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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
 (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): May I at the outset express to Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan the warm congratulations of the Irish delegation on his election as President of this seventeenth session of the General Assembly. In the course of his long and distinguished career, he has rendered great services not only to his country but to the world community as a whole, both here at the United Nations and as a Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. We consider that the Assembly is fortunate in having a President of his great wisdom and experience to guide its deliberations at the present session. I take this opportunity to assure him that he can always count with confidence on the loyal support and co-operation of the Irish delegation in his discharge of the duties of his office.

2. I should like to take this opportunity also to extend a cordial welcome on behalf of the Irish delegation to the four newly independent countries which have become Members of the United Nations since the start of this session: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Their presence here is a sign of the steady widening of the frontiers of human freedom throughout the world—of the growing realization that it is not only morally right but politically wise that peoples subject to alien rule should be able to determine freely their own national destinies. I have no doubt that the actions of these four new Members here at the United Nations will tend to strengthen even further the confidence felt by delegations such as my own that the universal recognition of the right of national independence is an essential step towards the achievement of peace and justice in world affairs. I warmly congratulate the new Members on the attainment of their freedom and independence, and I take the opportunity at the same time to pay a tribute to the former Administering Powers—Belgium and the United Kingdom—for their willing co-operation in bringing about that result.

3. There are major problems facing the United Nations which in other circumstances I should like to discuss at some length. However, on one occasion or

another in the past, the Irish delegation has stated its attitude with regard to many of these issues: Berlin, Tibet, the Middle East, the Congo, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons, and the danger of a "troika" veto on the execution of our decisions. I propose, therefore, to confine my remarks in this debate to a new and pressing danger of a fundamental character to which our Acting Secretary-General and many representatives here have already brought attention. Only yesterday [1140th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Cameroon described this as "beyond peradventure the most grave" of all the problems confronting this Organization. I refer to the threatening crisis in the finances of the United Nations—the danger of the disruption of the United Nations through the failure of many Member States to play their due part in meeting the cost of implementing the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Unexciting and even prosaic as this subject may appear, it is one of vital consequence because, far reaching and noble as are the potentialities of the United Nations, it must collapse in chaos if its exchequer is empty. As an army is said to march on its stomach, the onward march of an organization such as ours depends on its purse.

4. Although the small States as well as the large have the duty to contribute their due share of the expenses of the Organization, I am not concerned at the moment with the case of such Members of the Organization, whose failure to pay may temporarily be due to conditions beyond their own control. As we all know, the Charter recognizes that such cases may exist and makes due provision for them. What is more serious, in my view, is the situation created when Members which have no such excuse refuse to contribute their fair share to the cost of specific activities undertaken by the Organization, on the ground that the activities in question should not have been undertaken at all, or that they disagree with the manner in which such activities are being conducted.

5. I do not wish to pause here to discuss the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161],^{1/} which we accept unreservedly. Neither do I wish to discuss the morality and justice of the sort of attitude I describe, although it is manifestly unfair that those Members which continue to honour their obligations to the Organization should have to shoulder additional burdens in consequence of the default of those which do not. What disturbs me more is the thought of the influence which this kind of attitude would be bound to have on the future effectiveness of the Organization if it were to persist and become more widespread.

6. In an Organization such as this, there will always, of course, be differences of policy and opinion. De-

^{1/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1952; I. C. J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

decisions are bound to be taken from time to time to which at least some of us will be strongly and even bitterly opposed. It is natural that we should tend to praise and applaud the Organization as long as it is acting in accordance with our own views and to criticize and attack it when it ceases to do so. But if we were ever to accept the position that Members of the Organization were free to pick and choose between the activities of the Organization they were prepared to pay for, supporting those of which they approved and disclaiming financial liability, on one pretext or another, for those they opposed, the utility of the United Nations as an instrument of collective international action on behalf of the world community as a whole would be at an end. If we were to accept this position, the United Nations, of which mankind has such dire need, would become no more, while it lasted, than a debating society—what our late Secretary-General Hammarskjöld called a "static conference machinery".^{2/} My belief is that it would not last for long and that this bulwark of peace, this best hope for the liberty of small nations, free and yet to be freed, this shield of the rights of man, this reservoir of assistance for under-privileged peoples, would disappear as the League of Nations disappeared, with no less disastrous consequences for humanity.

