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General debate [*continued*]

SPEECHES BY MR. MUÑOZ (ARGENTINA), MR. CHARLES MALIK (LEBANON) AND MR. PADILLA NERVO (MEXICO)

1. Mr. MUÑOZ (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): First, let me congratulate Mrs. Pandit most cordially on her election to the high office which, to the honour of India, she is holding at this Assembly. To what other delegations have said regarding Mrs. Pandit's outstanding qualifications and about the significance of an election which pays a due tribute to her sex, I should add that my country feels deeply gratified because of its friendly relations with hers. I must emphasize that one of the chief builders of this mutual understanding is the Indian Ambassador in Buenos Aires, whom we are glad to see once again as a member of India's delegation to the General Assembly. Thanks to his effective work we have been the better able to appreciate and to draw closer to that great Asian land.

2. Despite the appreciable advance represented by the armistice in Korea, this eighth session faces us with the same problems and with the same uncertainty about our ability to solve them. To cite only the most fundamental, we have to consider, besides of course the Korean question, such matters as disarmament and the admission of new Members, the solution of which is primarily dependent upon agreement among the great Powers.

3. The question of Korea is at present the crux of our difficulties and also the basis for a possible agreement which, if it came into being, would make it possible to settle all other questions. In the recent debate at the seventh session of the General Assembly, we expressed our great satisfaction at the conclusion of the armistice, which ended the terrible human and material destruction undergone by the noble Korean people. And although we appreciate the reasons actuating the military action in Korea, we can never forget this fresh example of the destruction of a small country resulting from the inexorable action of the great machines of war. That is why Argentina concentrated its help, within the limits of its powers, on the needs of the population as a whole, eschewing any share in the military action as such. That, too, is why we

listened with real satisfaction to the statement of the Chairman of the Canadian delegation in this general debate [*441st meeting*] when he said that his country's troops would not take part in the unification of the Korean peninsula by force.

4. The convening of the political conference is beset with obstacles, and every effort must be made to remove them. The decisive factor in reaching agreement may well be the United States representative's suggestions, which justify the belief that the question of participation will be satisfactorily settled, with special attention to the particular interest of certain Asian countries in the matter.

5. Another question which will no doubt engage our particular attention is the admission of new Members. The Special Committee set up to study ways and means of solving this problem, one of the main grounds for criticism of the United Nations, set to work during the year. If we wish to become the guardians of international peace and security, if we expect the United Nations to take steps, as it has done, to give guidance to States when their international behaviour is incompatible with the aims and purposes of the community of nations, we cannot continue to be a closed organization made up of a given number of countries. We cannot claim to guide the conduct of States when we have set up a system of inequality, a system of privilege, depending on membership or non-membership of the United Nations. There is yet another argument which prompts my delegation to continue to urge with insistence that the doors of the United Nations should be flung wide open, and that is that the States outside it are mostly new States, which have emerged in consequence of recent changes in the political pattern of the world. These new States, which are now at the most difficult stage of their development—the winning of complete political sovereignty and economic independence—and which urgently need to be given a chance to co-operate in the international community on a footing of complete equality with the other members, are being prevented from entering on alleged procedural grounds. When the history of this period of the life of the United Nations comes to be written, it will be hard to explain why sixty nations opposed the admission of twenty others and their enjoyment of the rights and assumption of the commitments prescribed by the Charter. My delegation is ready to press again that a solution should be sought.

6. Many other countries, too, should have already been admitted, either on account of their cultural tradition in which our civilization is rooted, such as Italy, or because of their geographical situation or industrial potential, such as Japan, since their active participation is essential to solving the difficult problems of the contingents to which they belong.

7. Now permit me briefly to refer to the item proposed by Argentina [A/2415], concerning the application of the United Nations Charter. In the explanatory memorandum on that point, we make it clear that the request for the inclusion of this item in the agenda was motivated by the principle that all work done by the United Nations must conform to the provisions contained in the Charter. Some of its articles give rise to difficulties of interpretation, and this has caused a variety of interpretations to be placed on one and the same clause. A knowledge of the meaning and scope of the basic provisions of the Charter is a prerequisite for the proper functioning of the Organization.

8. This leads me to refer to the items proposed by the delegations of the Netherlands [A/2442] and Egypt [A/2466 and Add. 1], which directly concern the revision of the Charter as provided for in Article 109. Although the purpose of our proposal is not the revision of the Charter—perhaps the studies we are asking for may be even more useful if it is not amended—we recognize that there is a very close connexion between the item we have proposed and those proposed by the Netherlands and Egypt. My Government's position on the revision of the Charter is well known. At San Francisco, the community of nations had, in the face of certain purely transitory political considerations, to yield for practical reasons on certain principles which had been regarded as basic, and which in fact are basic. Legally and institutionally, the Charter signed at San Francisco represented an appreciable retreat from the principles recognized in the League of Nations Covenant. And experience has shown that it is often a mistake to relinquish principles firmly grounded in the legal and democratic tradition of States for the sake of possible solutions of a political character which are in fact compromises leading to nothing but a system of arbitrary power and privilege.

9. The trend noticeable in United Nations practice towards an extension of the powers of some of its principal organs, which may lead to a violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, also warrants our most careful attention, whether we are considering the revision of the Charter or studying the true meaning of its text as it stands.

10. The Assembly will also have to consider various matters pertaining to dependent territories. The Argentine delegation will examine these problems in the light of its traditional position, which is that such territories should be brought into the community of independent nations as rapidly as possible and that their peoples should be allowed to shape their own destinies.

11. With respect to the colonial territories on the American continent, we shall continue to be guided by resolution XXXIII of the Bogotá Conference, which states that "the historical process of the emancipation of America will not be complete so long as there remain on the continent peoples and regions subject to a colonial régime, or territories occupied by non-American countries".

12. We also maintain that the metropolitan governments are not entitled to alter the political status of a Non-Self-Governing Territory when it is the subject of a claim or suit by another State.

13. Matters pertaining to the budget and administration of the United Nations are more important than

they appear to be at first sight. That is why we welcome the Secretary-General's efforts to effect economies in the Organization's budget. The task is a hard one, but his acknowledged ability and experience warrant our entertaining the highest hopes that he will succeed in putting the budget in order and in establishing an administrative structure that will obviate duplication of effort and complication in the work assigned to the Secretariat.

14. As regards questions concerning the staff, we repeat that its independence does not preclude it from acting in harmony with each and every Member State, and that a single policy should be applied to the entire staff, without distinction of nationality. We also affirm that loyalty to the Organization does not exempt officials from complying with their duties as citizens of their countries. We consider, further, that the higher posts should be equitably distributed among nationals of the different Member States.

15. In social affairs our position is as follows. The competent United Nations organs, in collaboration with the specialized agencies, have taken appropriate steps to make a complete analysis of the major social problems affecting the world, and to establish the basic principles of international action designed to contribute to their solution. Not only has full consideration been given to the close relationship between economic development and social progress, but an attempt has been made to secure a proper integration of social programmes in development plans. This has made it possible not only to aim at a rationalization of what has already been accomplished but—and this is much more important—to analyse the practical possibilities and the means available for initiating programmes commensurate with the world's needs. Possibly the most significant result of this analysis has been the fresh evidence it has brought of the tremendous disproportion which exists between the problems and the means available for solving them. That is a painful conclusion, but instead of arousing pessimism, it should be regarded as the most powerful incentive to intensify our efforts and to develop international co-operative action to the fullest. These conclusions and this incentive must be kept in mind every time we are called on to consider problems of economic development, for a balanced economic development is the only means of obtaining the resources that are indispensable for social progress.

16. The Argentine Government takes a deep interest in this work; on the national level, it has made strenuous efforts to promote and consolidate social progress by adopting far-reaching legislation in that field and establishing appropriate institutions.

