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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. PALAMARCHUK (UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC), MR. BARRINGTON (BURMA), MR. YEH (CHINA) AND MR. CHRISTIANSEN (DENMARK)

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The tenth session of the General Assembly has before it for consideration and decision questions concerning various sectors of international life. We may note with satisfaction that perhaps no session of the General Assembly in recent times has begun its work in such favourable and hopeful international conditions.

2. In relations between States a greater understanding, and an endeavour to settle outstanding international problems at the conference table, on a basis of equality and mutual goodwill have become apparent. The storms of the "cold war" have abated, and the groups and factions which had been sowing mistrust among the peoples for some of the post-war years by calling for a destructive atomic war, have to some extent been driven aside. There is a tendency, now, in the sphere of international relations, to admit a genuine policy of negotiation and of co-operation for the purpose of settling outstanding questions by peaceful means.

3. A number of events in recent times have determined this very important turn towards the easing of international tension and the strengthening of trust between States. By far the most significant of them was the Conference of Heads of Government of the four Powers at Geneva. The very fact of the meeting of Heads of Government of the four Powers — even more the spirit of mutual understanding which characterized that conference and the effort there made to co-operate and to create the conditions for peaceful settlement of international problems — in itself constitutes an important step towards the consolidation of peace and the ending of the "cold war". The Conference's adoption of directives to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs was, as Mr. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, pointed out, the result of a search for generally acceptable solutions, in the course of which the interests of all those taking part in the negotiations were taken into account. It may be hoped that in carrying out the

directives of Heads of Government the Ministers of Foreign Affairs will make every effort to find solutions to the questions discussed at Geneva which will prove acceptable to all interested parties.

4. The Geneva Conference was preceded by other events which contributed to the easing of international tension. Among them, mention should be made in the first place of the African-Asian Conference at Bandung. There was heard, at the Bandung Conference, the powerful voice of the newly-awakened peoples of Africa and Asia who expressed their unflinching will for freedom and independence, in unity, solidarity and co-operation with the peoples of other countries. The peoples once again asserted that their own progress and development, and the progress of mankind as a whole, were possible in conditions of peace, in conditions of peaceful coexistence between States, regardless of their political and social structures. The ten principles for international relations adopted by the Conference, like the five principles proclaimed earlier in the Chinese-Indian Declaration, show better than anything else to what a tremendous extent the part played by the popular masses of Africa and Asia, and indeed of all the peoples of the world, in settling the most important international problems, has grown, and how great is their influence on the fate of the world.

5. The easing of the international atmosphere is of great significance to the work of the United Nations. In these new conditions the Organization will be better able to carry out the tasks set before it by the Charter. We must strive to bring the Geneva spirit, the spirit of friendly co-operation between States, into the United Nations, bearing in mind that this would guarantee the fruitfulness of its work in general and a successful solution of the problems before the tenth session of the General Assembly in particular.

6. A vivid illustration of the way in which we ought to make use of the possibilities created by the Geneva Conference of Heads of Government of the four Powers was the scientific and technical International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Previously, the atmosphere of mistrust and the atomic psychosis had prevented normal contact between the scientists of various countries. But the scientists of 73 countries who met in Geneva a fortnight after the Conference of Heads of Government — scientists from the Soviet Union among them — freely exchanged information about the open secrets of nature; they raised the curtain which had up to then hidden their progress in the matter of using the inexhaustible potentialities of atomic energy for peaceful ends.

7. The inauguration of broad scientific co-operation with the general object of making use of the great discoveries of our time, not for purposes of war and destruction, but for the good of mankind, will undeniably influence and strengthen friendly relations and mutual trust between nations.

8. To be true to the spirit of Geneva does not mean stopping half-way in the endeavour to solve international problems by peaceful means, but developing the successes already achieved. The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the people's democracies, which have made a great contribution to the relaxation of international tension, have already, since the Geneva Conference taken certain steps, about which you know, for the further improvement of the international situation.

9. I must remind you once again of the Soviet Union's reduction of its armed forces and also of the liquidation of its bases in foreign territory. Here are deeds, not words. These are no mere smiles, talk about which prevents some statesmen from looking into the heart of the matter.

10. The Ukrainian people warmly approves the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, all of which will help develop mutual understanding and co-operation between these States in the interests of peace and security in Europe.

11. It must be obvious to everybody that there has thus been an improvement in the international situation. Nor can we forget or underestimate the part played in this connexion by the popular masses, whose will for peace has shown itself stronger than the machinations of the groups and circles interested in the armaments race and the spreading of the fear of war. However, we must make a sober estimate of recent developments, not forgetting that we are so far only at the beginning of this new phase in the improvement of international relations, and that there are still many obstacles and difficulties in the way of the establishment of a lasting trust between States.

12. Certain facts show that some groups of people for whom the continuation of the "cold war" and the armaments race are a means of profit, are initiating attempts to hinder the settlement of international problems in the Geneva spirit and in the real interests of the peoples of all countries. Still sitting in the crumbling trenches of the "cold war", the representatives of these groups began immediately after Geneva to talk about the need to put the brakes on the spirit of optimism and hope which was beginning to grow among the peoples in consequence of the results of the Geneva Conference — hope, that is, for a speedy and complete end to the notorious "cold war". They are trying to create the impression that these new aspects of international life and, consequently also the results achieved at Geneva towards the improvement of the general international atmosphere, are due to the policy of "positions of strength". In fact, the Geneva Conference was successful precisely because the policy of "positions of strength" was laid aside. To cling to this policy at the present time is to live in the past. There is only one road to a lasting peace — the road of further improvement of relations and strengthening of trust between States.

13. The General Assembly should express its approval of the efforts States are making to relax international tension and it should call upon them to continue their efforts in the interest of general peace and security. Proposals of such a kind are contained in the draft resolution [A/2981] on Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and for the development of inter-

national co-operation which has been submitted by the USSR delegation for the consideration of the General Assembly at this session.

14. The Ukrainian delegation supports these proposals, for the United Nations General Assembly has no higher nor nobler task than that of eliminating the threat of a new war, of ensuring security and confidence in the morrow, and of creating the conditions for peace and general prosperity.

15. As everyone must realize, the establishment of lasting peace depends upon the solution of the disarmament problem. We shall take the opportunity at the appropriate time to go into this most important matter in detail in the First Committee. But in view of the very great importance attaching to a consideration of the proposals made by the Soviet Government [A/2979] on 10 May and 21 July 1955 regarding the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war, as well as of the proposals made by the United States, England, France and other countries, we feel it necessary to spend some time on this question even now, although only in general terms.