7. In weighing the effects of the non-payment of contributions, moreover, we should not disregard its impact on public opinion outside these walls. In our various countries, people are watching the United Nations, most of them I believe with hope and confidence, but some, I am afraid, with growing doubt and apprehension. This is a consideration we cannot afford to ignore. It is essential to avoid giving our peoples the impression that the financial burdens of the Organizations are being unequally borne. To be successful in promoting the aims of the Charter, not only must we take the right decisions to deal with the difficulties and dangers which confront us, but we must also convince all men of goodwill, and men of illwill too, that we are united in support of this Organization and are determined that it should succeed. But how can the United Nations hope to make this impression, if Members fail to pay the contributions necessary to implement the decisions which we reach here after prolonged inquiries and lengthy discussions?

8. We smaller nations have, of course, a particular interest in this regard. As Hammarskjöld said, the United Nations is, above all, our Organization. It is to our advantage in particular that the Organization should live and, step by step, fulfil the aspirations of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But I doubt whether it can survive the mounting contempt which will be heaped upon it by its enemies and the increasing doubts of its friends if even we, to whom the Organization means so much, are not prepared to make the sacrifice involved in paying the contributions which amount to no more than a few cents per head of our population. Like other smaller countries, Ireland's assessed share of the expenses of the United Nations is small compared to the other contributions we make to the Organization—the sacrifices and hardships suffered by our soldiers serving with the United Nations forces, our purchase of United Nations bonds, our contributions to the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, the World Food Pro-

gramme, the International Refugee Organization and other voluntary funds. In comparison with these contributions, our assessed share of the expenses of the Organization is relatively small, amounting to no more than four cents per head of our population. The share of some other countries amounts to even less. Even in the case of Members with the highest capacity to pay, it does not exceed twenty-eight cents per head.

9. As we all know, however, the real cause of the difficulties which have arisen in the finances of the Organization is not the failure of smaller Members to meet their obligations, although indeed their defaults have contributed to the loss of confidence in the Organization which our financial difficulties have created. It is found rather in the deliberate refusal of some of the major Powers to pay their share of the costs of specific activities which the United Nations has undertaken even though in all cases these activities were embarked upon on the strength of decisions to which the permanent members of the Security Council positively or tacitly agreed in the Council, or which were taken by the appropriate majority of the General Assembly.

10. In signing the Charter, the smaller nations accepted, of course, the special position of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Legally, therefore, we have no grievance if any of them vetoes a decision approved by the requisite majority of the Council. Each of the permanent members is entitled under the Charter to veto in the Security Council any initiative to which it is opposed and to the cost of which, for that reason, it is not prepared to contribute. But it is quite wrong and altogether inadmissible that we should be asked to recognize a second veto, a financial veto, by means of which permanent members can later nullify decisions of the Security Council upon which they refused to exercise a voting veto, or by means of which they can defeat decisions of the appropriate majority of the Assembly when such decisions are in the course of implementation.

11. To cede such an uncovenanted veto to the major Powers, or any group of Powers, would not only introduce an element of constant uncertainty into the operations of the United Nations; it would risk bringing the Organization into dishonour. For this Organization would indeed be dishonoured if, when a small nation like the Congo accepts our pledged help and we dispatch gallant soldiers and officials in response to its appeal, we were then, owing to lack of a relatively paltry sum of money, to go back on our pledge to the Government concerned and to fail to support those who, in reliance on our good faith, have volunteered to serve the Organization in the face of difficulties and dangers.