17. International economic problems play an increasingly important role in the proceedings of the United Nations, and, by the same token, the need is growing to find effective formulas to solve them. Attention must once again be drawn to the ever-widening gap between the living standards of the highly industrialized countries and the under-developed countries, for it is a gap that only aggravates the problems confronting the community of nations. It has become apparent at a time of great economic activity, when the productive resources of the most highly developed economies are fully employed. During this period, it is clear, the world has been affected by the mobilization for defence, but even so, that is no explanation of the

unstable position existing at present. On the contrary, it only serves to magnify our doubts as to the stability of the present economic structure.

18. We are therefore driven to conclude that the world economic order is suffering from fundamental defects which must be rectified before we can reach the goal of an expanding economy through the intensified economic development of the under-developed countries. We shall have to revise completely the procedures and methods employed in the past, and adjust international economic policy to those requirements of economic independence and social justice which the world demands.

19. We have seen how the international bodies created to stimulate a balanced economic development in the post-war period have failed to overcome the difficulties and problems they were set up to solve. The limitations of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and similar bodies are recognized almost universally. And the unrealistic approach made in the Havana Charter to the problems of international trade, so far as the economic development of the under-developed countries is concerned, makes it impossible to ensure the execution, on a world-wide scale, of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which was based on the concepts underlying the Havana Charter.

20. And yet we are still being pressed to accept as a panacea this same set of arrangements which has already failed. It is argued that those methods were ineffective not because of any inherent flaw in their conception but through the fault of the circumstances then obtaining; and there are some who assert that satisfactory solutions will be possible only if we rectify the circumstances. But the facts show that it is the present state of affairs that has led to the backwardness and economic under-development of large areas of the world. The division of the nations into industrialized countries and countries which are producers of raw materials has not only made the world economy extremely vulnerable, but has also kept the greater part of mankind in an impoverished and backward state. To overcome the difficulties in which we find ourselves, we must jettison the abstractions of our doctrinaire teachers, who would recommend an international division of labour on the lines I have just mentioned; the real solution, even though it may run counter to such generalizations, is to be found in the industrialization of the under-developed areas and the introduction, in those areas, of a diversified economy. A transformation of that sort will unquestionably involve great difficulties before it can be achieved. But international co-operation can be solicited to solve those difficulties, though that does not mean that the under-developed countries should expect to receive everything from foreign sources.

21. Although the principal effort must come from the under-developed countries themselves, it cannot be really fruitful unless the changes required to facilitate it are effected in the international field. Therefore all that is needed to help those countries to make a start on the road to progress, which is an urgent necessity for them, is to apply elementary standards of justice and equity which will rid the world of the evils of a defective system.

22. We therefore ascribe paramount importance to finding formulas for stabilizing the general price level

of raw materials entering the international exchanges. There must be a fair and balanced relation between those prices and the prices of manufactured articles. That will help to facilitate the adoption and execution of large-scale national programmes of integrated economic development through the accumulation of domestic capital and the stabilization of revenue derived from the production of exportable raw materials. The importance of measures aiming at that end is indicated by the fact that about 60 per cent of world trade consists at present of the trade in raw materials. Within very short periods of time shrinkages and violent fluctuations cause enormous changes in the balance of payments of producer countries. It is obvious then that the stabilization of prices in the most important sector of international trade will, almost automatically, aid in solving the major part of the currency problems which are affecting world trade and world economy at the present time. The stabilization of raw-material prices under the conditions mentioned will have to be correlated with the adoption of national programmes of integrated economic development.

23. It is, of course, true that this latter problem is not subject to international action, since it concerns the domestic affairs of countries which are seeking to stimulate their production. But if it is realized in the international community that nations must achieve fully integrated economies, changes which do not involve undue hardship will presumably be permitted in the commercial and economic structure of the world. Such an understanding of these needs will lead to the adoption of a world trade policy far wider in scope than policies based on the so-called international division of labour. It is not possible, therefore, to reduce the problem to such simple terms as tariff reductions and the removal of tariff barriers on basis of reciprocity, while ignoring the fundamental differences which separate nations from each other.

24. The problems of the international financing of economic development are also closely bound up with this question. The capital needs of large sectors of the world's economy cannot be met solely by the national resources in those sectors, owing to the slow rate of growth of those resources which, in turn, is due to under-development; and it is the lack of adequate capitalization that prevents development. To break this vicious circle believe that, in addition to the international trade measures I have mentioned, we shall have to set on foot some system of large-scale financing such as the proposed special fund for the issuance of long-term, low-interest loans, which is to be discussed by this Assembly.

25. At the same time, we consider that the international flow of private capital should be stimulated by favourable measures, so as to supplement national saving in the financing of development programmes in economically expanding countries. The advantages of that type of investment are numerous: while the investor can obtain a fair profit, the stimulus given to development is attended by fresh advantages both to the receiving country and to the world economy. Naturally, in exchange for a fair profit, investments must be guided into activities which favour the development of the receiving country. It is not out of place here to allude once again to the unfortunate results that foreign capital too often has produced when, instead of contributing to the progress of the receiv-

ing country, it has sought solely the maximum gain at the expense of progress and has ended by becoming a source of disturbance to the national economy and jeopardized the very independence of the country concerned.

26. The Argentine Congress has passed a law whose purpose is to encourage foreign investment, providing such investment is really designed to promote that sort of activity and is likely to contribute to the economic development of the country. By assuring the investor of fair treatment, the law affords him a suitable incentive.

27. One practical and immediate step for reconstructing the international economy would be the formation of regional economies to facilitate the process of integrated economic development. In that way we should obtain maximum efficiency and a certain measure of national specialization to the advantage of world productivity as a whole. Moreover, it would thus be possible to overcome the limitations imposed on a national economy in large-scale industrial planning by the small size of the home market and an inadequate domestic production of supplies of raw materials. Here, too, if it were properly understood on an international level that it was necessary to agree to certain structural changes, economic development would be speeded up.

28. Measures to ensure a more rapid improvement in the living standards of under-developed countries have been taken by the Argentine Government at the national level; the principles underlying those measures govern its policy at the international level. My country has recently completed a new stage in its efforts to attain the aims I have described by concluding treaties of economic union with the neighbouring republics of Chile and Paraguay. These important instruments guarantee effective international collaboration in the southern part of the American continent, the object being, without prejudice to the sovereignty and political independence of the countries concerned, to develop complementary economies which will allow of the maximum return for their production. Even though our efforts are necessarily limited to action within our national borders and to collaboration with our sister countries for the attainment of common objectives, they offer an example of how to set about making the structural changes to which I have referred. It is, of course, essential that the facts which I have placed before you should be fully understood by responsible governments and world public opinion. My country will resolutely pursue that policy in conjunction with all the American republics. The studies carried out by the United Nations, in particular those based on resolution 623 (VII) which was adopted by the General Assembly at the last session, will provide the necessary basic knowledge of the facts and further the adoption of appropriate measures.

29. Once this stage has been passed, international collaboration in the economic field can be guided into more effective channels. We believe that, when that happens, it will be necessary to call a world economic conference to prepare the indispensable basic agreements and to set up whatever new bodies may be suitable or make any adaptations in existing ones that may be deemed expedient. We believe that the experience of the years that have elapsed since the war is a guarantee that such a conference of that sort will

represent a turning point. It should provide the basis for a progressive order, ensuring the development of equitable economic relations and the attainment of practical solutions commensurate with the character and the magnitude of contemporary problems.

30. In indicating these prospects for the future, we are confident that within a short time we shall be able to enter upon a new era of international understanding and co-operation, in which we shall succeed in finding a satisfactory solution for the most urgent problem confronting the world today, that is, how to speed up and strengthen the economic progress of the under-developed countries; this solution will constitute an indispensable basis for the harmony which in its turn will enable us to insure real peace among all nations.

31. Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon): It is an honour to be able to congratulate Mrs. Pandit on her election to the presidency of the eighth session of the General Assembly. The rise of Asia during the past eight years in the determination of world events is best attested by the contrast between the state of affairs today and the state of affairs at San Francisco. You, Madam President, were at San Francisco. You tried to make, in the interest of the freedom of your country, your clear voice heard by the diplomats and statesmen gathered there; but you were not permitted to enter the conference, let alone to speak in it. And when you held your reception in the Room of the Dons at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, some of those who attended that event literally came through the back door lest they should be seen by their superiors, or—what was still more fearful—by the superiors of their superiors. You were at San Francisco, but you were outside; you were at the periphery of things. Today, however, you are at the centre. This passage from the periphery to the centre, which, in the short span of eight years, you have gone through in your remarkable career, only epitomizes for our epoch the phenomenal growth in moral and political stature of your great country, and therewith of the whole continent of Asia. I should suppose that not only all Asians from every corner of the continent would take pride in this arresting development, but all free men everywhere. We congratulate you, therefore, on your attainment, both in itself and because of its larger significance.

32. I wish also to take this opportunity to congratulate our distinguished new Secretary-General on his election to his high office and to wish him well in the discharge of the important responsibilities that devolve upon him. He can count on the trust and co-operation of the Government and the delegation of Lebanon.

33. The idea of this opening general debate is that governments and their representatives pause for a moment in order to take stock, from as high a point of view as possible, of the most important issues that face them. Thus, one must make three choices: one must concentrate on the more important issues, one must give them a fundamental treatment and, even under this guise, one must be brief. This task is possible only if one takes a standpoint of principle, namely, if one examines the state of the world in the light of some ideal of truth, justice and peace.

34. I stress the word "truth" because there is such a thing as false justice, and certainly such a thing as false peace. Neither of these states can be tolerated in the long run, and if they persist for a while it can be

only because they are on their way to a justice and a peace that are genuine and true. But the prospect of a permanently false justice and a permanently false peace can never be admitted by man. Truth, then, is a higher guide than either peace or justice and, in seeking to take a stand on the fundamental issues of the day, governments and their representatives must, first and foremost, be guided by it.

35. It is commonly argued that national sovereignty in our modern world must, in the interest of the common good, undergo some limitation, and that this is why there is international organization today—bilateral, multilateral, regional and, of course, under the aegis of the United Nations. But whatever limitations may have to be accepted willingly by us upon our respective sovereignties in practice, in this initial debate it is given to each one of us to exercise his sovereignty to the utmost. In thinking through the great problems of the hour, we are permitted to perform an act of unlimited sovereignty. When we seek the ultimate and the fundamental, when we take the standpoint of principle, when we venture to yield to our highest hopes and to be guided by our deepest and truest desires, we should then, obviously, be above every limitation, except, indeed, such as flows from the truth alone. The time of haggling and bargaining and horsetrading is not now; that time will come later. The challenge now is to see things steady and whole; for unless we do see them this way, who can guarantee that our footsteps later will not turn out to be only blind leaps in the dark?

36. There is a perceptible abatement in international tension. The effect of this abatement on the non-political fields has been immediate and obvious. In his introduction to the report of the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly, the President of the Council writes:

“The year’s work of the Economic and Social Council . . . has been conducted in an atmosphere of harmony and a growing spirit of co-operation. . . . Not only was the Council able to celebrate in Geneva the armistice in Korea, but for the first time a large number of unanimous votes were recorded—a clear sign of a conciliatory attitude among the delegations, symbolic of the change in mood in the Council’s deliberations” [A/2430, p. xi].

This is great news about the Economic and Social Council.

37. According to the same report, the President of the Council considers that the outstanding resolution of the past year was that relating to the establishment, within the framework of the United Nations, of an international fund for the development of the underdeveloped countries [*resolution 482 A (XVI) of the Economic and Social Council*]. This ambitious idea aims at going far beyond anything hitherto attempted either by the United Nations or by any specialized agency. That such an idea was conceived at all was due to the relative relaxation of tension, but the actual bringing into existence of the fund would be conditional, as the Council itself has stated in the declaration it is asking governments to adhere to, upon the making of “sufficient progress . . . in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament”. The point I am making is that there is a direct inverse correlation between international tension and the prospects of development.

38. This principle can be further illustrated by the fact that, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the Soviet Union this year joined in pledging contributions to the United Nations programme for technical assistance. When there is thus a relaxation in the political field, or a will to relaxation, a corresponding liberality of spirit manifests itself in the economic field.

39. The field of human rights is also peculiarly responsive to international tension. Since the proclamation by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 in Paris [*resolution 217 (III)*], the Commission on Human Rights has been elaborating legally binding conventions or covenants. But although most of the preparatory work for the Declaration was itself also preparatory for the covenants, not much progress has been made during the past five years; at least, one cannot say that such covenants, if finished today, would be more readily adhered to than five years ago. The chief reason is not so much the difficulty of juridical elaboration—difficult as that certainly is—as the paralysing effect of the international tension. For so long as the danger and fear of war exists, even the most liberal countries, the countries whose whole outlook and heritage are based upon the doctrine of freedom and of the infinite worth of the individual human person, cannot be too careful as regards the possibility that subversive elements within them might take advantage of their liberal laws. This tendency is reinforced by the moral certitude that their possible enemies will not sign the legally binding documents. Progress in human rights is thus directly dependent upon the growth of international trust and understanding.

40. This does not mean that, so long as tension persists, the believers in human rights should get discouraged. On the contrary, they should continue with their work no matter how arduous it proves to be. The documents should be finished and ready, in the certain belief that the hour of their usefulness will one day strike. At the same time, we should not limit the task of promoting human rights to the drafting of legal documents. There are other avenues of approach to the fulfilment of this obligation under the Charter, including the great process of education and the just mobilization of public opinion. The delegation of Lebanon, therefore, welcomes the new initiative taken by the Commission on Human Rights in exploring wider possibilities for the discharge of its mandates.

41. Thanks largely to the wisdom, firmness and high principles of the Egyptian revolutionary government under General Naguib, and thanks also to the increasing unity of the Egyptian people under his leadership, Anglo-Egyptian problems appear to be on the way to a final settlement. Egypt has the complete support of Lebanon, as indeed, of every other Arab State, in its demands for the fulfilment of its national aspirations.

42. The everlasting question of Palestine continues to be our greatest tribulation in the Near East. No light, or any promise of light, appears to be breaking into this situation. In fact, with the passage of time and without any attempt by the United Nations or, more precisely, by those Members which are truly effective in the matter, to implement its own solemn decisions, there is a hardening of feeling and position on both sides and a dangerous growth in the cynical belief that, for the long as well as for the short run,

only force avails. I am only being realistic and honest in affirming that, whether or not the United Nations wearies of this problem, Palestine will remain on its agenda for many a year to come. Some affect to see in this fact, namely, in the fact that the United Nations is there to remain seized of this explosive problem, a hopeful ground for peace. I would share this view, were I to see the United Nations pass from mere resolution to resolute action in connexion with Palestine.

43. It will be recalled how, on 9 December 1949, the General Assembly, by more than a two-thirds majority, voted the internationalization of Jerusalem [*resolution 303 (IV)*]; how this vote was, in effect, only a reaffirmation of the decision of 1948 [*resolution 194 (III)*], which was in turn a reaffirmation of the decision of 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*]; and how subsequently to 1949 this decision was again reaffirmed and any attempt at altering it was decisively defeated. In all this, the United States and the United Kingdom, which, as everybody knows, could have been and still are most decisive in the matter, not only vigorously opposed the decision before it was taken, not only did nothing after it was taken to help in implementing it, but actually, either directly or indirectly, encouraged Israel to disregard it. One would have supposed that after the decision had been taken and after they had really given, in perfect good faith, a most valiant account of themselves in opposing it, the United States and the United Kingdom would have excused themselves before Israel and turned round and supported the will of the world community. But matters never stop at that with Israel, even in respect to Jerusalem, a city which, whatever it means to Israel, certainly means, or should mean, even more to the Powers that support Israel.