16. The Soviet Union, as you know, is proposing a broad programme of disarmament, providing for the basic measures required to solve the problem of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. This programme is intended to strengthen mutual confidence between nations and thus to end the "cold war" which is poisoning the international atmosphere.

17. The Soviet proposals take into account the important proposals made by the Western Powers at different stages of the discussion of this question, in particular the proposal about the level of armaments, the reduction of armaments by stages and the prohibition of atomic weapons. It is necessary to emphasize another important feature of the Soviet proposals, which constitutes a new approach to the problem of controlling the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

18. As modern war requires the deployment and concentration of great land, sea and air forces, the new proposals provide that the international control organ shall set up, on a mutual basis, control posts in the important ports, at railway junctions, on motor highways and at aerodromes of the countries concerned. This means that the control posts will be able to have warning of any aggression which one country may prepare against another. The rights and powers of the international control organ are to be extended, as the disarmament programme is fulfilled and measures for the creation of an atmosphere of confidence in relations between States are implemented.

19. In the course of the general discussion, various points of view were expressed on individual aspects of the disarmament problem and it was emphasized that in a number of questions, the positions of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France had either come closer or had completely coincided. This circumstance gives ground for hope that it will be possible to find an acceptable basis for an international agreement on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

20. The problem of the reduction of armaments is closely linked with the creation of an effective system of collective security in Europe. It is easy to see why the Government of the Ukrainian SSR attaches very great

importance to this problem. It must not be forgotten that the sanguinary and devastating wars in Europe have caused the Ukrainian people, like other peoples, countless victims and destruction. After the Second World War a great effort was required of our people to rebuild towns and villages which had been destroyed, and to restore industry and agriculture. But every war leaves wounds which cannot be healed. Millions of people perished on the battlefields fighting for a just cause.

21. The Ukrainian people, like other peoples, is vitally interested to see that the horrors of war do not recur, and that an effective system of security is created in Europe. The basic principles for the creation of such a system of security are, we are firmly convinced, laid down in the draft plan for a general European treaty proposed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet plan provides that measures for guaranteeing international security should be carried out in two stages.

22. During the first stage Governments would not be released from the obligations which they have undertaken under existing treaties and agreements, but they would be bound by an obligation to refrain from the use of armed force and to settle any disputes which might arise among them by peaceful means. In the second stage Governments would assume, under an appropriate treaty, all the obligations arising from the creation of a system of collective security in Europe, and the North Atlantic Treaty, the Paris agreements and the Warsaw Treaty would simultaneously lapse in their entirety. These treaties and agreements would be liquidated and replaced by a general European system of collective security.

23. The formation of a general European system of security in accordance with the genuine interests of the nations of Europe and on the basis of a sober appraisal of the existing conditions in Europe "would help to create", as Mr. Molotov rightly pointed out in his speech of 23 September, "more favourable conditions for the settlement of the German problem, including the problem of the restoration of German unity. The solution of this latter problem cannot be separated from the establishment of a general European security system, or from the question whether Europe is to become a potential hotbed of war or a bulwark of peace and international security" [520th meeting, para. 154].

24. We are in full agreement with this, and we think that the ensuring of peace in Europe would be reflected in the settlement of other international problems. This, in turn, would have a positive influence on the work of the United Nations.

25. The United Nations has entered the second decade of its existence. The experience of the first decade showed that the United Nations has played an important part in international relations. Its success in the future will depend on the extent to which it takes advantage of the new and real prospects for a thorough improvement of the international situation, and on the steps it takes to remove existing obstacles to the establishment of a lasting peace and of security for all nations. Effective action by the United Nations would speed up the development of international life in the direction most closely corresponding to the requirements of our time. The aspirations of African and Asian peoples to national independence and self-determination, aspirations which are becoming ever more persistent, must meet with deep understanding and support from all States Members and non-Members of the United Nations.

26. Another unresolved problem is that of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. A situation in which the great Chinese people, a great world Power, whose population constitutes a quarter of mankind, is absent from the United Nations is entirely abnormal. It is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter and by no means contributes to an improvement in the international situation.

27. As Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has said: "The refusal of the United Nations to recognize the great People's Republic of China is not only abnormal and contrary to the spirit of the Charter, but also constitutes a threat to the cause of peace and the settlement of international problems."

28. The United Nations cannot represent all peoples, if some States are refused admission for reasons devoid of juridical foundation and going counter to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

29. It is quite incorrect to assert that the question of the admission of new members has so far not been solved because of the existence of the so-called right of "veto". In fact, the reason for the delay in solving this question is to be sought in the fact that there is prejudice against certain countries solely because they have a different social and economic structure. Objections to their admission have been raised in the interests of the continuation of the "cold war", and this of course is contrary to the basic purposes of the United Nations.

30. The readiness of the Soviet delegation to support the simultaneous admission of 16 States to the United Nations — Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordan, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Laos and Cambodia — is evidence of the Soviet Union's efforts to solve this important problem too in such a manner as to broaden international co-operation, to create confidence between States, and to strengthen the United Nations.

31. The United Nations can be strengthened only on the basis of respect for the sovereign equality of States, on the basis of the recognition and development of peaceful co-existence among the nations and of consistent and unconditional observance of one of the most important principles of the United Nations: the principle of concerted action and unanimity among the great Powers in deciding the most important problems of the maintenance of international peace and security. The basic provisions and principles of the United Nations Charter, drafted ten years ago, and their progressive character confirmed by experience, must form the unshakeable basis of the work of the United Nations in the future also.

32. The Ukrainian delegation therefore considers that there is no need to take any measures for a revision of the Charter, because they would merely cause new friction between States, hinder the attainment of mutual understanding and shake the foundations of the United Nations. We are firmly convinced that in order to strengthen the United Nations we must seek, not a revision of the Charter, but strict observance of its basic provisions.

33. In conclusion, I should like to say that the General Assembly will be able to achieve positive results in the solution of the problems before it, if all Members, and in particular the great Powers which bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace, continue the

efforts jointly undertaken for the settlement of outstanding international problems in accordance with the principles of peaceful co-existence and if they build their mutual relations in a spirit of co-operation and trust.

34. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Almost exactly a year ago, in opening my statement in the general debate at the ninth session of the Assembly I said:

"We meet . . . in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb, a shadow which grows in size with every month that passes. Man has at last mastered the secret of his own extinction. This is the most significant development in the entire history of mankind, and one which calls for a new set of values and a new way of thinking."
[485th meeting, para. 12]

35. Little did I realize it, but it seems that even as I was speaking the world was already edging towards new sets of values and new ways of thinking. For it was the ninth session of the General Assembly which produced something which had become a rarity in the annals of the United Nations: unanimity among the 60 Members assembled here on two of the fundamental issues of our day — disarmament and the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

36. It is true that the agreements reached were only in regard to the methods of approaching these problems. But even that was significant, because, for the first time in many long years, such limited agreement seemed to open up the possibility of the birth of a new spirit in international relations, even though this was no more than a willingness to try to work together.

37. Subsequent events, including the Bandung Conference and culminating in the Geneva "summit" meeting, have confirmed the emergence of this new spirit. And we see in the current talks at ambassadorial level between the United States and the People's Republic of China yet a further projection of the same spirit.

38. The change which has come over the world was described most eloquently by the leader of the Canadian delegation when, in his speech of 26 September he said: "Confronted by the appalling spectre of disaster, the world has sobered up in the nick of time" [523rd meeting, para. 7]. That, I believe, is an accurate description of what has actually happened. It has brought with it a relaxation, though not an elimination, of tension. The tension will not be eliminated until solutions are found to those problems which have divided the world. The need of the hour is to make the most of this new spirit and atmosphere in order to move towards solutions of these problems. For it is certain that this new spirit and atmosphere will not last unless it is sustained by progress in the further elimination of tension. This does not mean that it is not real, not live. We have only to cast our minds back to the situation which prevailed in the world less than two years ago to realize that there is indeed a new spirit abroad in the world today. But, like all things of the spirit, it cannot be taken for granted or regarded as an end unto itself without being gradually dissipated.

39. If we can utilize the improved international atmosphere to move towards solutions of our major differences — I deliberately say "move towards solutions" because it is obvious that it is going to be a long time before final solutions can be reached — each step forward would bring about a further improvement in the international climate, and this in its turn would make it easier for the next step forward to be taken. That is the process as we visualize it. It is going to require great

patience, perseverance and determination. The starting point of this process, as we see it, is the spirit of Geneva. Yet there are those who, putting the cart before the horse, say that the Geneva spirit is unreal and mere wishful thinking because it has no foundation in concrete progress. In our view, those who spread this view do a great disservice to humanity, for, if their view prevailed, it would be impossible for the world to find its way out of the deadly dilemma in which it finds itself. Admittedly this new spirit is a matter of faith, but it is faith based on the very strongest of human instincts, the will to survive.

40. I think it will be generally agreed that the improvement in the international climate has been reflected in the speeches which we have heard so far in the general debate. No one can expect that solutions will suddenly be found during the tenth session to problems which have defied solution for nearly a decade. But we have been heartened to see on the part of all delegations a willingness to review positions taken in the past. And this gives us hope that this session may turn out to be more fruitful than any of its predecessors.

41. One of the most important issues facing the United Nations, and one of the very few on which the new spirit might possibly be able to have an immediate impact, is that of the admission of new members. We believe that the Assembly as a whole is moving towards a less legalistic and more realistic attitude towards this problem, and we are greatly heartened by this development. We ourselves have always stood for universality of membership. We would favour the admission of all those States that have applied for membership, under any formula which may be generally acceptable, except the States which are now divided. Our objection to the admission of the divided States rests solely on the fact that the admission of each divided part to separate membership of the United Nations would only tend to put a seal of United Nations approval on the division of the country, and so add considerably to the difficulties of eventual unification.

42. My delegation sincerely hopes that this tenth session of the General Assembly will be able to chalk up progress with regard to this question. In our view, the admission of the new members is long overdue. With the improvement in the international atmosphere, the role which the United Nations may be expected to play in world affairs would become enlarged. To enable it to carry out its enlarged responsibilities fully, the Organization will need all the authority and prestige which it is in our collective power to confer on it. The most effective way of doing this is to make the United Nations a world organization both in fact and in name. Let us therefore make one supreme effort to break this deadlock before we come to the close of this session.

43. I said earlier that the speeches which we had heard in the general debate had reflected the new spirit. It is consequently with regret that I have to point to one matter which has already been considered and disposed of by the Assembly, and which in our view was disposed of in a manner which failed to reflect the new spirit. I refer to the seating of China in the United Nations.

44. However much my delegation may wish to see the People's Republic of China occupy its rightful place in this Organization, we were not so unrealistic as to believe that this event could take place in this session. Nevertheless, the use this year of exactly the same device and formula as was used in past years to postpone

the consideration of the question came as a disappointment to my delegation. While my delegation would not have been able to support any formula which sought to postpone consideration of the question, we cannot help but wonder whether the Assembly was wise in adopting exactly the same device and formula as had been employed in recent years to deal with the same question in a somewhat different context. As the representative of a Government which has worked, along with others, to bring about an easement of tensions in the Far East, I cannot help but deplore what might be regarded as a display of undue rigidity on the part of the Assembly. After all, the improvement in the international climate is not confined to any one part of the globe. It has been general, and we feel that it might have been wiser to make its reflection also general.

45. Indeed, my delegation wonders how much longer the United Nations can afford to continue to keep the door locked to the People's Republic of China without doing itself serious and perhaps irreparable injury. Those of us who had the privilege of attending the Bandung Conference could not help but be impressed with the high degree of understanding, goodwill and co-operation displayed by the Chinese delegation, and particularly with the great respect which they showed towards the United Nations Charter and the United Nations as an institution, a remarkable performance for a country which, year after year, has been denied the seat to which it is entitled in our Organization. If ever proof were needed that the Central People's Government of China is fully qualified to take its place in the United Nations, Bandung furnished it. My delegation trusts therefore that it has seen for the last time the perennial procedural device which so far has succeeded in keeping the door bolted and barred to the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people.

46. It seems indisputable that the most important single problem which faces the world today is that of disarmament. This is so because really meaningful disarmament would mean not only the removal of the threat of war, but also that more of the world's population would be able to get more of the good things of life. At least, that is the hope of those of us who represent the under-developed countries of the world.