12. I can appreciate the exasperation which any Member of this Organization must feel when its national policies are attacked and condemned here in the Assembly, often in what it may regard as unnecessarily provocative and rancorous terms. I can understand, too, the irritation of major Powers when they become dissatisfied with the implementation of decisions which they have failed to veto in the Security Council. I realize also the keen disappointment felt by any Power or group of Powers when they have been outvoted in the Assembly on what they regard as matters of vital interest to them. In all such cases there is a temptation to block the implementation of the decisions concerned, and for that

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 1.

purpose to seek to impose a financial veto on them by withholding contributions. But if Members are swayed by such considerations, the consequences for this Organization must surely be disastrous. Galling as it may be from time to time to abide by the will of the appropriate majority ascertained in the manner laid down in our Charter, abandonment of that orderly democratic principle can only result in the paralysis of the Organization and consequent chaos. Today it is a question of the Congo. If we do not persevere there, patiently and steadily, if we are driven to retreat or to take precipitate action because of lack of funds, what country in what continent will turn to the United Nations in the future with confidence in the value of its assistance?

13. I submit that Member States which, by withholding their contributions, would force the United Nations to betray the confidence of nations which have sought and received its help run the risk of forfeiting moral leadership in this Assembly and of greatly lessening their influence on our affairs. In any case, I submit that the rest of us are morally and legally bound by all means open to us to circumvent any attempt to reduce our Organization to financial impotence contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Members and in clear breach of the letter and spirit of our Charter.

14. The question is, is there anything we can do to prevent a financial veto of the kind I have described being exercised on United Nations decisions in the course of their implementation? I think there is. In any event, I believe that the possibilities in this connexion should be carefully examined. I am firmly convinced that it is in the interest of the great Powers as well as of the small that we should agree upon financial procedures which will ensure that, once undertaken, operations such as the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo will be adequately financed until such time as this Organization decides that their objects have been achieved.

15. I suggest that in view of the financial crisis looming over us we should undertake an urgent and comprehensive examination of our present budgetary procedures and see how best we can fit them to the needs of the United Nations today. I suggest that there are three possible ways open to us of making certain that the implementation of our decisions will at all times be assured of adequate financial support. The first and most desirable way is, of course, to persuade all Members to pay their annual assessments promptly. The second is to increase from time to time the Working Capital Fund to a sum more in keeping with the present level of the annual budget. There is a third method which seems to be worthy of examination—a method of last resort, a guarantee against any short-fall in the first two. It is to empower our Secretary-General on such terms and conditions as he deems appropriate to borrow in any financial year up to the full amount of the cost of implementing all the decisions of the United Nations in that year.

16. I recognize, of course, that the third suggestion would represent somewhat of a new departure in our budgetary system. In fact, however, it is by no means revolutionary or novel. Indeed it follows the normal budgetary procedures in many States. In my own country, for instance, when expenditure for the year has been decided on and the budget agreed to by my Parliament, the Minister for Finance is au-

thorized to borrow up to the full amount of his commitments on such terms and conditions as he decides to be appropriate. In the event, of course, he never has to borrow anything like the full amount, as revenue from taxes and other receipts are constantly flowing into the exchequer. But this authorization, automatically included in the Appropriation Bill every year, promotes public confidence by affording the assurance that the Minister for Finance can fully meet his commitments during the financial year and carry out in an orderly fashion the social and economic programmes to which our Parliament has agreed. I believe that the Members of the United Nations must put the Organization in a similar position of financial stability and give it the assurance of being able to pursue its task amid the chances and changes of an uncertain world situation without the risk of finding itself obliged for financial reasons to suspend its activities or default in its undertakings and commitments.