44. Scarcely was the decision of 1949 taken, according to which Israel could not set up its capital in Jerusalem, when the Israel authorities, in blatant defiance of that decision, announced that Jerusalem was their capital from eternity to eternity. I do not know whether Israel knew in advance that the great Powers would not utter a single word of protest, but the sequel proved them strangely unconcerned. Government departments began to be moved there; the Israel Parliament met regularly in the Holy City; and every attempt in the meantime by the Trusteeship Council to implement the design of the General Assembly was frustrated, largely because the United States and the United Kingdom, from considerations either of impracticability or of tenderness towards Israel, would not whole-heartedly co-operate in the matter. May I be permitted here to remark that "impracticability" often means only that you have decided in advance against seeing a thing through, or at least for doing nothing yourself to have it come through.

45. The last step in this process took place a few months ago, when the Israel Foreign Ministry moved to Jerusalem and invited the foreign envoys to move there also. I do not know how many of them actually left Tel Aviv, but we have been told that the missions of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and several other Western European and Latin-American governments refused to move to Jerusalem. How long this anomalous situation will last, I do not know. It is perfectly obvious, however, that there are only two alternatives: either something decisive must be done soon by the great Powers, in whose hands alone the issue lies, to bring about an effective imple-

mentation of the internationalization scheme, or all missions must sooner or later transfer to Jerusalem.

46. The present tactics seem to be to let matters ride quietly for a while until, whether at this session of the General Assembly or at next year's session, the opportune moment arrives when it will be possible to have the United Nations take a fresh decision, rescinding the old one and making it possible for Israel, from the international juridical point of view, to establish its capital in Jerusalem.

47. Since this is my reading of the Jerusalem situation, it is appropriate, I believe, to make one or two fundamental observations.

48. First, I know there are attempts to persuade Jordan to establish its capital in the Old City as a sort of compensation for accepting the Israel *fait accompli* in Jerusalem. It is right to declare that the Arabs will never accept the capital of Israel to be in Jerusalem.

49. Second, the Christian and Moslem religious forces also insist on the internationalization of the Holy City. There is reason to believe that even the strictly religious Hebrew circles will insist on the same. The position of the Catholic Church was made abundantly clear by the two encyclicals of the Pope in 1949 and by many subsequent declarations and statements by Catholic authorities. About ten days ago a letter was sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, whose President is none other than Francis Cardinal Spellman. The Secretary-General was requested to bring this letter to the attention of the General Assembly. As far as I know he has not done this as yet, and I therefore take this opportunity to request him to distribute this document among us. It has been in his hands for twelve days. This letter is from the Catholic Association in the United States which is exclusively interested in Near Eastern questions and which is headed by Cardinal Spellman, and it states, in part, the following:

"It is sufficient to recall here the resolutions and votes of the General Assembly in 1947, in 1948 and in 1949, as regards the international zone of Jerusalem, and then to point out and to condemn the effrontery of a Member of the United Nations, the State of Israel, which has, without right and in defiance of these resolutions and votes, tried to make the New City of Jerusalem its capital.

"It is true that many Members of the United Nations have openly opposed this utter disregard of the decisions of your august body. When Secretary of State John Foster Dulles of the United States of America called Israel's removal of its Foreign Ministry from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem an 'inopportune act' which embarrassed the United Nations, he could have been called the spokesman for those who wish to have the Jerusalem decision of the United Nations implemented.

"On two prior occasions this Association has found it necessary to present to the United Nations protests against the over-extension of Israel. As the General Assembly opens its 1953, or eighth, session, we ask you, Honourable Sir, to present to it our condemnation of Israel actions against an international Jerusalem and our respectful request that the United Nations remember its plighted word and proceed to the implementation of its decisions.

"The Catholic body throughout the world"—and this is very strong language—"as is evidenced by the repeated statements of their leader, Pope Pius XII, will not be contented with a mere internationalization of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The intention of the original 29 November 1947 resolution of the United Nations—a resolution repeated and voted several times since—was to set up an international enclave of Jerusalem, stretching in a ten-mile radius to the Holy City of Bethlehem, as 'a convenient and effective means of ensuring both the desired international supervision and the political, economic and social well-being of the population of Jerusalem'.¹

"Neither 'functional internationalization' nor 'indirect internationalization' should be substituted for true internationalization, which, despite allegations to the contrary, can never be 'out of date'."

These words, coming as they do from a Catholic organization in the United States concerned with the affairs of the Near East and headed by Cardinal Spellman, seem to me to be very significant.

50. Third, politically, strategically and ideologically, Israel will never be satisfied with the New City as its capital. Nobody who has meditated profoundly upon the nature of Zionism and who has read with some care the pronouncements of Zionist leaders can have any doubt that the real Jerusalem is the Old City, the site of the Temple. Therefore dynamic Zionism will never rest until it has secured the Old City. It follows that whoever wills today the New City as the capital of Israel is therewith and thereby willing—consciously or unconsciously—for the Old City to fall one day in the hands of Israel. The only way of averting this eventuality—which, I assure the Assembly, will have far-reaching consequences, and not primarily for political reasons—is from now on to place the entire area of Jerusalem under effective international supervision.

51. Whether we have regard to obvious strategic considerations, or to the interest of peace and reconciliation in the Near East, or to the dynamic character of Zionism, or to the fact that Jerusalem is holy to three world religions, or to the one obvious act whereby the real goodwill and impartiality of the great Powers, and especially of the United States, can be demonstrated, or to the fact that it is not a wall here, or a garden yon, or a tomb yonder, that is holy in Jerusalem, but the entire area as carefully demarcated by the United Nations—however we consider the matter, we arrive at one and the same inescapable conclusion, namely, that Jerusalem must be politically neutralized.

52. The Palestinian Arab refugees are once again on our agenda. And here also there are disregarded United Nations resolutions according to which these unfortunate people, whose plight is worsening daily, are to be given the option of returning to their homes and living peacefully there. Israel says there is no room for them, and even if there were, it could not take them because Arabs living in Israel—especially returning Arab refugees—might become subversive. But it is fair to ask two questions. First, is it that there is no room when already Israel has, since its foundation, admitted hundreds of thousands of Jews from all over

the world into its territory, and when we hear of plans for admitting two to three million more? Secondly, if Arab and Israeli cannot live in peace and concord in the same political fold, if within the same national political system they cannot demonstrate that they need not subvert one another, how may we hope that the Israel State and the Arab states will one day establish relations of peace and concord among themselves? There is, after all, a larger political system in the Near East called the Arab world, and Israel lies at the heart of it. If Arabs within Israel are suspect, would not Arabs in this larger system be perfectly justified in suspecting Israel within them?

53. The Arab refugees are the key to practically every issue relating to Israel. The solemn resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to them should be honoured. Those of them who choose not to return to their homes, or who, after returning, decide, for one reason or another, to emigrate again, should be peacefully resettled elsewhere. Their frozen moneys should be unfrozen and adequate compensation should be given those who wish to relinquish their property in Palestine. Their present demoralization is beyond description and the rancour that their continued existence and their unspeakable plight generate in their hearts as well as in the hearts of all Arabs in the Near East against the West and against Israel is daily deepening. They form a matrix of despair wherein all manner of subversion and radicalism develops. That they should remain a source of misery and danger to themselves and to their immediate world is in the interest of nobody, least of all Israel.

54. It has been often remarked—by friends as well as by foes, kindly or unkindly—that the Arabs are only negative, that they do not know what they want, that they do not come forward with positive proposals, and that if only they would "make peace" with Israel, all would go well with them, and in particular they would be able to strengthen themselves militarily, to develop their own countries much faster than they are able to do at present, and to receive substantial economic assistance from abroad, especially from the United States. This is an important challenge which I propose now to take up.