47. But we have no illusions about the complexities and difficulties which lie astride the path leading towards disarmament. It is clear that it will be a long time before any comprehensive agreements can be reached. This would make all the more desirable broad interim agreements of the kind referred to by the Chairman of the Yugoslav delegation in his statement of 26 September 1955. If, as Mr. Popovic suggested, it could at least be agreed that there should be no increase in expenditure on armaments and armed forces while the negotiations on disarmament continue, its psychological impact could be considerable. And perhaps similar interim agreements could cover other areas. For instance, both sides might agree to stop all further atomic and nuclear explosion tests. As I said in my statement last year [485th meeting, para. 21], the fact that all such explosions can be detected should serve as a guarantee that any such agreement would be honoured. Such interim agreements would not only be useful in themselves, but they would generate a better atmosphere for reaching comprehensive agreements.

48. On the main question of disarmament, we have been encouraged and heartened by what we have read and seen since the unanimous adoption of the resolution

808 IX on disarmament during the ninth session. We have watched with appreciation the initiatives taken by the major Powers. The road will be long and often bumpy, but we feel that a promising start has been made and that, given goodwill and understanding on all sides, it should not be long before we begin to get some results.

49. Any discussion of disarmament inevitably brings to mind the peaceful uses of atomic energy, since in a sense it is the other side of the same coin. The phenomenal success of the Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was a tribute alike to the United Nations and to the United States Government, which took the initiative in bringing the matter before the United Nations.

50. Progress in this field seems to be so rapid that it would be desirable to hold such conferences frequently so as to enable the world to keep abreast of developments. We were glad to hear, therefore, that the United States will again propose a similar conference to be held in three years or earlier if the increasing development of peaceful uses of atomic energy will so warrant.

51. A matter which will come up for consideration soon is the establishment of the international atomic energy agency. My delegation sincerely trusts that the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America will be given an adequate voice in the running of this agency. As I stated when this matter was being discussed last year, these are the countries which were passed over by the industrial revolution. Now that the world seems to be on the verge of the atomic revolution, they would naturally be anxious to ensure that they are not passed over again.

52. From the peaceful uses of atomic energy to economic development is but a short step. This is a matter with which I have dealt year after year, so I do not propose to dwell on it. All I need to say is that the problem of raising the living standards of the people of the under-developed countries still faces us in all its stark reality. Much has been done, through the Colombo Plan in our part of the world, through the various United Nations bodies and agencies and the United States bilateral programmes on a world-wide scale. For the help which we have received, we are grateful. But year in and year out the same conclusions are finally forced upon us. These are that a much greater effort is called for if a real impact is to be made on the extremely low standards in which two thirds of the world's population is now compelled to live. Now that the improvement in the international climate enables the more fortunate countries to begin to think in terms of cutting back expenditures on armaments, we trust that they will keep the urgency of this crying need in mind. We urge this as much in their interest as in ours.

53. A word now about Charter revision. Our view is that the time is not yet ripe for an attempt to be made to revise the Charter. We would therefore be opposed to any suggestion that a Charter revision conference should be held at this time, or even at any foreseeable date in the future. We would not object to a decision in principle being taken at this session that there shall be a Charter review conference provided that the date on which the conference is to be held is left open for future determination.

54. A brief reference to colonial and trusteeship matters, and I will have finished. Burma's attitude towards all colonial questions is well known. A country

which only recently emerged from colonial rule itself, it is but natural that we should be joined by the strongest bonds of sympathy with those who still unfortunately are compelled to live under colonial domination. That is why we, in common with the other members of the Afro-Asian group, have sponsored the inclusion in our agenda of the items relating to Algeria, Morocco, and West Irian.

55. The old and familiar argument put forward by those who oppose inclusion is that these questions come within the purview of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. This is an argument which has been debated threadbare and rejected by the majority of members at past General Assemblies, so I do not propose to dwell on it.

56. But now a new argument is being introduced against inclusion. It is that the discussion of a question would not be "timely". Now it will be readily conceded, I think, that this matter of timing is strictly one of opinion. To the colonial Powers, United Nations discussion of such issues will never be timely. To the subject peoples, such discussion will always be timely. Those who are not directly involved will fall somewhere in between these two extremes. Countries like mine will naturally tend to be closer to the point of view of the subject peoples. Other countries may not be as close, but unless they are colonial Powers themselves, their sympathies would, I am sure, be more with the subject peoples than with the colonial Powers. This would be particularly true of those countries which themselves were colonies at one time or other. So far as inclusion is concerned, therefore, we would expect the balance of sympathy on all colonial issues generally to be with the subject peoples, that is, in favour of the view that discussion would be timely rather than untimely. But when the request for inclusion is based also on the fact that there has been violence and bloodshed and repression, then I submit that there is far less ground for denial of the discussion on the ground that it is untimely. Common humanitarianism would call for the adoption of a more liberal rather than a more restrictive attitude. I would appeal to all delegations to take this into account when they come to decide on the votes which have still to be cast.

57. Burma has all along held to the position that all the peoples of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories should be led to full and complete self-government as early as possible. Its record of activities in the Fourth Committee and on the Committee on Information speaks for itself. With this experience behind us, we feel that we are well qualified to play a constructive and useful part in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

58. To conclude, Mr. President, may I offer you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your well-deserved election to the Presidency of this Assembly. May this Assembly, under your wise guidance, usher in a period of peaceful change and truly constructive effort.

59. Mr. YEH (China) (*translated from the Chinese*):¹ The tenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has opened on a note of apparent optimism. In the statements already made from this rostrum the belief is voiced that, with the outward change of Soviet attitude, world peace is now within possible reach. My delegation, representing a people who are by tradition and history peace-loving, welcomes every move or

opportunity to make this world a better and happier place in which to live. Nuclear developments have made war more terrible than ever before. To save mankind from total destruction every nation, large or small, should bend its efforts towards the promotion of peace. 60. Before I turn to examine the problem of world peace, I should like to state briefly the position of my Government with respect to a few important items on the agenda.

61. The Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in August this year at Geneva, may prove to be a landmark of human progress. A number of representatives have already dwelt on the prospects of the industrial, agricultural and medical uses of the atom. Not only can the atom be made a new and plentiful source of power, but it also holds the key to many secrets of nature and to a better and richer human living. After ten years of frustrating negotiations with the Soviet Union on the international control of atomic energy, the United Nations finally owes this new impact of the peaceful atom to President Eisenhower of the United States, who, in his historic address before this Assembly on 8 December 1953 [470th meeting], first lifted the atom from the realm of fear to that of hope. The "Atoms-for-Peace" proposal has the full support of my delegation.

