1945. The General Assembly nearly became the centre of academic discussions, without the slightest effective power.

140. These facts could not fail to produce a healthy reaction in the Assembly; and this reaction has most clearly been expressed in the resolution [377 (V)] called "Uniting for Peace" adopted by the General Assembly during its fifth session. This resolution shows clearly that the General Assembly is, in the course of time, becoming fully aware of the great authority inherent in it as the

genuinely representative organ of each and all of the Member States of the United Nations.

141. The resolution "Uniting for Peace" has re-awakened in the United Nations an optimism which had almost disappeared. By its adoption the General Assembly showed the world that it fully recognized the moral authority vested in it, which empowers it to recommend to Members of the Organization the adoption of all necessary measures to maintain world peace and even to repel aggression when it occurs. There can be no doubt that the resolution, "Uniting for Peace", is more than a mere interpretation of the Charter; it is in fact a positive development of the very concept of the General Assembly. Those who took part in drafting the Charter, and those who debated and approved it at San Francisco, in 1945 little thought that, in the course of time, the General Assembly would have to adopt a resolution such as that known under the name of "Uniting for Peace".

142. All this, however, already belongs to history. We must now admit that the supreme importance of the resolution passed by the General Assembly was immediately recognized, particularly in the conflict in Korea. It is thus permissible to ask whether the General Assembly will find remedies for other situations, also arising from the frequent stultification of the Security Council by an immoderate use of the veto.

143. One such problem is that of the admission of new Members to the United Nations. Present conditions are so unfavourable that the result has been the total isolation from the General Assembly of the States which the Assembly itself has considered as fully qualified for membership. This isolation is absolutely complete, since even official messages and documents transmitted by those States for communication to the General Assembly are not circulated to our delegations because they do not emanate from a Member State. The delegation of El Salvador considers it unjust that this situation should continue, as it precludes the possibility of establishing valuable collaboration between the United Nations and many peace-loving States that are not Members of the United Nations for reasons for which there is no legal justification. I am happy to state that my delegation will continue to consider this problem and seek an adequate solution for it, and it is at present prepared to collaborate in this task with other delegations also interested in the subject.

144. This year, as previously, many problems which have become familiar through their annual reappearance will again come before the General Assembly. The most serious of all relates to Korea, because here we are dealing with the tragic breaking up of a nation. We know that the conflict now being waged in Korea would quickly end if all Members of the United Nations without exception would refrain from assisting the aggressors, that is to say, communist China and North Korea. Unfortunately assistance is being given and that explains the failure of the efforts successively made by the General Assembly and the United Nations Unified Command to restore peace in Korea. The Korean nation, shattered and bled white, is deserving of respect, consideration and assistance from each and all of the Members of the United Nations.

145. My delegation is certain that it is voicing the feelings of an overwhelming majority of those present here, and of the governments they represent, in appealing to the conscience of the world to ensure that no assistance shall henceforth be given by any State to the aggressors. If this happy result were obtained, tranquillity would be restored in the world and we might affirm that the United Nations

had recovered its internal harmony and was better able than ever before to remove all barriers to peace. In any case, my delegation is firmly resolved to support all measures submitted for the consideration of this Assembly which are designed to restore peace, on a basis of strict justice, in the nation which has been attacked. It must not be forgotten that the war in Korea jeopardizes not only the prestige of the United Nations but also its very reason for existence.

146. My delegation will also pay the greatest attention to other matters relating particularly to peace in the Far East, including the question of the Island of Formosa and the Nationalist Government established there: the only Chinese government recognized by the United Nations.

147. The case of Greece will once again come before the General Assembly with the various modifications it has undergone in the past year. It may be noted with justifiable satisfaction that the efforts of the General Assembly to strengthen peace and to safeguard the territorial integrity of Greece have been strikingly successful, and as a result the prestige of the United Nations has been enhanced and its authority demonstrated. Serious problems still remain to be settled, however, before that important task can be considered as satisfactorily concluded. Albania and Bulgaria have obstinately persisted in refusing to co-operate with the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. Frontier incidents have continued to occur, according to that Committee's report.⁴ The infiltration of guerillas into Greek territory, although apparently on a smaller scale than in previous years, has taken place with the connivance and assistance of the neighbouring States on the north. It has also been proved that Greek guerillas are being trained in States other than Albania and Bulgaria, some of these States, it should be noted, being Members of the United Nations.

