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General debate (continued)

**SPEECHES BY MR. KYROU (GREECE) AND
MR. BELAÚNDE (PERU)**

1. Mr. KYROU (Greece): We all remember the inauspicious omens which attended the opening of the seventh session of the General Assembly on 14 October 1952. Few, if any, among us can have forgotten the sad prognostications on the outcome of an international gathering so unhappily placed under the sign of the Korean war and, above all, of the "East-West" conflict. The political atmosphere was at that time surcharged with electricity and we were harried with fears and misgivings. Who can deny that the eighth session opened in better circumstances?
2. After many previous disappointments, the truce in Korea has at last been signed—on 27 July. Greece, which sent many of its children to make the supreme sacrifice in order to contribute to the repulse of the unprovoked aggression against the Republic of Korea, cannot but rejoice at an armistice that we have every right to greet as an unqualified victory for the principle of collective security.
3. Our deepest gratitude goes to the gallant members of the armed forces who, under the banner of the United Nations, fought to achieve this gratifying result. We fervently hope that their blood and their sufferings have not been in vain. We do expect that those three years of grim struggle and costly sacrifice will teach us that the most effective defence lies in the strengthening of our collective security system. Singleness of purpose and unity in action have permitted the achievement of an honourable armistice. Only if we remain united can we see the political conference envisaged in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement get off to as good a start as is humanly possible. Only then can we achieve a lasting peace. Only then can we reach our basic objective of the establishment, by peaceful means, of a unified, independent and democratic Korea.
4. But the war in Korea, however tragic and terrible, represents, in our opinion, only a chapter in the so-called "East-West" conflict. This conflict, thank God, appears somewhat less acute and there is, no doubt, a milder air blowing from the East. Nor can it be denied that our colleagues of the Soviet bloc have

lately managed to avoid expressions, words and epithets which they used commonly until March 1953. This fact constitutes a real progress and may have the value of an object lesson. The moral to be drawn from it is that the distance between the views expressed within the various organs of the United Nations, starting, of course, from the General Assembly, cannot be bridged by violent altercations and words full of sound and fury. Quite on the contrary, such opposing views as may exist—or, rather, as are bound to exist—among representatives of various Member States, can be smoothed out only if expressed in a tone befitting the dignity of international bodies. Then and only then will it be possible for the United Nations to become, to quote the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends"; that is, the maintenance of international peace and security.

5. Peoples and governments, it is true, are wondering about the real meaning of these conciliatory gestures and friendly words which have been coming of late from Moscow. They have set in motion a train of speculation as to their actual intent and scope. Do these hopeful signs go to the heart of the unsettled and pending problems, or do they only scratch their surface? Or, to put it otherwise, have the Soviet Union and the "democratic peoples' republics" reached in their political evolution the necessary maturity for fair dealings and earnest co-operation with the non-Cominform States?

6. It is certainly not for the representative of a small nation to provide the answer to so crucial a question, fraught with such far-reaching consequences. The bitter experience of the seven-year cold war which, in some cases—as in Korea and, before Korea, in my own country—turned hot, has taught us to assess the problem with the utmost caution. Yet our yearning for a lasting peace is such as to impel us to relegate the recent past to the recesses of our memory and to look forward hopefully and optimistically. What is more, our fervent hope, generated by our unswerving attachment to the cause of peace, encourages us to take certain manifestations of policy as indicative of real intentions which, we confidently expect, will be translated into facts. We do not believe, of course, in the virtues of the magic wand in international politics and do not, therefore, entertain the hope that all outstanding international differences can be solved overnight. Nor do we visualize a Utopia in which all the major world Powers will toe the same line in matters of policy.

7. There are, however, in our uncertain world of today a number of questions which do not affect in the least the political interests or the prestige of the Soviet Union and the "democratic peoples' republics"—questions, therefore, which could provide the touchstone of the genuineness of their political professions.