55. The Arabs are indeed negative. But when people speak disparagingly of the negative attitude of the Arabs, they should in all fairness remember that if what befell the Arabs in Palestine had befallen any other people, this people would have been even more negative than the Arabs have been.

56. But the Arabs are not only negative. They are negative—and rightly so—with respect to one thing, namely, acquiescence in the *fait accompli* as the final unalterable decree of history. What people usually mean by "being positive" is that the Arabs should now accept the *fait accompli* and move forward from there. In this false sense the Arabs cannot be positive. But between the two radical extremes, uncomplaining acceptance of the stark *fait accompli* and its total effacement, certainly there is a whole gradation of possibilities which may be explored and which people of good will everywhere must help us explore.

57. In fact, in the thinking of the Arabs there are positive elements that may be gathered together by those who care. The difficulty is not really with the Arabs; the difficulty, I fear, is with certain world forces and with certain tendencies in Zionism which

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11*, vol. I, chapter VI, part III, para. 6.

conceive of the continuance of an unsettled state of affairs in the Near East as to their advantage. And now I ask: what are the positive elements in the thinking of the Arabs? They stem for the most part from the standing decisions of the United Nations.

58. Thus, if there is a serious determination by the United Nations to implement its decisions with respect to Palestine; if the Israelis agree now—as, in point of fact, they did agree in May, 1949, in Lausanne—to negotiate on the basis of these decisions; if there is an absolute assurance by the great Powers that territorial encroachment by Israel upon the Arabs will never be allowed; if Israel, for the sake of peace, desists from aggravating the dangerous disequilibrium between population and the absorptive capacity of the land, by putting an end to its present policy of immigration; and if the Arabs are actively helped to strengthen themselves and if no obstacles are put in the way of their developing the closest natural ties among themselves, then, if these conditions are fulfilled—and they are not only eminently positive but they all fall within the bounds of reason, justice and possibility—I believe things will begin to happen with respect to Palestine.

59. But obviously things will not happen—and it is not fair to expect them to happen—so long as there is boundless ambition and arrogance; so long as there is hardness of heart and no sign of humility; so long as every concession is expected to come from the Arabs, and their fate in Palestine, if not also in the Near East, is quite openly conceived on the pattern of the fate of certain native races that were conquered and became extinct; and so long as the strong possibility persists that every two years and at most every four years Israel will have an exceptional opportunity of strengthening itself internationally as well as vis-à-vis the Arabs. I suggest that all these things must be fairly taken into account if a new era of peace and prosperity for all concerned is to be ushered in in the Near East.

60. Tunisia and Morocco are again on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. Resolutions were adopted by the Assembly last year with respect to these two questions [*resolutions 611 (VII) and 612 (VII)*], but the situation in both territories has, if anything, deteriorated in the meantime. We feel that the United Nations must once again be seized of the North African problem with a view to taking the necessary measures. I shall not enter into any detailed examination of this complex matter; that must be left to the committee stage. Besides, a few weeks ago I had the honour of presenting the Moroccan case before the Security Council [*619th meeting*] and thus the views of the delegation of Lebanon on this matter are already on record. But there are two questions of fundamental principle that I want to raise in this debate.

61. The first is again to face the charge that we are only negative in our approach. I believe that here again positive elements of a reasonable and just solution can be gleaned. For the ultimate aim is complete self-government, an aim both vouchsafed by the Charter and allowed by France. To that end, therefore, we suggest five steps that can be taken at once for both Tunisia and Morocco. First, a general political amnesty should be granted, permitting the leaders, whether in prison or exiled or dispersed all over the world, to return home and function normally under the laws

of their country. Secondly, existing emergency or extraordinary measures should be removed with a view to granting the people the ordinary liberties of association and expression. Thirdly, increasing political responsibility should be given to Tunisian and Moroccan leadership under a representative constitutional system to be worked out freely between the French authorities and this leadership within two years. Fourthly, this freely elaborated constitutional system should include adequate safeguards for the rights of France and of French nationals in the two territories. Fifthly, a declaration should be made by France affirming complete self-government as the ultimate aim, specifying as much as possible the stages according to which transfer of responsibility is to take place, and setting a time-limit for the completion of this process.

62. I believe these suggestions are practical and positive. I assure the French delegation that they proceed from a basis of complete goodwill to France. It seems to me quite clear that the fifteen Asian and African nations will keep bringing this matter to the attention of the United Nations until considerable progress towards real self-government is made in North Africa. I beg and appeal to the distinguished representatives of France in this Assembly to allow us to reason with them on this matter. If they agree, we shall all do our best to maintain the debate on as high and dignified a plane as possible. In the long run, only good can come from a honest and free discussion of grave issues, provided the spirit be one of real understanding and friendship.

63. The second point I want to touch upon under this heading is the constitutional question of competence. It is argued by some that, under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, the North African question is one of essential domestic jurisdiction, and therefore cannot be taken up by any of the organs of the United Nations. I had occasion last month to refute this thesis so far as the Security Council was concerned. For it is obvious that questions of international peace and security override every question of domestic jurisdiction and that no nation can create with impunity, even within its own internal jurisdiction, a "situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute", and then take shelter under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Thus the domestic jurisdiction clause is limited not only, as indeed it expressly says at the end of its text, by the enforcement measures of Chapter VII of the Charter, but also by the provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes under Chapter VI, and in particular by Article 34. No nation can do just what it pleases under its own laws if such action really endangers, or is likely to endanger, the maintenance of international peace and security.

64. But the argument is revived even with respect to the General Assembly. Representatives of the United States have said, in and outside the United Nations, that they disapprove of the tendency to clutter up the United Nations with issues that touch upon the internal jurisdiction of States. The representative of the United Kingdom the other day [*443rd meeting*] invoked Article 2, paragraph 7, in connexion with the South African item, and Mr. Eden said last year [*393rd meeting*] that the habit of disregarding this provision endangered the very foundation of the United Nations. And it is, of course, the patent contention of the French delegation, as Mr. Schumann told us

on 25 September [445th meeting], that the General Assembly has nothing to do with North Africa.

65. Those who invoke Article 2, paragraph 7, appear conveniently to forget three other relevant articles of the Charter. I refer to Articles 10, 11, and 18. Article 10 says, in part:

"The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter . . ."

Article 11, paragraph 2, says, in part:

"The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations . . ."

And Article 18, paragraph 1, stipulates:

"Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote."

66. Now, questions of dependent or Non-Self-Governing Territories, as, for instance, North Africa, certainly fall within the scope of the Charter, as do questions of human rights. Therefore the General Assembly certainly may discuss them, whether or not they relate to the maintenance of international peace and security, and it can all the more discuss them if they actually so relate. Thus, so long as the voting system of Article 18 is in force, any Member of the United Nations can bring before the Assembly any question falling within the scope of the Charter and, if he can muster the necessary votes, he will have that question both included in the agenda and discussed. Whether we like it or not, such is the structure of the United Nations that, if there is sufficiently strong feeling about any matter within the scope of the Charter—and this scope, as we all know, is practically all-embracing—then no legalistic protestations on the basis of Article 2, paragraph 7, can possibly prevent its full discussion by the General Assembly.

67. Why have I gone into such detail about this constitutional matter? It is because I want to lead up to one of the most important things I propose to say in this speech. It has to do with the revision of the Charter. We all know that there is a movement today to begin reflecting upon this matter from now, so that ideas and texts and attitudes will ripen by the time the United Nations takes up the task of revision two years hence. In fact, items 70 and 72 of our agenda have this process in view. In my opinion this is a healthy process worthy of all encouragement.