62. My Government has already established an atomic energy council further to mobilize its scientists and engineers and co-ordinate its efforts with those of friendly Powers in the development of atomic energy. It has entered into bilateral agreements with the United States of America in this field of international co-operation. It is our belief that science has no national boundaries and that its achievements may be shared and enjoyed by all mankind in the interest of peace and progress. Since 1946, my Government has advocated the international co-operative development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and will urge that an international atomic agency be established at the earliest possible date.

63. It is the hope of my delegation that the peaceful uses of atomic energy will be made available as early as possible to the under-developed countries, where progress in the industrial, medical and agricultural fields may be greatly hastened by the introduction of this new technique. It is also to be hoped that in due course a programme of international assistance on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, similar to the technical assistance programme of the United Nations, can be put into effect.

64. Now I wish to turn to another item of importance. Under the Charter, we are all bound to respect fundamental human rights and to uphold the dignity and worth of the human person. Ten years after the signing of the Charter, the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned are still groping for effective means of implementing this provision of the Charter. Though as a result of studies made by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour, proof of forced labour in the Soviet Union and its satellites and on the Chinese mainland was established, the United Nations is yet unable to see its way to condemn such practice.

65. Forced labour, racial and social discrimination, religious intolerance, political persecution and purges, denial of free speech and movements, forced confessions, taking of life, imprisonment or punishment of an individual without a fair or public trial, denial to the

¹ English translation supplied by the Chinese delegation.

individual of his right to choose his representative or governors — all these are still in existence in many States, including some Members of the United Nations.

66. In the face of this overwhelming evidence of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, it is the hope of my delegation that the United Nations will intensify its efforts to prevent further violations; to promote human rights by all practical means, including the early adoption of effective international instruments, such as the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; to expose, condemn and put the stamp of its moral judgment on the perpetrators of crimes on the human individual.

67. The question of the admission of new members remains on the agenda of this Assembly. Despite the work of the Committee of Good Offices, we are still unable to find a solution to the problem. While our search for a solution continues, my delegation wishes again to remind this Assembly that the Charter has clearly stated, in Article 4, the simple qualifications for membership in this international Organization: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Any concept of universality must be based on these requirements. As to whether or not an applicant nation is peace-loving or whether it is able and willing to carry out these obligations, it is for the Member States here assembled to judge. Those that do not meet the Charter requirements must in the interest of the United Nations itself be excluded, for instance the so-called Mongolian People's Republic. On the other hand, my delegation profoundly regrets that a number of applicant nations who were supported by a majority of votes in the Security Council had been kept out by the abusive use of the veto by the Soviet Union. My delegation will continue to support the application for membership of any sovereign State which, in its opinion, is peace-loving and which can and will carry out the obligations under the Charter. Only two days ago, another State, with its long history of cultural achievements, applied for membership in this Organization. The Chinese delegation will support Spain's admission as we did the other States, which have received the majority vote in the Security Council.

68. Let me now turn to the problem of world peace which is uppermost in our minds. The United Nations is an organization charged with the responsibility of maintaining world peace. When we discuss here any effort relating to peace, it is incumbent upon all of us that the type of peace we aim at must be in accord with the spirit of the Charter. I am in full agreement with the Chairman of the United States delegation, Mr. John Foster Dulles, when he said on 11 April this year:

"...craven purchase of peace at the expense of principle can result in destroying much of the human spirit on this planet. Peace, under certain conditions, could lead to a degradation of the human race and to subjecting human beings to a form of mental decay which obliterates the capacity for moral and intellectual judgment".

69. It will be remembered that a failure to understand the real nature of nazism led to the tragic *débâcle* in 1939. The same mistake can be made again today. In so far as our hopes today are based principally on the

Soviet professions of peace, it is necessary that we examine objectively such professions in the light of Soviet history. Let us be sure that the Soviet motive is not a calculated effort to capitalize on the world's longing for peace and its abhorrence of war as a means of further extending Communist rule over the world. Let us be sure that it is not a manoeuvre to divert the peoples of the free world from necessary measures of defence and create a demand for peace at any price. Can we be sure that the seeming flicker of light on the international horizon is not a false dawn?

70. The recent apparent *volte-face* on the part of the Soviet Union is no new thing. Nor is the slogan "peaceful co-existence" a fresh one. We have witnessed in the past 38 years more than one such tactical manoeuvre, and some of these have been equally dramatic. In September 1927, for instance, Stalin, in an interview with the first United States labour delegation in Moscow, took great pains to explain that communism and capitalism could co-exist "in conditions of peaceful development". "We are pursuing a policy of peace", he declared, "and are prepared to come to sign a pact of non-aggression with bourgeois states. We are pursuing a policy of peace and we are prepared to come to an agreement concerning disarmament, including the abolition of standing armies." This profession of "peaceful development" found expression in the United Front policy of the 1930's and in the Soviet Union's joining the League of Nations. It was during this period that communism enjoyed world-wide popularity and Communist influence began to expand in all countries. Then came Stalin's deal with Hitler in August 1939, thus precipitating the Second World War. The signing of the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression treaty automatically transformed Hitler into a "force of peace" and the Western Powers into "warmongers" and "cannibals". This classification was quickly reversed in 1941 when Hitler invaded the USSR. During the "grand alliance" the Soviet Union was everywhere hailed as a democratic nation "dedicated to peace, freedom, and general well-being of all mankind". Yet it was precisely during this period that eight independent nations fell under Communist tyranny, and Communist-directed disorders flared up in Italy, France, Greece, as well as in the Far East. Wherever the Soviet troops marched, there the Communists and their stooges were raised to power. In China, the Soviet Union prevented my Government at the end of the Second World War from sending troops and administrative personnel to Manchuria to take over the administration of that area. At the same time it secretly admitted the Communists to Manchuria and equipped them with arms surrendered by the Japanese.

71. With the onset of the cold war, the wartime honeymoon came to an end. Meanwhile, mainland China fell into Communist hands. Not long afterwards the Republic of Korea was invaded. Thanks to the heroic stand of the Korean people and the instantaneous action of the United States and the collective measures taken by the United Nations, Communist aggression in Asia, for the first time, received a serious setback.