I refer to questions whose settlement will bring a new reason to live and to hope to thousands of families—to thousands of simple folk, helpless victims of the "East-West" conflict and of some kind or other of *Weltpolitik*.

8. Take, for instance, the purely humanitarian question of the repatriation of the members of the Greek armed forces still lingering in detention camps far from their homes. The General Assembly, on 17 March 1953, addressed through its resolution 702 (VII) an earnest appeal to the detaining governments to repatriate those among the Greek military personnel under their control who wished to be repatriated. The President of the General Assembly was at the same time requested to consult to this end with the governments in question and to report back to the General Assembly before the close of the seventh session. Unfortunately, all the replies that Mr. Pearson received were stereotyped in their repetition of the allegation that the Greek detainees were political refugees and, as such, had been granted the right of asylum. Even those most favourably inclined towards this version are bound in fairness to concede that the international standing of the "harbouring States" could only benefit from a reconsideration of the cases involved, were the findings of such a reconsideration to substantiate the view that the Greek military personnel concerned consider themselves as political refugees, that they are opposed to any idea of repatriation and that they have voluntarily ceased to correspond with their families for over three years.

9. May I be permitted to refer to another question of a purely humanitarian nature: the question of the civilian hostages who were driven by force from their homes in the province of Epirus into countries north of Greece. In this connexion I should like to mention the concrete case of 616 of these civilian hostages whom the Hungarian Red Cross proposed, of its own accord, to repatriate in September 1951. As a result of that proposal the International Committee of the Red Cross, in co-operation with the Greek Red Cross, took the necessary action for the repatriation of those hapless persons via Trieste. Suddenly, however—and without any apparent reason—the Hungarian Red Cross became less responsive, until it ceased even to acknowledge receipt of the communications on the subject from the International Committee of the Red Cross. Who can deny that the Hungarian Government would only contribute to the improvement of the international climate by releasing 616 human beings, in long-overdue execution of an initiative by the Hungarian Red Cross?

10. What about the abducted Greek children? My delegation did not oppose the resolution [618 (VII)] adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1952, providing for the discontinuance of the mission entrusted to the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies—the mission to repatriate those Greek children before it was too late, that is, before, as we have every reason now—alas—to fear, they ceased to be Greeks in conscience and children in age. We felt obliged to admit that a new resolution once again inviting the "harbouring States" to return the children to their families would neither help to redress the situation nor contribute to enhancing the prestige of our Organization, already sorely tried by the fact that four previous resolutions on the matter, adopted

unanimously or without opposition, had failed to elicit any positive response from countries other than Yugoslavia.

11. In the last analysis the fate of the three humanitarian questions that I have briefly outlined hinges on the goodwill of the Eastern European countries. We shall never tire of scanning the political horizon for evidence of such goodwill, convinced as we are that the governments concerned can offer no more adequate and no less onerous proof of their change of heart than by restoring to thousands of Greek families their dear ones. Without cost to their political interests, the countries to which my remarks are earnestly addressed will thus score many points in the moral and psychological fields.

12. The restraint we showed last year when the question of the abducted Greek children was debated represented, I submit in all humility, an indirect contribution to the improvement of international understanding within the United Nations. Such, indeed, is our will to co-operate—with our limited means—in the furtherance of this Organization's aims and purposes that we very often do not hesitate to suppress our emotions and fears, however justified, if by doing so we feel that we are serving the over-all mission of the United Nations. For we regard the United Nations as the only international forum capable of bringing about the much-sought-after clearing of the international atmosphere. It is in this frame of mind that the Greek delegation will participate in the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly and will consider the questions on the agenda. We shall always be prepared, in an open-minded and unbiased spirit, to tackle the problems confronting us, and we shall always have this ultimate end in view—the strengthening of our Organization's prestige and authority in order to bring about real international peace and collaboration.

13. The Cyprus question is not to be found among the items on the agenda of the present session. It is true that, on 10 August 1953, the spiritual and national chief of four-fifths of the Cypriot population addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a memorandum requesting the inclusion of that question in the agenda and the adoption of a resolution recommending that the United Kingdom should accept the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination, in compliance with the provisions of the General Assembly resolution [637 (VII)] of 16 December 1952.