17. The consideration and approval of the annual budget is, of course, a matter for the General Assembly. It is within the power of the membership as a whole, therefore, of the smaller countries as well as the larger, to ensure that the funds in the United Nations exchequer will at all times be sufficient to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council and the Assembly. In my view it would help to ensure this if we set the amount of the Working Capital Fund at an appropriate level and provided the Secretary-General with emergency borrowing powers to be used in the last resort. There may be other means of achieving the same result; if so, let us examine them. Above all, let us take concrete measures to ensure that our efforts to keep the peace, to help developing countries, to evolve the rule of law and peace-keeping machinery, shall never be defeated through lack of funds. I believe that there are enough men and women of good will throughout the world prepared to make the necessary sacrifices so that that will never happen. With their support, and by our foresight and perseverance, we can at least deserve to succeed.

18. Mr. LIU (China):^{3/} I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, the felicitations of my delegation on your election to the highest office of the General Assembly. We of China have warm recollections of your sojourn with us during the war years in Chungking and are particularly gratified that this important session of the General Assembly is under your wise direction.

19. The seventeenth session of the General Assembly has begun with the admission of four new African and American States. I have already had the occasion to express my delegation's welcome to Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago when the Security Council examined their applications for membership. It gives my delegation particular pleasure to see them take their rightful places in this Assembly Hall.

20. In this connexion, let us not forget that the Soviet Union, through the abuse of the veto power, has kept such qualified States as the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam out of the United Nations. More recently, this unconscionable abuse of the veto power has been used to bar the admission of the newly independent Kingdom of Kuwait. My delegation appeals to the General Assembly to renew its efforts to rectify this unjust state of affairs.

^{3/} Mr. Liu spoke in Chinese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

21. My delegation is deeply conscious of the fact that the seventeenth session of the General Assembly is now meeting in an atmosphere of crisis and tension. In Asia, the relentless pressures of world communism are felt from the borders of India to Viet-Nam and Laos, from the Taiwan Straits to Korea. The Republic of Viet-Nam has been under active assault by bands of communist guerrillas supplied and directed from north of the 17th parallel. This is a gangster war of horror and assassination in the name of "national liberation". Here the stakes are greater than in the Republic of Viet-Nam; what is really involved is the independence and freedom of all peoples of South-East Asia.

22. In Laos, a new coalition régime has just been set up. Let us hope that, in spite of the continued presence of large bodies of foreign communist forces in that country, this will not prove to be only another step towards eventual communist take-over. Should the neutrality of Laos remain more a hope than a reality, then there is no guarantee that Laotian territory would not continue to be used to infiltrate the Republic of Viet-Nam, as well as the northern stretch of the Mekong Valley in Thailand.

23. In Europe, the Soviet policy of encroachment and harassment has created in Berlin a situation fraught with frightful implications. The question at issue is the future of Germany. My delegation deplors the fact that the Soviet Union, while hypocritically posing as the world's greatest champion of all oppressed peoples, has seen fit to deny the exercise of the right of self-determination to the German people.

24. In the Western Hemisphere, ominous developments are taking place in Cuba. The recent massive Soviet build-up in that strategic Caribbean country poses both a real and a potential threat to the security of the whole of the American continent.

25. These are some of the dangerous developments with which the world is faced. The General Assembly cannot remain indifferent to them even though they are not on its agenda.

26. Also absent from its agenda is the question of Tibet. The systematic violation of human rights, the wanton slaughter of an innocent populace, the calculated efforts to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group—these and other crimes committed by the Chinese communists add up to genocide. The United Nations cannot, therefore, wash its hands of the Tibetan question without violating the basic principles of the Charter.

27. Turning to the agenda itself, I should like now to state briefly my delegation's position on some of the important items.

28. There is no doubt that the central problem with which the world community is faced is disarmament. This is not a new problem. It was tackled many times during the years preceding the Second World War and has remained with the United Nations since its founding. But it has taken on added urgency at a time when the development of weapons of mass destruction has reached a stage where a single miscalculation can wipe out life on a great part of the earth.