68. But already two big battles loom on the horizon of revision, and it would be well to be clear on that point from now. There is, first, the battle of the veto. This relates to Article 27, and will be joined in by the permanent members of the Security Council. In fact, already in this session the Soviet representatives have given us a foretaste of the character of this battle. Some of the middle Powers which have never liked the veto will also join in the engagement. And it is also clear that India, which, as I said at the beginning, enjoys today a much greater international status than it did in 1945, will play a vigorous role in the determination of the issue. The battle of the veto may be characterized as relating to the adjustment of power among the nations that make the greatest difference for the maintenance of international peace and security in the world.

69. But there is a second battle that is already clear in its outline. This is precisely the battle for Articles 10, 11, and 18 and therewith, of course, for Article 2, paragraph 7. It is the battle for the powers of the General Assembly and for the relative voting weight of its members. It raises a profound question, the question of sovereign equality and of whether the notion of nation-State should not be reconsidered in this amazingly contracted world. For what we are witnessing in the United Nations, as for instance with respect to North Africa, is the breakdown of strict legalism in international relations. The fifteen nations that keep urging the United Nations to do something about North Africa have no political ambitions in that area, and hardly any of them have any economic relations with it whatsoever. Nor is it strategy or geographical propinquity that determines their interest. What is it then that prompts them to bring this matter to the attention of the United Nations?

70. It is a certain fundamental cultural community with North Africa. Strict internationalism is thus clearly breaking down into interculturalism in the United Nations. One is not therefore dealing with sixty distinct, indifferently related units; one is dealing with six or seven fundamental cultural groupings. The Atlantic community, which acts fairly consistently together, constitutes such a grouping; so does, to a large extent, the so-called Asian-African bloc. And therefore the problem of international relations is not so much how to regulate the relations of some eighty distinct, sovereign States, as how to adjust the far more complex relationships among the half a dozen fundamental cultural groupings of the world.

71. In the gathering battle for revision, strict legalistic internationalism is going to clash with interculturalism. Attempts will doubtless be made to strengthen Article 2, paragraph 7, so as to limit the scope of Articles 10 and 11. Nations then will be asked to sacrifice to a large extent their cultural affinity with other nations in the name of a more or less atomistic, mechanical conception of international existence. The scope of debate in the General Assembly may then be curtailed, and cases like Tunisia or Morocco, or like the question of human rights in Hungary a few years ago, which can now be placed on our agenda in all propriety, may be prevented by the Charter from being brought before the world organization. It may thus turn out, if this tendency triumphs, that the first ten years of the existence of the United Nations were a kind of honeymoon, and were exceptional so far as the real freedom of the small and helpless and dependent to aid their grievances before some world forum was concerned.

72. This is a battle for which we should all be prepared. The issue of the veto is most important. Certainly the strong and powerful have every right to assume primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. But they should not grudge the weak and helpless at least the right to talk, to bring their real or imagined grievances to the attention of world public opinion, to feel the burden of moral responsibility, to seek active spiritual community with the like-minded.

73. The world therefore faces three ultimate problems: how the strong can live together in peace in a world shrunk to a neighbourhood, how the weak can

live in dignity and equality with the strong in a world in which security can come about only through collective security, and how the few fundamental cultures of the world can develop freely interacting and mutually enriching and respectful relations among themselves. The history of our epoch will be written by these three problems.

74. Incomparably more important than the problems of the Near East or of North Africa, or even of the revision of the Charter—not perhaps for the peoples directly concerned, but for the world at large—are the problems of war and peace at the present turn of history. For depending on how these crucial issues will work out, the fate of all of us—in the Near East, in North Africa, everywhere—will be relentlessly determined.

75. People are grateful the world over that the shooting in Korea has stopped and that high statesmanship will surmount all the difficulties still besetting the holding of the conference, and that after and through the conference a unified, free, democratic and secure Korea will emerge.

76. There is a distinctly new tone in the international atmosphere these days. By comparison with past years, we have seen so far in this session only sweetness and light. There is a conscious attempt not only to avoid provocative language but to try to understand something of the other point of view. Incontestably we behold a will to find out if honest and honourable agreement on the outstanding issues is possible. It is the duty of every one of us to undergird and nourish this will.

77. The leaders of the Soviet Union and the leaders of the Western world have repeatedly gone on record during recent months that a way to the peaceful settlement of all disputes is not out of the question at the present moment. This view is shared by leaders throughout Asia, particularly by Mr. Nehru. We are entering, therefore, a historic period of fundamental negotiation, whether this negotiation takes place through ordinary diplomatic channels, or through debates in the United Nations, or through conferences about the Far East or Europe, or through informal exchange of ideas at the dinner table. The communist and non-communist worlds seem to be in the mood of probing each other for a more interesting mode of existence than the cold war.

78. There are three general orders of disagreement that must be tackled: the military-political order, the disarmament order, and the ideological order.

79. On the military-political side, no one who has carefully studied the pronouncements of responsible leaders, communist as well as non-communist, during the last ten months, with respect to Korea, the Far East, Southeast Asia, Germany, Austria and Eastern Europe, and with respect to bases on foreign soil, can fail to see that, with sustained goodwill and a reasonable degree of readiness to compromise, positive elements of agreement can be worked out on all these issues. The inherent difficulty with respect to one or another of these matters may be almost insuperable, but when considered together they seem to present on several sides room for accommodation, even though this accommodation might take years to mature or to bring about. At least real progress can be made immediately on some of these issues. Thus the military-

political issues of today's world do not appear to be unmanageable.

80. The questions relating to disarmament, I think, are more complex. One of the most decisive factors in the world situation—perhaps the most decisive factor—is the technological revolution proceeding apace with respect to instruments of war. I am not thinking only of the nuclear weapons, but of the other well-nigh infinite possibilities of modern warfare. One need only comprehend the elements of physics and astronomy to appreciate what it involved in the possibility of creating artificial moons around the earth. Where, then, does disarmament begin and where does it end? The astounding technological revolution that is in full swing in this field complicates immeasurably the process of reaching any agreement.

81. Above and beyond any difficulty in the political and disarmament fields, and ultimately conditioning every such difficulty, is the great estrangement in the realm of the mind and spirit. For you may settle every political problem and you may disarm to the bone, still if distrust persists and if there is a fundamental contradiction in idea and outlook, there will be no peace. It happens that dialectical materialism teaches precisely that such contradiction is of the essence. Therefore what is needed is a theoretical and spiritual overcoming of Karl Marx. When Marxism-Leninism undergoes the fundamental revolution of overcoming itself, then we may hope for real and lasting peace. Physical olive branches are important and should never be despised, but when, year in and year out, millions of young minds the world over are moulded in schools and universities according to the unregenerate tenets of dialectical materialism, pray tell me in all honesty, how is peaceful co-existence in a contracted world really possible in the long run?

82. The greatest need, therefore, is for an attempt at settlement in the spiritual order, an attempt in which not only the communist diplomats and statesmen meet and argue with their Western colleagues, but the communist scientists and theoreticians accept the challenge of conferring at length with the most responsible thinkers of the non-communist world. When Mr. Vyshinsky announces, not that they have mastered the atomic and hydrogen bombs, but that Soviet textbooks have been radically altered with respect to the necessity of war and revolution, the ultimacy of the class struggle, the development of human society, the laws of history, the place of the economic process, the nature and place of government, the nature and destiny of man, the existence of objective truth, the power of the mind to grasp it, the dignity of the human soul, the glory and necessity of freedom and the character of whatever ultimate reality there is, when Mr. Vyshinsky tells us that profound modifications of doctrine are taking place in Soviet textbooks with respect to these ultimate themes, then the world may relax and look forward to the possibility of a new dawn. Peace is the fruit of goodwill illuminated by understanding, but without some identity of vision, and indeed vision of the good, all understanding is but a snare and a delusion.

83. Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): Two distinguished representatives of the first generation of architects of the United Nations, Mr. Pearson and Mr. Lie, have left us the memory of their devotion to the Organization and their faith

in its objectives. They have been succeeded by persons whose selection, in each case, represents a genuine achievement for the United Nations.