14. One may therefore ask why my Government, although under very heavy pressure from Greek public opinion, has not sponsored this request or taken a direct initiative in respect thereof.

15. This matter has, so far, assumed the aspect of an oft-repeated, spontaneous manifestation of the enormous majority of the people of the island, a people whose past is intimately linked with Greece's history and who ardently desire to become, politically also, part and parcel of the Greek motherland.

16. We do not and shall never forget the United Kingdom's contribution to our national resurgence. On the other hand, we venture to hope that that country has had no cause since to regret that act of statesmanship and political prescience, as Greece has constantly been the United Kingdom's staunch friend in its hour of need. The United Kingdom, in turn,

has responded generously and a bond of mutual affection and esteem has been created that far—very far—transcends the importance of the most far-reaching bilateral agreement couched in terms of cold juridical undertakings.

17. To be willing to go before a judge or an arbiter is, of course, a commendable attitude of mind, especially when one despairs of achieving agreement through direct conversations or negotiations. But normally, no one appeals to a court of law or to an international forum such as this before giving a fair chance to the possibility of direct conversations.

18. My Government, therefore, does not at this moment contemplate bringing the matter before this Organization, since it is convinced that the close relations that, so happily, exist between Greece and the United Kingdom make it incumbent upon us not to underestimate either the resources of diplomacy or the political foresight of our British friends. My Government definitely prefers the method of friendly bilateral discussion, since that is warranted by the very nature of our long-standing cordial relations with the United Kingdom and by the felicitous identity of purpose which has always animated the peoples of the two countries. It is our ardent hope that these views are shared by our friends in the United Kingdom and that they, also, consider the task that lies ahead as a worthy object on which to exert their statesmanship. The door will always be open for us to go before a judge, if the ordinary processes of friendly conversations prove to be of no avail.

19. The behaviour of a country over a fairly long period of time usually affords a correct indication of its future conduct. The cruelly stricken Ionian Islands gave us a dramatic opportunity of testing this principle. Both at the time of their restoration to Greece by the United Kingdom and again quite recently, after the deadly tremors that shook those islands, our English friends lived up to their great tradition as humanists and philhellenes. We take a sad pleasure in thinking of those islands, and in doing so we derive comfort and confidence as we meditate on the implications of those noble gestures.

20. Speaking of the disastrous earthquakes that struck the Ionian Islands, I would be remiss in my duty were I not to reiterate from this rostrum my Government's and the Greek people's deep gratitude to the many other governments—most of which are represented here—and to the international organizations which so promptly and so generously responded to the call for help of the distressed populations.

21. As the General Assembly is aware, on 28 February 1953 the Governments of Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and designed to help in the fulfilment of the United Nations aims. This tripartite treaty is the upshot of the common consciousness of the peoples of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece that, by uniting their forces, they can better preserve their political independence and territorial integrity and thus, in the best meaning of Article 52 of the Charter, help in the furtherance of the purposes of the United Nations.

22. Furthermore, it should be noted that the agreement not only lays the groundwork for a better political future: it also actually provides the building material for it by promoting closer economic, technical

and cultural ties between the contracting parties. The bridges which this tripartite agreement builds will encourage the exchange of goods as well as of ideas between them. The old dream of a political, economic and cultural community of the peoples of south-eastern Europe may yet come true in our lifetime. By sinking their own differences in the past and becoming the standard-bearers of a better future, the parties to the Ankara Agreement—which, let me stress it, remains open to all other States in the area—have set an example to all small nations intent on the maintenance of peace and security.

23. It is also pertinent to emphasize the importance of the tripartite agreement between Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece as a cogent factor in the improvement of the relations of these governments with their neighbours—who, it is true, at the time of the signing of the agreement, looked askance at it. This change for the better is more noticeable in the common efforts towards the prevention and the settlement of frontier incidents and in the recent offer by some of the neighbours of these three countries to restore normal diplomatic relations with them.