72. The death of Stalin in March 1953 brought about another shift in Soviet strategems. The old slogan of "peaceful co-existence" was dusted off and presented to the free world as a new commodity. There is, however, this difference. In the 1920's and 1930's, the Soviet Union was weak and "peaceful co-existence" in these days was primarily a defensive tactic. Today, the Soviet

Union is strong and "peaceful co-existence" is offensive in character. In his speech before this Assembly last Friday [520th meeting], Mr. Molotov demonstrated that on all basic questions the Soviet policy has not changed. If there is such a thing as the spirit of Geneva in Mr. Molotov's statement, it is to be found not in substance but in mannerism.

73. The leaders of the Communist world may now use softer words. But Germany is still divided and the satellite countries are still ruled by Soviet puppets. In Asia, the unification of Korea remains as remote as ever; Indo-China hangs in the balance; mainland China has been converted into a gigantic concentration camp; and Communist subversion is everywhere rampant. The fact is that international communism cannot afford to stand still; it must go forward, or stagnate. In a Communist State, it is struggle that gives it the breath of life. Struggle takes many forms: it may be military, it may be political, it may be warfare against bourgeois States, or it may be warfare against the civilian population. The peace overtures of the Communist world are a form of political struggle which, at the opportune time, can readily be transformed into a military one, for the two forms of struggle are interchangeable and complementary. We in China have, through painful and bitter experience, come to understand this.

74. Communist leaders have never concealed the fact that communism and capitalism cannot co-exist peacefully for any considerable length of time. Lenin's pronouncement on this subject is well-known. It still bears quoting. He declared:

"We are living not only in a State, but in a system of States, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes, a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States is inevitable."

75. The present peace drive, though launched after his death, was really conceived by Stalin himself. In November 1951 the late Soviet dictator expounded his ideas of a peace movement in a speech which was published a year later in the Soviet Communist Party monthly, *Bolshevik*. It is significant that the appearance of the Stalin article coincided with the nineteenth Party Congress in Moscow. Its extraordinary importance was confirmed by *Pravda*, which described Stalin's article as "the greatest event in the ideological life of the Party and the Soviet people".

76. What did Stalin want to get out of the peace drive? He wanted three things: to postpone any possible capitalist attack on the Soviet Union, to promote dissension among the bourgeois States, and to hasten the "imperialist war" among them. With a frankness characteristic of him, Stalin said that sooner or later "the fight for peace" would be transformed into "a fight for Socialism". The Soviet Union, he added, could not and would not commit itself forever to peace. That would be "bourgeois pacifism".

77. In their "fight for peace" the present Soviet rulers have been at pains to play down Stalin. Yet they too have made it perfectly clear that "co-existence" is a temporary tactic, an episode within an all-embracing, inescapable struggle between hostile and irreconcilable systems of power. Only the other day, on 17 September, Mr. Krushchev said that "those who wait for the Soviet Union to abandon communism wait until a shrimp

learns to whistle". He is sure that communism would eventually triumph over decadent capitalism.

78. Thus the Soviet peace drive is not in fact peaceful in intention. It is a form of war. Mr. Manuilsky, at the time of the *Front populaire* movement, said:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtones and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fists."

79. Such, then, is the motive behind all the recent show of goodwill and seeming flexibility in negotiations. The peace tactic chimes in with the desperate hopes of a war-weary world so perfectly that the smallest concessions, such as the release of illegally-held prisoners of war and civilians, the admission of some foreign journalists, or the exchange of a few civil words between Soviet leaders and foreign diplomats are being eagerly seized upon as evidence of Soviet sincerity and a change of policy.

80. My Government, in common with all other free Governments represented in this great Assembly, stands for peace. But the kind of peace the world needs, as I said at the beginning of my statement, is genuine peace. It is peace with justice and freedom. I submit that no peace built on the enslavement of nearly half of the world's population can be called genuine and can long last.

81. If the international situation has shown any sign of hope it is the product, not of Soviet goodwill, but of the policy of strength adopted by the free world. This policy has achieved a measure of success in Europe. The rising tide of communism, for the time being at least, has been checked. But millions of people still live under Communist tyranny. We should not be mistaken about the Soviet Union's ultimate aims, its potential for military aggression, and its tyrannical political system.

82. In Asia, a beginning has been made to counter Communist expansion by a system of regional collective security. The Manila Pact is a case in point. Unfortunately, this pact is still limited in scope and without adequate armed strength. In addition, there are in existence several bilateral mutual security treaties. In view, however, of the tremendous momentum of Communist expansionism in Asia, further strengthening of the military and economic positions of the free countries in that area is imperative.

83. In some Asian countries, such is the residue of hostility and suspicion left by European colonialism that even otherwise farsighted statesmen tend to regard colonialism as a primary issue and Communist expansionism as only a secondary one. This accounts for the growth and popularity of neutralism. In the Communist lexicon, neutralism is synonymous with hostility. Both Lenin and Stalin sneered at those who pretended that they could remain neutral in the world-wide struggle between capitalism and communism. Mao Tze-tung himself has this to say about neutrality:

"It wouldn't do to sit on the fence. There is no such a thing as the third open road. We are therefore opposed to the illusions of the third open road. This

applies not only to China but to the whole world as well. You either side with imperialism or with socialism. There is no other alternative."

Mao continues to expound that an individual or a nation can be either for communism or against it, and all those who sit on the fence are enemies.

84. Although they regard neutrals as potential enemies, the Communists have no hesitation, as a tactical move, in utilizing them to sharpen conflicts between enemies. This is cynically expressed in the slogan, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend". This most astute formula is applied to the Communist backing of nationalism, particularly in Asia. The real motive in this connexion is, of course, to capitalize on Asian nationalism for the purpose of accelerating the spread of communism in Asia. Nationalism and communism are in fact incompatible with each other. All students of Marxism-Leninism know that nationalism as such is only used by Communists as a means to foster anti-colonial sentiments. To them, nationalism is only a means to an end.

85. I have already touched upon the questions of Korea and Viet-Nam. The problem of Korean unity has been an item on the General Assembly agenda since 1947. It is still there. It is the duty and obligation of the United Nations to translate the agenda item into reality. We should not shirk our responsibility. We should not sit back and close our eyes to a situation which is still fraught with dangerous possibilities. In Viet-Nam there is no denying the fact that Communist strength and influence are growing. It is our duty to see to it that Viet-Nam is saved from Communist tyranny. We must not allow North Viet-Nam to annex South Viet-Nam by a rigged and fraudulent "election" like that which happened in eastern Europe.