148. The repatriation of Greek children taken from their homes and now in neighbouring countries has not made any considerable progress, despite the recommendations of the General Assembly and the requests of the International Red Cross to the Red Cross Societies of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. Only the last-named State, which has recently re-established official relations with Greece, has responded to these appeals and has co-operated to the extent of repatriating 289 children, as appears from the Special Committee's report. It is terrible to think that there are still more than 10,000 children who have not been repatriated.

149. It has proved impossible to repatriate thousands of civilians who are at present, as a result of guerilla warfare, held in States bordering on Greece, as well as Greek military personnel captured by guerillas and detained in neighbouring States.

150. All these matters require the attention of the General Assembly and call for the continued existence of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. My delegation is ready to co-operate in the study of these matters and to lend its support to the most effective measures which may be recommended to deal with them.

151. As regards Palestine, the Salvadorean delegation insists on the maintenance in their entirety of the resolutions relating to the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places. In accordance with

the precise instructions of my Government, my delegation will also strive to ensure that the problem of the Arab refugees who have been driven from their homes is settled on a basis of strict justice. The fate of those refugees is one of the gravest responsibilities incumbent upon the United Nations.

152. In conclusion, I reiterate the fervent desire of the delegation of El Salvador to co-operate very closely with the other delegations met together here in giving due consideration to the items upon our agenda and in adopting the most appropriate resolutions to promote the work of the United Nations in the attainment of its principal objective: the maintenance of peace. God grant that our efforts in this place may be crowned with success.

153. Mr. DUNCAN (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): The Republic of Panama comes to this sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with the same confidence and the same hope that it has always had in this great international Organization from the time it signed the Charter in San Francisco in 1945.

154. Since its inception and throughout the harsh trials which the United Nations has experienced and continues to experience, Panama has remained firm in its belief that this Organization, notwithstanding natural defects and, I might even say the setbacks necessarily attending its development and growth, is the most efficient instrument hitherto conceived and created for ensuring the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations and for establishing agreement and good understanding between them. Thus at this time of anxiety and tension, it embodies the world's greatest hope for the maintenance of peace.

155. This statement does not mean that my country is blind to reality or that it refuses to recognize flaws and to admit mistakes. On the contrary, it is aware that this sixth anniversary of the United Nations which we have just celebrated, has been viewed by many with mixed feelings of disappointment and hope; disappointment because it is felt that much less has been done than was expected, and hope because, all things considered, the United Nations clearly affords the only possible means of avoiding war and disaster.

156. In view of past experience, and also considering the future of the grave international problems looming on the horizon, my country believes that, the United Nations being a social and political means for avoiding war and ensuring peace, it is essential that its various organs should be strengthened and that its work should be intensified in the economic and social sphere.

157. In carrying out this task, which would give greater efficiency and authority to the United Nations, it may perhaps be a good omen that the sixth session of the General Assembly is being held in Paris, the intellectual centre of the world, where from the time of the Middle Ages people from all countries in the world have come to seek inspiration and knowledge at the fountains of its famous and learned Sorbonne and other brilliant centres of civilization, culture and art; in this Paris, the heart of a great, noble and generous nation, which in all ages has radiated light and encouragement to all peoples that have risen against tyranny seeking justice and claiming freedom. This courageous country, France, which we have seen emerge unscathed from the most violent upheavals and the most appalling ordeals known in history, ever surrounded by a halo of light, ever heroic, ever with fresh strength for the struggle, as we see at the present time, reaffirms beyond the shadow of a doubt its claim to the title of "immortal France".

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 11*.

158. It is well to recall on occasions such as this that, when the United Nations was established, the intention, in the last analysis, was to give the five great Powers control over the destiny of the world. However, sufficient attention was not perhaps paid to the way in which the small countries would react and to whether or not they would in all cases accept such a system of super-control. Neither, apparently, were any doubts expressed as to whether international law had acquired sufficient force and stability to serve as the basis for that control, or as to whether—and that would appear the most serious consideration of all—the five Powers had become unified to an extent which would enable us to believe that they would in future arrive at their decisions unanimously.

159. This perhaps explains not a few of the difficulties which have stood in the path of the Organization and also why the solution of some of its most pressing problems is sometimes delayed and paralysed. Nevertheless, it does not in any way detract from the value and importance of what the United Nations has done and continues to do in its various spheres of activity to halt aggression, abolish the causes of future wars, and defend and maintain peace and understanding among peoples.