24. The dividends accruing from our course of action in this and in other fields have confirmed us in our unflinching faith in the rules and aims of the United Nations Charter. It is armed with this faith that we approach the task confronting us as one of the sixty Member States of this Organization.

25. Our faith in the Charter, however, does not imply any dogmatic immutability. As has often been said, the United Nations was conceived by its founders as a living reality, as a continuing process destined to attain its high purposes by a constant adaptation and adjustment to changing circumstances. This necessary flexibility cannot be achieved unless the constitutional statute governing our Organization undergoes such periodic revision as its trials and its errors dictate in order better to fit into the pattern of the every-day life of the international community.

26. My delegation will give the President its unrestrained moral support in the finding of ways and means to make the United Nations successful. Let us all try continuously to make the spirit of human freedom triumph within this Organization and—to quote the words of our King, who, in the first days of November, will pay an official visit to this Assembly—"turn the form that our faith has produced into a radiant symbol of man's inner maturity".

27. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to say, on behalf of the delegation and the Government of Peru, that the election of Mrs. Pandit as President of the Assembly meets our desire to pay tribute to her great qualities of statesmanship and diplomacy and to recognize the immense services rendered by India to the cause of peace. May I add the hope that the harshness that is sometimes unavoidable in our debates, and often cannot be controlled by technical rules of procedure alone, may be moderated by her feminine grace and intuition.

28. The Assembly begins its eighth session at a crucial moment for humanity. The cease-fire which we proposed as far back as January 1951 has been achieved by the signing of the armistice, with its three-fold significance: the halting of aggression, the affirmation of the legal and moral personality of the United Nations and the triumph of two legal principles—

collective security and the voluntary repatriation of prisoners of war. The way to a final peace settlement is open. Peace does not depend only on legal technicalities and political adjustments. Peace is the work of goodwill and realistic and accurate understanding of the sacred interests and vital needs of all peoples.

29. Let us pause a moment to examine the causes of this new situation. Intensive rearmament could not have been carried out without endangering the economy of the Soviet countries. Stalin's illusion—expressed by Mr. Malenkov himself in his speech of 6 October 1952, that the policy of strengthening the Soviet Union would continue its triumphant course while the attempt by the other Powers to imitate it would exacerbate the inherent contradictions of capitalism and consequently precipitate its bankruptcy—has been dispelled by the facts. Within a few months of that speech the words of the Soviet leader himself and his new economic policy proved that rearmament had had repercussions on the economy of the USSR and of the countries under its influence. This has been, and remains, a favourable factor for the initiation of peace moves, but such moves must have practical aims and precise objectives.

30. The first of them is Korea, which is today the symbol of collective security and of equilibrium and tranquillity in Asia. The artificial division of Korea meant the sacrifice of that noble people, with its age-old unity and culture, to the imperialist and hostile will of the communist Government of the USSR. That mistake must now be remedied. Profound resentment against China is appearing among the people of North Korea; more than 4 million North Koreans have crossed the artificial frontier which divides Korea. More than two-thirds of the population are concentrated in South Korea, but the resources and industrial plant are in the North. The disintegration of Korea cannot continue. The work of economic rehabilitation is urgent and cannot be postponed. It would be unwise to make the provision of measures which are immediately needed for the deliverance of the inhabitants of both North and South, who have suffered the scourge of three years of war, dependent upon the solution of problems of a political nature. This is a field which offers ample opportunity for effective and generous co-operation, which would, moreover, make the political solutions easier.

31. In 1947, in connexion with the dispute between Thailand and France, the mixed conciliation commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. Phillips, former United States Ambassador, stressed the right of Laos and Cambodia to self-government. France declared those ancient kingdoms to be Associated States of the French Union, as it had done in the case of Viet-Nam. It has now completed its work by the declaration of 3 July 1953 recognizing their independence. The three countries have asked for admission into the United Nations and the majority of the Assembly recommended their admission, thus recognizing their full sovereignty. With his acknowledged authority, Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, has declared that the independence of these nations is seriously threatened by the Vietminh forces, supported by the communist bloc.