86. Let me now turn to my own country. The Communists, supported by the Soviet Union, were able to impose their tyrannical rule on the 500 million — according to Communist claims 600 million — unwilling people on the mainland in 1949. Six years have now passed. The Communists have spawned a gigantic system of repression and terrorism, the like of which has never been known in Chinese history. On the opening day of this session [516th meeting] I had the opportunity to call to the attention of this Assembly the fact that in the first three years of Communist domination over 20 million innocent people were slaughtered under one pretext or another. The mass slaughter of human beings still goes on. In my brief statement I quoted Miss Shih Liang, the so-called Minister of Justice of the Peiping régime, in showing the magnitude of the Communist persecution. It will be recalled that Miss Shih Liang boasted on 29 July 1955 that from January 1954 to May 1955, the "people's courts" of all levels had dealt with no fewer than 364,604 counter-revolutionary cases. That means that there were on the average some 22,000 such cases per month, 700 cases per day, or one case every two minutes. Now, there must be a compelling reason for resorting to such extreme measures. Obviously, these brutal measures were found to be necessary in order to keep the people in abject fear. They also demonstrate graphically the magnitude of the people's resistance to communist tyranny.

87. Miss Shih Liang's report is corroborated by another equally authentic Communist. Lo Jui-ching, Peiping's Minister of Public Security, said, in a key speech before the so-called "National People's Congress" on 27 July 1955, that the previous campaigns of suppression, such as the "3-anti" and "5-anti" campaigns

were directed primarily at "open" counter-revolutionaries; strong measures, he urged, must now be taken against "hidden" counter-revolutionaries, who had camouflaged their activities in order to infiltrate the Communist party, the democratic parties, and the people's organizations, Government organs and the People's Liberation Army. "The struggle to suppress counter-revolution", Lo Jui-ching declared, "is therefore a somewhat long-term one. So long as classes exist within the country and imperialism exists outside, the struggle against counter-revolutionaries is bound to exist." Lo Jui-ching's own words amount to a confession that the puppet Communist régime is far from being as stable as some superficial observers would have us believe.

88. My Government, now based on Taiwan, has moral as well as legal obligations towards the suffering people on the mainland, whose desire to be restored to a free way of life has manifested itself with increasing clarity and force. The desire of a people to regain its lost freedom, as well as the desire of a people to see its own compatriots freed from the yoke of tyranny, cannot possibly be denied by any code of law. If mainland China is to be liberated from Communist tyranny, the work of liberation will be done mainly by the Chinese people themselves — I refer not only to the 10 million people on Taiwan and the 13 million people overseas, but also to the 500 million people on the Chinese mainland.

89. While dedicated to the objective of restoring freedom to its people on the mainland, my Government has never once appealed to the United Nations for assistance in achieving such an end. But if, as it is at present constituted, the United Nations cannot give a helping hand to the millions of captive peoples behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, it can and should refrain from acts that would make their suffering even more unbearable, that would snuff out their hope for eventual liberation, or that would condemn them to perpetual slavery. Above all, the United Nations should refrain from giving material aid or moral comfort to their enslavers. A peace that legalizes injustices and wrongs is certainly not the type of peace we want. It is only a spurious peace. Such a peace would not be in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter. It would be a moral surrender which would have consequences no less terrible than those of war, because the free world cannot long remain free and strong under such a peace.

90. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Denmark): I feel convinced that everybody in this Assembly will understand that I, speaking as representative of the Danish delegation, feel impelled to express my sincere sympathy with the people of the United States in their deep concern about the health of President Eisenhower. I need not say what the name of Eisenhower stands for in contemporary history, not only in the United States, but in the entire world. Today, as before, our warmest feelings go to President Eisenhower to whom we wish, from the bottom of our hearts, a speedy recovery.

91. Several delegations have voiced, from this rostrum, their satisfaction at the improvement in the international atmosphere which has taken place during the last few months.

92. I know that repetitions are tiring and I shall try to avoid them, but there are certain points which I desire to stress on behalf of my country. We hail with great satisfaction the improvement in the international

situation, for a real improvement will renew the hope and belief that the United Nations — whose first ten years were so turbulent and so full of tension — will succeed in reaching the high goals laid down in the Charter.

93. The Government and the people of Denmark were therefore very happy to see the four Occupation Powers agree to conclude a State Treaty with Austria. We hope that this may prove to be a first step towards agreement on the many great issues that stand between East and West.

94. The Geneva Conference of Heads of Government last July was another good omen. They could not, of course, be expected to reach final solutions of the great problems which they discussed. The meeting acquired its importance through the contact, personal and otherwise, established between West and East. Sustained efforts may pave the way for real relief of the political tension in the world.

95. The Foreign Ministers of the four great Powers will meet at Geneva in the near future. The Danish Government hopes that they may succeed in making another step forward towards understanding and agreement. We realize in Denmark that this is by no means an easy task. Great patience and great understanding will be called for. It is necessary that both parties prove their good intentions. The final goal, freedom from fear and a just solution of the political difficulties, must always be kept in mind.

96. It has, however, been brought home to the generation to which we belong that mere appeasement will bring us no real peace. Denmark therefore joined the purely defensive North Atlantic Treaty which was concluded in conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and which is based on the principles of maintaining international peace and security expressed in the Charter.

97. My Government will give whole-hearted support to all honest efforts to relieve international tensions and to serve the ends of peace. I do not propose to pursue this matter any further on this occasion, but I wish merely to stress the importance which a reunification of Germany, in peace and liberty and based on free elections, will have for peace and security in Europe.

98. The agenda for the tenth session of the General Assembly is a heavy one, and some of its items concern problems which are a constant source of unrest and anxiety. It is not only total war, world war, which brings disaster. All armed conflicts involving bloodshed and loss of human lives cause grief and bitterness to men and lead to new disunity which spreads discord among the nations. One example of such an unfortunate conflict is the clash between Israel and its Arab neighbours. My Government notes with great satisfaction the constructive proposal for a permanent settlement of the conflict submitted by the Secretary of State of the United States on 26 August 1955. In our view this initiative holds out so many positive possibilities for peaceful and progressive developments for the peoples of Israel and the Arab countries that it deserves the most serious and careful consideration by everyone concerned.

99. There is also unrest in other parts of the world, and this is clearly reflected in the agenda. Without going into details, there is one general aspect to which I should like to draw your attention. In the past ten years many different problems have been brought before

the United Nations. The Danish Government is of the opinion that the General Assembly is not necessarily an appropriate forum for all such problems. Some of them would undoubtedly lend themselves better to direct negotiations between the parties involved.