84. I should like first to express my great satisfaction at the election of Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, to the highest and most responsible office in the United Nations General Assembly. By her elevation to that lofty position in international life, we have given due recognition not only to her brilliant intellectual qualities and unquestionably outstanding executive ability, but also to the contribution her great country has made to the United Nations.

85. We are also gratified by the accession of Mr. Hammarskjöld to the difficult office of Secretary-General. When the world learned of his appointment only a short time ago, it was conscious not only of his many personal and professional qualifications, but also of the traditional role of conciliation so admirably played by the Swedish people, who have given so many noteworthy proofs of their equanimity and lofty idealism in the story of contemporary civilization.

86. This eighth session of the General Assembly is opening at an historic moment which may be decisive for the future of mankind. We cannot escape the overwhelming fact that the great Powers have devised methods of warfare and developed weapons of destruction of such magnitude that their use would result not only in their own annihilation, but in the end of civilization and the extermination of mankind. If we ponder the opinions of scientists and experts on this subject, we can safely say that the very existence of hydrogen and atomic weapons has irrevocably abolished the old concept of victors and vanquished. The potential adversaries have become united through those weapons in a common destiny—to live or die together.

87. Faced though we are with that stark prospect, the armistice in Korea gives grounds for hope of a just and lasting settlement which will lead to a gradual solution of other problems, so that step by step we may consolidate the peace.

88. In these dramatic circumstances, fraught with fear and hope, it is the duty of the United Nations—now that it has been successful in organizing collective action against aggression—to concentrate all its efforts on setting in motion and applying the means laid down in the Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes.

89. The time has come for us to strive to restore negotiation to the place of honour which it deserves in international relations and to its primary function in maintaining peace. We believe that the first step in creating a political climate more favourable to negotiation might be a revision in the attitudes and positions previously taken by Member States on outstanding political problems. We are certain that it is possible, without detriment to principles, justice and honour, to relax the opposing attitudes originally adopted on each particular problem. In many matters, the opposing positions are neither completely true nor completely false on either side. With sincerity of effort and purity of motive we can reach a common ground where understanding would be possible. The periodic restatement of irreconcilable positions will never shorten the distance between them.

90. We hope that the governments represented here will take advantage of the special circumstances in

which this eighth session of the General Assembly is meeting, to examine their consciences and realize that the last word has not yet been said on any problem. It is urgent, for example, to reopen negotiations and to seek agreement on the following questions: the international control of atomic energy and other weapons of mass destruction; the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of all types of armaments; forced labour, and the admission of new Members. It will be easier to settle other important problems, such as the unification of Germany and the liberation of Austria, if the General Assembly makes some progress in the political matters on the agenda of the eighth session.

91. In our endeavour to revise our attitudes and return to the spirit of the Charter we should bear in mind that peaceful coexistence is, it seems, the only alternative to the disaster which would be visited upon mankind by another world war.

92. In the struggle of ideologies to destroy each other, victory over the mind of man is the primary and ultimate objective. We therefore believe that countries with a liberal tradition should energetically reaffirm what the democracies stand for, not what they stand against. It is urgent that the united democratic nations should mobilize, not in order to win the armaments race, which can only lead to the annihilation of mankind, but to strengthen, or, rather, to reconquer, the sympathy and confidence of the peoples of the world. That will be the only effective and authoritative answer to the riddle of our time, and the only moral force capable of counteracting and overcoming the effects of the most insidious propaganda on the minds of men. By a new apostolate, which will wrest man from apathy and doubt, and strengthen his faith in the highest spiritual values, it will be possible to chart the right course for us to follow and to relieve the anxieties of our time. This new apostolate has its gospel to preach which might be summed up as the observance of human rights and the fundamental freedoms of individuals and nations. To defend the exercise of those rights and freedoms, to respect them in practice, each of us in his own home, and to encourage their institution and enforcement everywhere is beyond doubt the noblest and most effective way of serving peace.

93. The fight for freedom can be won only by the practice of freedom. Freedom is protected by exercising it. It is spread and strengthened by example more than by preaching. The greatest danger to democratic institutions in free countries does not always, we believe, come from the outside. It is often to be found at home and takes the form of threats to freedom of thought and expression, and the growing use of anti-democratic methods on the pretence of protecting democracy and its institutions.

94. Allow me to quote from a speech made by the President of my country to the Union Congress, in which he emphasized that Mexico must remain unswervingly true to its principles and uphold the rules and laws guaranteeing freedom of thought and expression, freedom of the Press, of work and of belief, and freedom to criticize the government; in short, spiritual and economic freedom. He was certain, he said, that the Republic was less in danger from the abuse of those freedoms than from the most moderate exercise of dictatorship.

95. There is another danger that causes us concern in the same connexion: I refer to the tendency in some sectors of opinion to attribute to communist infiltration every national aspiration to economic and social betterment, and to see a threat to democratic principles in the methods adopted by a government, in conformity with its laws and in the exercise of its sovereignty and constitutional powers, to satisfy such aspirations.

96. We reject the idea, frequently expressed, that the task of safeguarding our democratic institutions, our way of life and our culture, as well as the duty to maintain order and defend ourselves against the inroads of foreign ideologies, has ceased to be exclusively a matter of domestic jurisdiction, to be dealt with by our respective governments, and has become a matter of international concern, susceptible of collective action. That doctrine violates the principle of non-intervention, which has received full recognition within the community of American States and is enshrined among the principles of the United Nations.

97. Another question of great concern to our Organization is that of its relationship to the dependent territories and peoples who have not yet achieved self-government. The continued existence of large groups deprived of the fundamental right of peoples to political self-determination cannot but weigh heavily and menacingly upon the destinies of all States, with their growing interdependence, and is a matter which especially involves the moral responsibility of the United Nations.

98. No purely legal argument, no circumstantial explanation of political expediency, will persuade peoples who consider themselves fit to exercise their right to sovereignty that they must abandon their aspirations or delay their realization until some later time. In discussing that problem, which, like all the others, is affected by the international tension arising from the ideological struggle of our era, we should avoid injecting into our debates factors which do not concern either the origins of the problem or its development. We must recognize that the standard raised by the masses in the modern world, both in the dependent and Trust Territories and in some independent States, bears the device, not of subversive ideologies, but of the basic needs which have gone unsatisfied for centuries: the need for bread, land, freedom, peace, the desire for self-determination and development of their own cultures. That standard was raised long before all the "isms", and will outlast them so long as large sectors of the world's population cannot satisfy their basic needs and fulfil aspirations which they consider just and legitimate.

99. The countries which have set themselves up as leaders of the free world can and must win the friendship of those groups and convert their ideal into the basis of a programme of action designed to gain their confidence in democratic principles.

100. At this eighth session, we have again to deal with problems of economic development and technical assistance. There is unquestionably general agreement that the improvement of the living standards of the economically under-developed peoples is an essential factor in the maintenance of peace.

101. Although we in Mexico are convinced that economic development should be founded primarily on the rational and efficient utilization of each country's resources, we consider that in specific circumstances,

countries should receive supplementary financial assistance from abroad, such as that given through international development agencies or that which it is hoped will be forthcoming from the bodies envisaged in the report of the Economic and Social Council [A/2430].

102. We need, too, a technical assistance programme which can be integrated with national development plans, and encouragement should be given to all measures of an international character that are calculated to diversify the economies of the under-developed countries, promote their industrialization and lessen their dependence on exports of raw materials. Until that final aim is achieved, we must seek to balance foreign trade and to establish a fair relation between the prices paid for raw materials and those demanded for industrial products. Exports of raw materials constitute the main source of revenue of the under-developed countries, and any fluctuations in the terms of trade which are unfavourable to those countries make it difficult for them to obtain foreign exchange to pay for their imports from abroad and to accumulate the national savings required to finance their economic development.