29. Throughout the years, the United Nations has adopted many resolutions and laid down many guidelines on the problem of disarmament. These resolutions call for progressive and balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces until total disarmament

is achieved. They call, in particular, for the immediate suspension of nuclear testing under an effective and impartial system of verification. Years have passed and the armament race has forged ahead with ever increasing intensity.

30. My delegation believes that nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water must be stopped as a first step leading to final and complete disarmament. We are of the opinion that the draft treaty tabled by the Western Powers in Geneva^{4/} represents a genuine desire to come to an agreement on this vital question. We deplore the Soviet Union's categorical rejection of the Western proposal. The Soviet refusal to accept any kind of inspection and control has made even a partial ban on nuclear testing virtually impossible. This deepens the doubt whether the Soviet Union is in fact interested in disarmament.

31. The liquidation of colonialism is another top priority item on the agenda. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its unalterable opposition to colonial domination in all forms and manifestation. It is our conviction that Asian and African nationalism is the most elemental force in the world today.

32. Western colonialism, however, is now being brought to an end in an orderly manner. The day will soon come when the last vestiges of Western colonialism will vanish. The greatest threat to freedom in our time is Soviet colonialism, the worst type of colonialism the world has ever seen. At the last session I had occasion on behalf of my delegation, to call the attention of the General Assembly [1055th meeting] to the brutal absorption of non-Russian populations in the Soviet Union, the enslavement of captive nations in Eastern Europe and the imperialistic designs of international communism in Asia and Africa and the Western Hemisphere. It is to this new colonialism that the Assembly must now devote a greater share of its attention.

33. The clouds of war which have for so long hung over West New Guinea have lately been dispersed by the Agreement reached between Indonesia and the Netherlands [see A/5170, annex]. My delegation attaches much importance to the guarantees contained in the Agreement for the population of the territory, especially the provisions relating to the exercise of the right of self-determination before the end of 1969. The United Nations has a continuing responsibility in ensuring the full implementation of the Agreement in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter. It certainly cannot allow any non-self-governing people to pass from one kind of colonialism into another.

34. At its current session, the General Assembly will be called upon to appoint a Secretary-General. While the question will not come before the Assembly until the Security Council has made its recommendation, the Assembly must nevertheless make its influence felt in the choice of a man who has the vision and capabilities to discharge the responsibilities of this important office.

35. It is disturbing to hear that the Soviet Union now plans to revive the so-called "troika" to be applied not only to the office of the Secretary-General, but also to all principal organs of the United Nations.

^{4/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, sect. H.

This campaign to destroy the effectiveness of the United Nations must be resisted by all who have the true interests of the Organization at heart. In this the small and newly-independent States have a special responsibility. For them, membership in the United Nations not only serves to establish national identity, but also affords a shield of protection. Obviously, a strong United Nations is more meaningful to them than a weak one. Obviously, they cannot allow the Soviet Union to so emasculate the United Nations as to make it incapable of effective action.

36. I come now to the United Nations Development Decade. The Charter enjoins us "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". The Development Decade is a far-reaching project which dramatizes, in the words of the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report, "the importance and urgency of the work to be accomplished for reversing the trend towards wider differences in the levels of living between the rich and poor countries" [A/5201/Add.1, p. 3]. It is to be launched by the world community in the interests of more than a billion people who are still struggling to free themselves from the thralldom of poverty, ignorance and disease. Its success depends on co-operative action. While the "have" nations must contribute their share of the responsibility, it is the "have-not" nations themselves that must map out their own strategies and formulate their own plans of development.