160. Today, following a fateful succession of circumstances, we find ourselves at the crossroads in our fight for peace. We must choose between orderly international co-operation which could maintain harmony and peace, and undisciplined international anarchy which, if unchecked, would inevitably lead us to chaos and ruin.

161. However, we must state that if, at the present time, the world is filled with confusion, anxiety and tension, and if war and rumours of war exist, that is not the fault of the United Nations. Let us speak frankly: it is the fault of nations and governments which have sought solely to derive the greatest benefit from the Organization without rendering sufficient assistance in return, or without even sometimes contributing, to the extent of their capacities and resources, to the maintenance of its authority and to the strengthening of that authority still further.

162. Nevertheless, if ever there was a time when it was necessary to strengthen the United Nations and to enhance its authority, that time is now. The horizon is heavy with dense, dark and threatening clouds. As some heated and intemperate speeches we all have heard in this hall serve to prove, the coming months promise to be critical, especially for the principle of collective security which—and this is no pessimistic forecast—will be sorely tested.

163. We may recall that the League of Nations was born weak and perished through its weakness. The United States of America was not a member. No State had any faith in collective security. A series of well-known events resulting from indecision and a lack of firmness undermined its authority and brought about the end of its existence. Its downfall was tragic and complete.

164. The United Nations came into the world under happier auspices. It is built on the granite-like foundation of the Charter, and the nations subscribing to that instrument have faith in the Organization. They rightly believe that where there is a will there is a way, and that if the will is there, an ideal international community can be established which will provide the best means of abolishing war.

165. But we have to confess that we need more than faith when it comes to dealing with the problems of peoples and governments. For the maintenance of peace, strength must be added to faith. We cannot forget that, if over the

centuries man's ideas have changed, his passions have not, and that it is against his passions that we shall always have to fight.

166. My country, like every small country that builds its hope of survival on the maintenance of peace and on the guarantees for its sovereignty and territorial integrity, is particularly interested in the action being taken here to strengthen the structure of the United Nations and in the effectiveness of the measures that may be adopted the better to achieve its objectives.

167. Some noteworthy steps have already been taken in that direction, such as, in the first place, the welcome response of Members States to the Security Council's appeal of June 1950^{*} with a view to repelling the aggression in Korea, a response that has enhanced the moral authority of the Organization and brought about greater cohesion between the nations of which it is composed; secondly, the adoption by the General Assembly at its fifth session in November 1950 of various resolutions under the name of "Uniting for Peace" [377 (V)], which provide for cases where the General Assembly may adopt such measures as circumstances demand, should the Security Council, for any reason, not be able to discharge its duties in the event of an aggression.

168. These measures and the fruit of our experience indicate that we must at all times preserve unimpaired the authority and prestige of the United Nations, and that in moments of crisis we must take a firm stand and maintain it, however disquieting its consequences. The fear of unpopularity or of causing displeasure must in no circumstances prevent us from adopting and resolutely pursuing a clear and decided line of action.

169. Lack of resolution, fear, doubt or hesitation in taking decisions, a tendency to accept compromises that were at times cowardly, the failure to act boldly or to make a definitive stand when confronted with certain difficult problems—all this, we must remember, was what ruined the League of Nations and brought it to disaster and dissolution.

170. Panama therefore desires the United Nations to be strengthened, but this does not mean that my country believes the Organization to be at present a feeble body, still less a useless one. We do not in any way share the view of the sceptics or of those impatient people who assert that nothing has been or is being done by the United Nations.

171. Of course we have no intention of denying that, as some critics point out, the structure of world peace and security still leaves much to be desired in spite of the six annual sessions which the General Assembly has held, of the numerous meetings of the Security Council, and of the work of the various organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations. Neither do we deny, when many worthy candidates are refused admission to the Organization, that the principle of the universality of the United Nations has been violated and is still being arbitrarily violated. Nor can we deny that so far no regulation of armaments has been achieved and that, as a result, the present armaments race constitutes a constant threat of war.

172. All this cannot and should not be ignored, even although the efforts of the United Nations to promote peaceful relations between all nations are being intensified daily and although much has been done in the economic, social and educational fields, to contribute to the mainte-

^{*} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 15 and No. 16.*

nance of peace. In this last respect, in particular, Panama believes that increased international co-operation is required if the material difficulties of the peoples who are today living in poverty and want are to be overcome.