103. May I, lastly, draw attention to another measure of prime importance to the economic development of insufficiently developed countries, namely, the strict observance of resolution 626 (VII) approved by The General Assembly at its last session. Under that resolution, any attempt to promote economic development internationally must be based on respect for the political and economic independence of countries receiving aid, so that under-developed nations may not be obliged to accept, as the price of progress, economic subjection, the undermining of their democratic systems or perpetual threats to their national sovereignty. With these considerations in mind, the General Assembly earnestly recommended that Member States should "refrain from acts, direct or indirect, designed to impede the exercise of the sovereignty of any State over its natural resources".

104. The Korean question continues to be the most immediate problem for our Organization and for world public opinion. When we turn our eyes towards Korea, the least we can do is to bear constantly in mind the prolonged and difficult negotiations which led to the signing of the armistice, and the constructive debates in the Assembly which finally led to the exchange of prisoners of war on the humanitarian basis of voluntary repatriation.

105. We can say with true satisfaction that this Assembly made a mighty contribution to the cessation of hostilities in the devastated peninsula, thereby fulfilling one of the noblest of our Organization's aims.

106. The United Nations has done what the League of Nations was never able to do and has thus enormously strengthened the collective security system. I wish publicly to record my delegation's gratitude to those who answered the Security Council's call to defend the Republic of Korea. Now a new task lies before us, no less important than resistance to armed aggression: to consolidate the uneasy truce agreed on at Panmunjom and unite Korea by peaceful means.

107. Paragraph 5 (a) of General Assembly resolution 711 A (VII), of 28 August 1953, recommended that only Member States with armed forces in the peninsula,

and the Republic of Korea, should attend the political conference mentioned in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement on behalf of the United Nations. It thus established the precedent that in a collective action carried out in implementation of a United Nations decision, only those countries which made a military contribution to the dispute are entitled—as was the case with the alliances of history to take part in the subsequent peace conference.

108. This exclusion of States which could make a most valuable contribution to the success of the peace conference has deprived us, at least temporarily, of what we consider to be one of the most promising ways of achieving our aims without too serious difficulty.

109. We believe that the system and structure of the Charter are opposed to such a division into belligerents and neutrals, friends and foes, of the Member States of the United Nations associated in the same collective action. In our opinion, the spirit of the Charter does not justify such a division, even in the case of coercive action decided by the Security Council. We believe that Member States, united in collective actions of the Organization, bear an equal moral responsibility, however different may have been the nature or the magnitude of their material contribution. The moral support of all the free nations of the world in a common cause justifies that cause in the eyes of history.

110. For those reasons my delegation expressed its doubts at the seventh session, when the draft resolution of the First Committee [A/2450], originally sponsored by fifteen Powers, was debated in the Assembly. Nevertheless, we are always prepared to respect the Assembly's decisions, and we feel that in the present circumstances it would be inexpedient to reopen the question; on the contrary, we support those whom the General Assembly has nominated to represent us, leaving to them the choice of any peaceful means available to them for reaching agreement with the peoples' republics of North Korea and China on all the questions referred to the political conference.

111. That opinion, which we openly stated at the appropriate time, does not prevent us from agreeing with those who think that at this juncture a reopening of the exhaustive debate held during the meetings last August would merely create fresh obstacles to delay the proposed conference. The vital and urgent point is that the conference should begin forthwith. The question of the co-operation of other States in its work now depends on agreement between the parties; we hope and trust that agreement will be reached.

112. The suggestion made by the United States representative, Mr. Lodge, in the General Committee [88th meeting] and in the Assembly [440th meeting], is a most important step toward an understanding. We trust the other party will consider this suggestion, and will co-operate in achieving an early meeting of the political conference. The aims of the United Nations in Korea are unchanged, and the political conference has been charged with achieving them; in that task it can count on the moral support of all peace-loving countries. No matter what the vicissitudes of the conference, both in its successes, for which we hope, and in its difficulties, which we trust will be overcome, we must bear constantly in mind the goal, so often restated, of achieving our ends by peaceful means.

113. The United Nations had recourse to collective military action with the sole aim of resisting aggression and re-establishing peace. In Korea, its aim has always been, as it has proclaimed, the unification of the country by peaceful means, and the reason for its use of armed force was precisely in order to resist the attempt to unify Korea by violence.

114. The Armistice Agreement is the vindication of those principles. The attempt to unify Korea by violence has failed, but the task of unification by negotiation and agreement remains. Our aims have therefore not changed, and we must remember that unification of Korea by force has never been, is not now, and must never be in the future, one of those aims. In view of that conviction and hope, the statement made by the Canadian representative, Mr. Pearson [441st meeting], appears to me to be particularly significant and constructive. He said:

"So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, we will not support any military action in Korea that is not United Nations action, and we would, of course, be opposed to any attempt to interpret existing United Nations objectives as including, for instance, the unification of Korea by force."

115. The Korean conflict has proved the efficacy of a subsidiary collective security system, based on the General Assembly resolution [377 (V)], entitled "Uniting for peace", which enables the General Assembly, in case of default by the Security Council, to act in all cases of aggression. We must, however, remember that this auxiliary collective security system must give place to the system expressly established by the Charter as soon as Member States are able to conclude the special agreements mentioned in Article 43 of the Charter, by which they will make available to the Security Council armed forces, assistance and facilities necessary for the purpose of resisting aggression.

116. If the political conference succeeds in unifying Korea by peaceful means, we shall have made an advance of immeasurable importance towards the creation of a climate favourable to the study and solution of other serious problems.

117. Our task, particularly during this initial stage of the General Assembly's eighth session, is, as we understand it, to point out to our organization the targets at which it should aim in future and the measures still to be adopted for the full implementation of the purposes of the Charter. I therefore wish to refer to certain previous remarks of mine on the need to construct an effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

118. Without a genuine peace system or an adequate body of rules based on the principle set forth in Article 2, paragraph 3, and other articles of the Charter, we shall never have peace in the true sense of the term, by which I mean a state of tranquillity and confidence in a legal system which will be universally respected and will provide the necessary means to ensure that no dispute fails to find a peaceful solution. Collective security is certainly a necessary condition for peace, but it is not peace itself, since no system of sanctions and punishments, however perfect, can be the ultimate aim of the coexistence of intelligence and free beings. Hence, the disequilibrium inherent in the unchecked growth of a collective security system not counterbalanced by a system of pacific settlement

is harmful in every way and must be avoided. Loyalty to our Organization consequently leads us to point out the great defect in it, and in certain regional organizations or agreements, whose sole justification is the desire, in the words of Article 52 of the Charter, "to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes", to which end Member States are required to "make every effort" by an express stipulation of the Charter.

119. In that connexion I should like once again to call attention to the example set by the republics of the New World. The Charter of the Organization of American States does not, like the charters of other regional bodies, merely pay lip-service to the principle of the pacific solution of disputes; on the contrary, it states, in article 23:

"A special treaty will establish adequate procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes and will determine the appropriate means for their application, so that no dispute between American States shall fail of definitive settlement within a reasonable period."

As many of us well know, that principle was followed to the letter by the same conference which

adopted the Bogotá Charter, when it drew up the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement. That instrument, also known as the Bogotá Pact, provides that any international dispute must necessarily, in the fullest meaning of that adverb, be solved by pacific means, including, in the final instance, compulsory settlement by the International Court of Justice or, where that court is not competent, by arbitration.

120. The famous rule of the inviolable sanctity of the law is nowhere better exemplified than in the Bogotá Pact, a monument to American legal skill. I shall not trespass on your patience by further reference to that pact, and I merely bring it to the notice of those who are not familiar with the legal institutions of the New World as an example of what we can and must do in the international sphere in order to achieve a genuine organization of peace.

121. The Mexican delegation hopes that, at its eighth session, the General Assembly will show by word and deed its steadfast faith in the basic principles of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.