37. No country in the world is content to stagnate in the backwaters of a pre-industrial age. The under-developed countries of today are in a hurry and seem determined to achieve in a decade or a generation what has taken the developed countries more than a century to do. In the search for a break-through there is always the temptation to find short-cuts to economic growth, to be attracted to the communist model of development. The communists, on their part, have not been slow to take advantage of this situation to encourage imitation. The Chinese Communists, for example, have been in the habit of making extravagant claims about their economic development. They have been telling the under-developed countries for years that to build modern states, the Asian and African peoples must follow in their footsteps along the path of industrialization through forced labour, compulsory saving, and political regimentation. The outside world naively believed them. There are people who say that the Chinese Communists are so far advanced in industrialization that they are on the verge of exploding a nuclear bomb. But the economic chaos and technological deficiencies prevailing on the Chinese mainland make this a most unlikely possibility.

38. Far from being a success, the Chinese Communist industrialization programme, launched in 1953 with so much fanfare, has been a gigantic failure. In terms of human misery, waste of resources, terror and regimentation, the price of this failure has been tragically high.

39. The greatest Communist failure, however, has been in the field of agriculture. From East Germany to the Chinese mainland, and from the Chinese mainland to Cuba, the vast communist empire has found itself in the grip of a deepening agricultural crisis. It is no secret that Soviet agriculture has been in a bad way ever since the revolution. But the greatest and most tragic agricultural crisis is the one that

has been taking place on the communist-controlled mainland of China since 1959. Hunger and starvation now stalk the vast territory.

40. What has been at the root of this unprecedented tragedy? The answer is: ruthless collectivization and inhuman regimentation. As a result, the farmers, who have been noted for their industry and resourcefulness since time immemorial, have ceased to produce. There is no incentive to do so.

41. A comparison of the conditions on the mainland and in Taiwan reveals that, to achieve agricultural prosperity, the farmers must be given the right to own their land so that they may have the necessary incentive to improve productivity. In Taiwan, under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, and the immediate direction of Vice-President Chen Cheng, we have successfully carried out a land reform programme. Over 80 per cent of the farmers now own their land. It is not without reason that we have almost doubled the production of rice in ten years. Agricultural production has outpaced population growth. We now enjoy a standard of living which is one of the highest in all Asia.

42. It is gratifying to report that Taiwan's agricultural progress has attracted the attention of the developing countries in Asia and Africa. Our experts and farmers are now serving in a number of friendly countries of Africa to help to improve their farming methods. Since 1955, some 1,100 foreign agricultural workers have come to Taiwan for training. Since April of this year, an agricultural seminar was started for trainees from eleven African countries. We hope that our experience can be of benefit to them.

43. While developing agriculture, we have not neglected the industries. Ten years ago, 85 per cent of our exports were agricultural products. Today, between 40 and 45 per cent of our exports are manufactured goods. In our industrial development, we have paid special attention to the production of consumer goods. This serves, we believe, to improve the conditions of life of the lower income groups and contributes to the building of a happy society. We do not think that the needs of the present generation should be ruthlessly sacrificed for the attainment of some distant and elusive goal.

44. I have spoken at some length about economic development in the province of Taiwan because I believe that our plan of development and our system of priorities may have something to contribute to the success of the United Nations Development Decade.

45. Permit me to say a few words on behalf of the thousands upon thousands of my fellow countrymen, who, through no fault of their own, now find themselves destitute, homeless, and unwanted. I am referring to the Chinese who have fled and are trying to flee from the mainland of China to Hong Kong and Macao.

46. Ever since the establishment of the Communist régime on the mainland of China, freedom-seeking Chinese have never ceased to flee the country. Because of their geographical propinquity to the mainland of South China, Hong Kong and Macao have become the haven of the fleeing multitudes. Thanks to the Governments of Hong Kong and Macao, tens of thousands of them have found sanctuary in these territories and have contributed to their economic prosperity.

47. As the number of refugees steadily increased, the problem became more difficult to cope with. In 1957, the General Assembly at its twelfth session adopted resolution 1167 (XII), which recognizing "... that the problem is such as to be of concern to the international community", appealed to States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies and to non-governmental organizations "to give all possible assistance with a view to alleviating the distress of the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong". The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was authorized to use his good offices to encourage arrangements for contributions. My delegation highly appreciates the High Commissioner's efforts on behalf of the refugees.