32. Peace is indivisible. The armistice and the negotiations to obtain peace in Korea should be followed by the conclusion of the war in Indo-China, if there is goodwill on the part of the communist bloc. With

Korea in the hands of that bloc and a similar situation in Indo-China, not only would the liberty of the countries directly concerned be endangered but it would mean a threat to the whole of Asia. An imperialist attitude cannot halt, but gains uncontrollable momentum. We know that the Asian countries would oppose the hostile forces with those priceless weapons, their nationality and their culture. We have already said that the great force which has prevented the expansion of communism in Asia has been the spirituality of the culture and civilization of India. But the struggle would be unequal and terrible.

33. The expansion of communism having been halted on the line from Stettin to the Adriatic the Communists hoped, in return, to achieve domination of Asia and the hegemony of the Pacific Ocean, thus directly threatening the security of the American continent. What I am saying is not a product of the imagination but the result of an objective analysis of geographic, economic and political factors. In spite of the contrast between the venerable antiquity of the Asian world and the vigorous youth of the American world, there have been mysterious links between these two continents. The most probable explanation is that American man is descended from Asian man. There have been noteworthy similarities between the paternal government of the Incas and the tutelary systems of China. In the Iberian Peninsula, the source from which Latin-American culture stems, the Arabs left their blood, their science, their culture, and what they passed on to us from Greece. Stronger yet than these historic and ethnic links is the bond forged between these two groups of peoples by their glorious struggle for liberty. In their community of destiny, the peoples of America greeted with enthusiasm the achievement of liberty and democracy among their distant brothers in Asia.

34. Liberty is beset by dangers and pitfalls. Our fathers won it in difficult times, when England and Spain were united in the Napoleonic wars and American diplomacy was to a certain extent paralysed. Thus Bolivar was able to say that we won our independence against the will of the universe. But in consolidating it when the plans of the Holy Alliance were encircling us, we had the support of British policy and the Monroe Doctrine in its original form.

35. What dangers threaten the liberty of the Asian peoples today? Mr. Zafrulla Khan, the representative of Pakistan, reminded us a few days ago [*437th meeting*] of the admirable policy of the United Kingdom in replacing the old dependence of the Asian countries by moral and economic links on a basis of honour and equality. We welcomed the independence of Indo-China and we have faith that France will fulfil its promises and the recommendations of the United Nations.

36. Given the moral state of the world and the very fact of national diversification, and given the vast influence of ideological factors transformed today into spiritual realities, the danger facing the Asian countries is not in the West and cannot be. The great American Power which is fated to play a decisive part in the present period of history has had and still has that distinguishing trait which the intuition and prophetic genius of de Tocqueville revealed: the dominion over nature, in contrast with the conquest of man which de Tocqueville attributed to czarist Russia and which was destined to confront the colossus of the New World in an impressive parallel. Since

the two world wars the United States has confirmed its influence but has been able to boast, with reason, that it has never made any territorial gain or sought such gain. Its Asian policy has been one of assistance and co-operation and is one of the most brilliant pages of contemporary history.

37. Legitimate economic interests, a sensible and realistic policy and, above all, a lofty spiritual attitude under the aegis of the United Nations, make it impossible to adopt any other policy than that of absolute respect for the independence of the African, Arabic and Asian countries and of cultural and economic co-operation.

38. The same cannot be said of the Soviet Union. As proof of this the immediate example of Korea and Indo-China would suffice, if we had not before us the tremendous lesson of the Soviet advance into Europe; that advance seemed to have fulfilled, in 1947, Engels' prophecy in which he depicted the expansion of Russia towards the Balkans and the occupation of Vienna and Budapest. We do not say this in any spirit of reproach; on the contrary, we say it with the sadness of one who contemplates the movements of history, which sometimes resemble natural disasters by reason of their torrential and uncontrollable nature.