100. It is understandable that many nations use the rostrum of the United Nations to make their views and problems known to the world. The General Assembly is, indeed, a useful forum for expression of world opinion on issues which concern all or a considerable number of nations.

101. On the other hand we must not forget that the Charter imposes an obligation on the United Nations to seek solutions to the problems which are submitted to the Organization. However, it will not always further a solution to have the problems aired in public debate before 60 nations — nor, indeed, to force a vote on resolutions. Such procedures may make it more difficult to solve a problem. Furthermore, they may detract from the prestige of the United Nations since they may lead to a state of affairs where the Organization becomes saddled with unsolved problems. Instead of achieving what was intended, namely, a more equitable solution, the result may be a weakening of the United Nations which, in turn, will mean a setback on the way to our common goal. It also detracts from the prestige of the United Nations if resolutions are adopted which cannot be — or at least are not — implemented. Resolutions which remain on paper do not strengthen the United Nations. The Danish delegation will therefore see it as its task to promote a policy of moderation and calm consideration.

102. There is another very important point which it will be natural to bring up in this connexion. It must be a common interest of all nations to work towards the creation of a solid foundation of international law. The Secretary-General raises this question in his excellent annual report [A/2911], and the Danish delegation is in full agreement with his observations on this point. The uncertain and fragmentary character of international law makes it understandable that there is a tendency to seek a political settlement, even in cases where a conflict stems from questions of law. On the other hand, I believe that all countries will agree that we have a common interest in reaching settlements of as many matters as possible on principles of law. In the long run this will safeguard, not threaten, the freedom and independence of national States.

103. In this connexion the Danish Government would like to see the General Assembly avail itself of advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice much more often than has been the practice so far. On various occasions we have suggested that such opinions be obtained, and we hope that this may find wider acceptance in the future.

104. Another item which the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, and of which my Government is deeply conscious, is the principle of universality. The spirit of the Charter craves that the United Nations become a universal forum for the peoples of the world. Only in that way will the United Nations be able to live up to its obligations to safeguard peace and to promote international co-operation.

105. My Government therefore sincerely hopes that these difficulties may be overcome which have so far prevented a considerable number of States from obtaining membership in the Organization. It certainly

should be possible, as a result of the improvement in the international situation which now appears to have come about, to increase the membership of the United Nations.

106. I do not intend here to examine this question in detail. I wish, however, in this connexion to point out that very many in the General Assembly strongly favour that the question of China's representation be settled in accordance with the factual situation in China.

107. In accordance with the Charter, the agenda includes the question of holding a general conference of the Member States for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.

108. We all realize that this is a question which gives rise to great difficulties. My Government has given careful thought to the problems arising in this connexion. We do realize that the Charter is not in all respects a perfect document. It is the work of human beings and, therefore, it has its shortcomings. A revision would thus in principle seem desirable, and hence also a conference, provided that this is the proper time. On the other hand, we feel that the deficiencies we would like to see corrected are not always caused by the words of the Charter, but very often by the manner in which it is used, or perhaps rather left unused.

109. The Charter lays down many great principles, and the Member States have set themselves tasks of high importance. The spirit of the Charter has found its expression in the Preamble. Here are embodied precepts which, if they are truly observed, will create a better world. This applies in particular to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes and the principle of international co-operation in economic and social affairs. Article 26 of the Charter which, "in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security", provides a system for the regulation of armaments, has now led to promising negotiations. We long for the day when the lofty idea embodied in that Article will become a reality. The fact that the Charter contains positive elements such as I have mentioned here should be borne in mind whenever the Charter is being evaluated.

110. The difficulties seem to stem, not so much from the tenor of the Charter as from political and economic circumstances. It would therefore be useful also to consider whether adjustments in the practices adopted by the United Nations, as indicated by the Secretary-General, might not be desirable.

111. My Government has followed with keen interest the great developments which are in progress in Africa and Asia. It was, indeed, gratifying to see the Powers participating in the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung express their unreserved adherence to the principles of the United Nations. This has reaffirmed the hope of the Danish Government that the United Nations may succeed in becoming not only a place where the nations of the world meet, but also an institution able efficiently to help and encourage mankind on its way forwards and upwards.

112. Inspired by a desire to promote this development, Denmark has therefore made a contribution to the United Nations substantial for its resources, to assist

what are, in a misleading term, called the under-developed countries. The Danish Government will continue to participate in this work.

113. The Danish Government has noted with satisfaction that a draft agreement has been prepared for the establishment of an International Finance Corporation and that the number of countries required have indicated their willingness to contribute to the International Finance Corporation. Already this autumn, my Government intends to table proposals in Parliament for Denmark's accession to the International Finance Corporation agreement and for payment of the contribution stipulated for Denmark.

114. The discussions about the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) have been much more difficult. There hardly seems to be any immediate prospect of starting it. The Danish Government has, however, adopted a positive attitude also towards SUNFED, and we have indicated that we are ready to make a contribution compatible with the size and economic resources of our country, provided that other countries, and especially the big countries, are prepared to participate.

115. To us in Denmark the wish for a reduction of armaments is in complete harmony with our entire conception of the manner in which it is desirable that world conditions develop. We have realized, as I have already said, that mere appeasement will not lead to real peace. This is why we joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). We feel convinced of the political wisdom of that step, not least because we think that this defensive treaty has contributed to the creation of an atmosphere favourable to a relaxation of tension. We are fully prepared to meet the resulting obligations.

116. But the Danish people cherish the ardent wish that developments may make it possible to devote a much smaller proportion of our resources than is now the case, to objects of a military nature. To our mind the great and exalted goal is for mankind to devote its strength and its energy to the peaceful objects of making life better and more happy. For this reason we are also highly interested in the efforts to prevent atomic power from being used for terribly destructive weapons, and to turn it to peaceful work. Denmark has no raw materials for atomic power. But Danish science and research, with intense interest, take part in the international co-operation on the peaceful use of atomic power, and we trust that a Danish contribution to these efforts will be forthcoming in the future as has been the case in the past.

117. The safeguarding of peace and the reduction of armaments are of course the great goals of international co-operation. The resulting lowering of expenditure for military purposes will allow for great progress in all parts of the world. The atomic age, which it has become the privilege and the danger of our generation to enter, ought to herald a new and richer epoch for mankind.

118. We trust that these hopes and wishes are shared by the peoples in all countries.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.