48. Since May this year, the flight from the mainland has assumed the proportion of a mass exodus. This influx of refugees has stretched the already inadequate facilities in Hong Kong and Macao to the breaking point. As a result, many of the refugees have been sent back to the mainland to an unknown fate. The Government of the Republic of China has announced that it is prepared to receive the refugees for re-settlement in Taiwan. A large number of them have already been received there.

49. But the problem remains serious. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly would, at the current session, reaffirm its concern for the Chinese refugees and take practical steps to alleviate their plight.

50. The Chinese people are a home-loving and earthbound people. The magnetic pull of home, however wretched the home may be, is probably stronger for them than for any other people of the world. It is no easy thing for them to give up their country, relative, friends, life-long associations, even their human identity, for the uncertainties of life in a strange land without means of subsistence and without legal status. And they do so often at the risk of their lives and in the awareness that at best they would be unwelcome intruders on a foreign territory.

51. These refugees are a cross-section of the Chinese population: peasants, industrial workers, professional men, students, and even communist cadres and military officers. They are people who do not ordinarily leave their homes. As for the communist cadres and army officers, they must have received years of indoctrination and discipline and should be expected to be loyal supporters of the communist régime. Yet these men and women, for the most part young and able-bodied, are leaving behind their beloved ones and earthly possessions to seek refuge in a place where they know they are not really wanted. It is more than mere hunger that they are running away from. Their decision to leave home can be accounted for only by their profound hatred of the communist régime. By their action they are asserting, in the clearest and strongest terms, their opposition to all that the Chinese Communist régime stands for. More than that, they are repudiating it. The mass exodus from the mainland has but one meaning: that where the Chinese people have a choice, they vote against Mao Tse-tung and communist tyranny. This is the most revealing fact about the Chinese Communist régime.

52. It is Communist China—a régime that the Chinese people have clearly repudiated—that the Soviet Union has been urging the General Assembly to admit to the United Nations and to occupy China's seat. There are delegations in this Assembly which have shown a disposition to support the Soviet contention. Certainly

they cannot be doing this in the interests of the Chinese people. Certainly they cannot be doing this in the interests of the United Nations.

53. At this critical moment in history, let us pledge ourselves once again to build a world envisaged by the framers of the Charter—a world of peace and security based on justice and international law and on the respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; a world in which all nations work together for the promotion of social, economic and cultural progress. Let us endow the United Nations with new strength to meet the challenges of this perilous age.

54. I am, of course, aware that there are those in our midst who hold a contrary view and who are bent on creating a very different kind of world, and they seek to impose their kind of world on all mankind. Consequently, they work not to strengthen the United Nations but to cripple it; not to promote peace and security, but to sow the seeds of dissension and conflict. They aim at nothing less than transforming the United Nations into their own instrument of policy. I refer, of course, to the communist bloc of nations.

55. This attempt to destroy the United Nations as a peace-preserving agency has led many eminent men of goodwill in many lands—men who have hitherto been ardent supporters of the United Nations—to ask the question: "Can the United Nations survive?" Of late, there is an increasing number of men who are asking: "Should the United Nations survive? Should it not be replaced by a new, stronger and more effective organization?"

56. Let us hope, as the Acting Secretary-General has suggested in the introduction to his annual report [A/5201/Add.1], that this "crisis of confidence" in the United Nations is a passing phase. But the very existence of this phase is food for thought. It is time that the United Nations be restored to a position of influence so that it can become a trusted and inspiring agency for peace and progress, and lead the peoples of the earth to a new age of hope and human fulfilment.

57. Mr. MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Republic of Honduras, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on being elected to preside over the meetings of this Assembly. My delegation feels certain that your great talents will contribute to the productiveness of this session and to the fulfilment of the hopes we place in it.