39. I have no right to condemn the Soviet Union to the sad destiny of the conquest of man in accordance with de Tocqueville's characterization. I would like to rectify that and to seek in some aspects of modern Russia points to support my idea. The abolition of illiteracy, the intensive industrialization of a mainly agricultural country, the use of all types of techniques, including even the recent nuclear discoveries—these are factors to enable a people of undeniable genius such as the Russian people to replace the conquest of man by the conquest of nature. That is our deliberate illusion, which we wish to transform into a hope. Moreover, we have referred on numerous occasions to the realism of the Soviet leaders. If aggression costs so much, if military development and territorial expansion end by destroying the delicate structure of science and economy, if the Soviet people do not enjoy the standards of living which could have been attained had it not been for rearmament and for a policy of prepotency—if all those ideas were to pass from the minds of the leaders to the Soviet people, how spontaneously and eagerly the people would receive them, impelled thereto by their aesthetic and humanitarian sentiments! Unfortunately, the policy of force produces an intoxication from which awakening can only come through the counterblows of force itself, and it can only be contained by tenacious and effective resistance. It is not sufficient for us to offer the USSR, as we do, our eager will for peace. Given communist psychology and the force of certain social movements, we have to adopt, both in Asia and in Europe, a policy of defence and struggle, without animosity and even for the benefit of the Soviet Union itself.

40. That policy of energetic and peaceful resistance finds its expression in the Old World in the unity of Europe. Europe has been and is a cultural unity; its tragedy has been that it has not been able to form a political unity. The progress of democracy in the world, and the economic and technical development which marked the beginning of the present age, at the close of the eighteenth century, determined a historic destiny: the consolidation of the American federation.

The peace of the world and the preservation of Western culture demand European union. It will represent a balancing principle guaranteeing the independence and integrity of all its elements. It will also constitute an example for the Soviet Union and an instrument for co-operation with the Eastern countries, within the framework of the United Nations, as the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany himself thinks. The economic bases, the political standards and the military commitments of that union are exclusively the concern of the European countries, but they must be viewed with profound interest and sympathy by the United Nations. It is essential that a unified Germany should form part of this union, which further requires a peace with Austria which will guarantee Austrian independence. The Latin peoples see in Austria an admirable synthesis of Germanic civilization and Mediterranean culture.

41. The Peruvian delegation would like to give a brief sketch of its views on the world economic situation. The Secretary-General's annual report [A/2404] draws attention to the first trends towards a decline in economic activity. Stocks appear to have accumulated disproportionately to effective demand, and there is a danger, however remote, of a general reduction in economic activity. The following problems of interest to small countries should be stressed: first, the maintenance of economic stability with the same high levels of employment, production and consumption; secondly, the persistent imbalance of international payments, which seems to be of a structural nature and which causes the almost chronic deficit in balances of payments; thirdly, the slow progress of the economies of the under-developed countries, which must be accelerated if the living standards of their peoples are to be raised.

42. Repeating ideas already expressed in the Economic and Social Council and in Committees of the Assembly, we stress the importance, in our view, of joint action in technical assistance and the financing of economic development, which should not exclude any means: national, foreign or international capital, public, private or mixed capital—all are equally necessary for the development of a country like Peru.

43. My delegation considers that the publication of the report [E/2381] submitted by the experts called upon to express their opinion on the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development represents an important step. Despite the pressing urgency of this problem we cannot ignore the domestic situation of the States which will contribute to the fund, and any decision which the Assembly adopts must take into account not only this factor but also the practicability of the methods proposed. Economic development demands a better international trade structure. My country maintains that this structure should be based on complete freedom and on the fairest competition.