173. In this field we should try to solve our problems, not by the methods sometimes employed in the past, but by the application of ideas and impulses in harmony with the development of the peoples, not by competition but by co-operation, and free from the poisonous influence of rivalry and strife.

174. Indeed, any attempt to maintain peace without at the same time improving the living conditions of peoples would only provide a partial solution with precarious results. If, however, the various United Nations bodies were strengthened so as to be able to deal with aggression wherever it occurs, while at the same time under-developed peoples were given increased economic aid and technical assistance, educational work was promoted and the campaign against want and disease vigorously prosecuted, then we should have created world conditions in which a breach of the peace would be practically impossible. The free world has vast resources at its disposal and these should be mobilized for a crusade against human misery and social injustice in the confident belief that by overcoming these great evils we shall also destroy the real causes of war.

175. Wars do not break out unexpectedly. They have their causes which are generally remote and at times unseen. But these causes are always human causes, and are found in the conditions under which peoples live and work. It is therefore a truism to say that increased activity by the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council will lighten the task of the Security Council.

176. Panama feels that the programme of assistance to under-developed countries must be expanded and must be accompanied by intensified action by the specialized agencies so as to lead to the establishment of higher standards of living in all parts of the world, to the banishment of unemployment, to the attainment of real social and economic progress, to the winning of greater respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in order to assist the backward peoples to advance towards self-government and towards a position of equality with other peoples. Without these factors, and without the beneficent influence of education, there can be no hope of real and active democracy in any country.

177. We cannot repeat too often that the most serious threats to peace and freedom have their origin in human poverty, in social injustice, in ignorance, superstition and economic backwardness, since it is a fact that when a people is suffering from these serious evils, even though it has political freedom, it becomes disillusioned. It falls an easy prey to disrupting and extremist ideas and becomes a fertile soil for war. And war is not always necessarily armed conflict. War exists when there is not peace, and there is not and cannot be peace when poverty, sickness, anxiety, tears, sorrow and hunger are present.

178. Many parts of the world are in need of economic and social reconstruction and rehabilitation. Many peoples are suffering from the serious wants which have been pointed out and which give rise to tension and conflict. In America,

itself, particularly in the centre and the south, there are regions of weakness and peril which are a potential threat to peace. The eyes of the United Nations must be turned towards those regions as well as to other parts of the world.

179. Our twenty Latin-American nations are today at different stages of political evolution, but notwithstanding these differences, which at times represent limitations, it is encouraging to note that progress is everywhere being made towards stable peace and genuine democracy. An effort is being made by every country, including my own, to bring about a continuous improvement in living conditions and to put an end to illiteracy; and in all these countries, as is not always the case in the great nations which are in the forefront of world affairs, there is true equality of race, colour and class. Urbanization, industrialization, immigration, the development of the middle class, the penetration of ideas from abroad by means of the Press and the radio, and the growth of workers' organizations are eliminating from our midst the last traces of the authoritarian systems of the past.

180. In many cases, however, we need more technical assistance and more economic aid and I have therefore no hesitation in bringing this point up for discussion at this time. The fact that our problems are not always spectacular, like those of Iran, of Greece, of Palestine, of Indonesia, of Korea and now of Kashmir, and like other problems which the United Nations has faced and is continuing to face, does not mean that these problems do not exist. They exist and they merit an attention which they have not so far received.

181. To work to bring about the disappearance from the world of conditions of want and political, social and economic disequilibrium whether in Asia, Africa, Europe or America, is undoubtedly to work for peace. And we must all labour for peace. It is not the task of a few countries only but a collective responsibility. Peace is not something which comes about by itself. It is not a problem which can be rapidly solved. In order to achieve it we require great patience and great faith. We must work without ceasing. We must have recourse to every means. We must maintain constant vigilance. We must make a continuous effort. If not, peace disappears or at least it is not achieved.

182. The Republic of Panama is here today to make its contribution to the work now being undertaken by the sixth session of the General Assembly; it has come here to co-operate in the maintenance of the basic principles of the United Nations and to give its support to everything that will increase the strength and authority of this great Organization, because it is convinced that only thus will the Organization be enabled to achieve its aims, which may be summarized as the defence and maintenance of peace. This peace is not, however, peace at any price, and still less a peace which imposes tyranny and turns the free man into a slave, but the only peace of which the Member nations of this Organization can be proud, the only peace which deserves to be maintained and defended, the only peace which can be lasting: peace with honour, peace with justice, peace with freedom.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.