44. The flow of capital to the less developed countries has been a main concern of the Peruvian Government, which has offered and continues to offer every kind of guarantee to private capital in developing the oil production of the north and in exploiting the mineral resources of the south. At the same time it is prepared to make use of every possible assistance it is offered in the form of public and international capital. Such investment in the less developed countries is all the more urgent in that the difference between

their standard of living and that of the more advanced countries is not disappearing as quickly as might be desired. Hence the urgent need for an effective policy of international investment—and my delegation welcomes the statement made on this subject last spring by the President of the United States. In this Assembly we have heard similar statements by Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State [434th meeting], and we are sure that they represent essential principles in the foreign policy of the United States.

45. The Peruvian delegation is in full agreement with the resolution [495 (XVI)] adopted by the Economic and Social Council on the establishment on a permanent basis of the United Nations Children's Fund, to continue the excellent work it has accomplished on behalf of millions of children. The Peruvian Government has renewed its agreement with that agency and has taken the necessary budgetary action to fulfil its commitments in 1954.

46. My delegation has devoted particular attention to the serious problem of the admission of new Members. We have pointed out that twenty States, of acknowledged international personality and of a peace-loving nature, remain outside the United Nations. They represent one quarter of mankind. This anomaly cannot continue. Three solutions have been advanced to settle the crisis. The first, a political compromise, is for the simultaneous admission of a group of States, including those recommended by the Soviet Union. The second involves the revision or annulment of the jurisprudence established by the Security Council, which has laid down that the rule of unanimity shall apply to recommendations; the General Assembly would regard the Council's action merely as a procedural step or would consider that a recommendation had been adopted if a simple majority had voted in favour of the immediate admission of the applicants. The third procedure, advocated by my delegation, does not dispute the Council's jurisprudence and does not authorize the General Assembly to review that jurisprudence. In its proposal, my delegation takes into account only this one fact, that the United Nations is paralysed and seems to be definitely departing from the principle established by the spirit and the letter of the Charter, namely, that the sole condition which a State must fulfil in order to qualify for membership is that it must pursue a peace-loving policy.

47. In view of this crisis, my delegation has maintained that the special powers of the General Assembly should be used to preserve the unity of the United Nations in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter. It draws attention—as Mr. Noel-Baker, the British statesman and lawyer, has just done so authoritatively—to the precedent established in the General Assembly resolution [377 (V)] entitled "Uniting for peace", in which the General Assembly exercised those special powers in order to defend peace and to achieve collective security. The present international situation does not permit of such radical action as that envisaged in the last two solutions. Nevertheless, we consider that the compromise solution can be made more flexible and effective if it does not appear as a one-sided proposal or an imposed condition but as the result of consultations and good offices designed to bring divergent opinions closer together with a view to the fullest possible agreement, but always based on the indispensable principle of Article 4 of the Charter. We also believe that, if there is only partial

agreement, an embarrassing situation might arise both for those countries whose applications are pending and for the States which have already adopted a different juridical position.

48. The specific and categorical reservation should therefore be made that the action taken and the consultations held would in no way compromise the juridical positions adopted by States or the General Assembly's freedom to carry out, in the light of the new aspects of the problem, the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon it in its zealous defence and implementation of the United Nations Charter. Thus there would be a compromise between the advantages of a truly political solution adopted in the general interest, and the perfectly reasonable positions of principle of individual governments.

49. The delegation of Peru wishes now to speak on the important question of the revision of the Charter, as provided in Article 109. We were amazed at the arguments that revision should be regarded not only as unlawful but also as dangerous and inexpedient. Such arguments are based on complete disregard of the provisions of Article 109. We must remind the Soviet representatives that the great majority of States, including the Arab and Asian States, many European States and all those of Latin America, considered the provisions of the Charter to be inadequate, particularly as regards the inconceivable application of the veto to peaceful measures. As early as 1949 I maintained this in the Assembly [192nd meeting], with the explicit approval of Mr. E. A. Tamm, the then President, who had headed the anti-veto campaign in San Francisco. We submitted to the adoption of the unanimity rule on the solemn promise that the veto would not be misused, that it would be applied only in exceptional cases, that honest attempts would be made to reach agreement and that only after failure would such dissent be registered. I draw the General Assembly's attention to the fact that it was not sufficient for us to record our understanding of the veto; we pressed for and obtained the promise, in Article 109, that the Charter would be revised. Hence this article is not only a statutory provision but also the fulfilment of an honourable promise which enables us to work for the revision of the Charter.

50. Article 109 is closely connected with the desire of the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations, assembled at San Francisco, to ensure the revision of the Charter in due course, a desire which, already great in San Francisco, has grown greater in view of the misuse of the veto. With regard to coercive measures it is just conceivable that a great Power might oppose them, as the delegations of Belgium and Peru have suggested, for political and moral reasons, but international justice must never be impeded. The use of the veto in connexion with an investigation, conciliation, mediation and any action in the interest of peace is completely illogical and an outrage to common sense; it turns the veto into an instrument for political domination. The revision of the Charter is essential in this and in other respects and we do not feel that such revision can be improvised. The ideas and suggestions of all countries in the world must first be assembled and then critically analysed and classified.

51. We sympathize with the suggestions of the Netherlands, Egypt and Argentina, but with the following qualification: the opinions of governments and

of scientific institutions must be assembled prior to, and as a basis for, the work of a technical committee. The committee must not work independently but on the basis of the material submitted by the governments and institutions of the various States.

52. Over all these questions disarmament assumes tragic but essential priority. It is the main problem and the key to international existence. Military discoveries have influenced the political structure of mankind. Artillery marked the end of feudal society. Standing armies consolidated national States; localized war, fought by professional soldiers, was juridically regulated and, during the long periods of peace which, it must be admitted, resulted from the balance of forces, professional armies gave place to national armies. Unfortunately new methods of attack and lightning mobilization plans encourage warlike ventures which develop into total war, eradicating the difference between victors and vanquished. Today no country is able, by war, to establish or to consolidate its supremacy. After the First World War an attempt was made to establish an international community which was neither universal nor able to take coercive action. The Second World War resulted in the experiment of our own Organization, but weapons of mass destruction, and especially the use of atomic energy, threaten the world with destruction and make a new international structure necessary.

53. The juridical conflicts to which atomic energy has given rise are well known. According to the experts, complete defence of a territory is an illusion and the vast expenditure involved leads to economic collapse. The accumulation of retaliatory weapons constitutes a psychological factor which may hinder aggressive action but in no way removes the threat of war; it maintains tension and entails great economic waste, owing to constant and rapid changes in technology. It can be asserted today with all certainty and emphasis that State monopoly of atomic energy

is inconsistent with international peace, the security of States and the very existence of mankind.

54. There is no other way but to endeavour, with determination and application, and with the strength which the conscience of mankind imparts, to achieve complete international control of atomic energy with a view to its ultimate prohibition.

55. I wish to stress that there are two positions: the first is spectacular and unconditional prohibition leading to control; and the second, which is our position, is immediate international control in order to ensure effective prohibition. I feel that it has been made clear in the discussions in the General Assembly that the first alternative is ineffective and is merely a stratagem to impress public opinion, whereas the other is based on facts and on the dictates of science. We cannot resign ourselves to the paradox of human development where everything is light and harmony in science and art and where everything is darkness and discord in human relations. The depth of the problem exceeds our ken and opens up mysterious moral, religious and social perspectives. What we need is a radical change in man's thinking. Since the Renaissance man has been brought up with the absurd idea of the absolute value of power; he must finally change from that attitude to the idea of solidarity or, as Max Scheler said, from the knowledge of dominion to that of salvation. From the social point of view we would require the irresistible pressure of world opinion to unite every country and to replace the countless stresses arising from national pride, demagogic deceit and the idolatrous worship of leaders.

56. All we have is brilliant, and sometimes cold, juridical formulae and the limited resources of diplomacy. Nevertheless, we maintain our faith despite all obstacles, in the midst of uncertainty and discouragement. The United Nations, which is the hope of our civilization, will fulfil its duty.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.