58. We wish also to extend a most cordial welcome to the new nations admitted to the United Nations. We offer to them the unconditional friendship of our country, together with our best wishes for their prosperity.

59. The items demanding our attention at this seventeenth session of the General Assembly are numerous and varied. Old unresolved problems, and new problems of a most difficult nature, will challenge our patience and our intelligence. But every new session of the General Assembly opens the way for hopes that are each year renewed.

60. Given the strict time-limit we have imposed upon ourselves, it would be impossible for each of us to comment on every item of the agenda. I shall therefore merely make brief references to some of the problems which Honduras regards as of major importance.

61. Because of our faith in the United Nations and our conviction that it is an irreplaceable instrument for peace and progress, we are profoundly concerned over the crisis through which our Organization is passing—a financial crisis, to be sure, but basically in institutional crisis which reflects the even deeper crisis enveloping the present-day world. It is true that the undaunted efforts of Mr. Hammarskjöld and the no less resolute endeavours of U Thant—to which we pay tribute—have helped to strengthen the United Nations and enabled it to overcome the mortal dangers which have threatened its existence. But it now rests with the Members of the Organization themselves to demonstrate their sense of responsibility and their political flexibility, through the adoption of decisions which will again place the Organization on firm economic and moral ground—for only thus will the United Nations be able to perform effectively the duties assigned to it by the Charter.

62. The presence, in this hall, of an increasing number of delegations from former colonial countries is a heartening sign. The colonial system is rapidly disappearing, and the former colonies are today responsible States which are endeavouring to achieve accelerated economic, technological and cultural growth. The face of the world is changing with dizzying speed, and Asia and Africa are providing the clearest evidence of this process.

63. The great industrial Powers of the West are likewise undergoing rapid change, the birth of new economic and political constellations accompanying the rise within them of a new social and humanitarian spirit, in which they rediscover their oldest and most precious traditions while at the same time maintaining their ideal of liberty and giving historic reality to that ideal through the liberation of entire peoples. The communist world, too, is undergoing changes and transformations, opening up pathways to new freedoms and broader perspectives; we find symbolic evidence of this in the fact that the name of Einstein, once scorned in the Soviet Union, is now respected there, while the music of Igor Stravinsky, once considered bourgeois and decadent, is today heard in Moscow.

64. It is likewise heartening that it has been possible to carry through such international endeavours as the International Geophysical Year and the research conducted in the Arctic by Western and Soviet scientists working, often, in close collaboration. Nuclear physicists—the men who best know the dangers to humanity implicit in their science—have met in numerous conferences of scientists from both East and West, at which agreement has usually prevailed. Writers and thinkers from both camps have on many occasions expressed their desire to attain mutual understanding and to work together for the building of a new world.

65. But while it is true that natural evolution is eliminating or attenuating old problems, or offering novel solutions for them, it is equally true that fresh problems are arising—problems even more formidable in character, and for which new solutions are required. Many countries which once formed political entities are now divided, while in many parts of the world internal discord is increasing together with the dangers of armed conflict and bloodshed. If one problem such as that of Algeria has been resolved—to the joy of the whole world—others remain. Germany, for instance, is still denied the promised opportunity of deciding

its own national destiny freely and democratically, despite the victors' solemn pledge to respect the principle of self-determination of peoples and although the Charter, in its very first Article, proclaims this principle and demands respect for it.

66. While on the one hand Indonesia and the Netherlands are coming to terms, on the other there is even greater divergency between the great nuclear Powers with regard to those problems which are uppermost in the minds of men, which are increasingly reflected in the agendas of the General Assembly, and which have already been the subject of angry words in this Hall.

67. The clouds that loomed upon the last session of the Assembly have not been dispersed; in some areas they have become even darker. For years now we have been talking at great length about disarmament and peaceful coexistence, but the inescapable fact is that some peoples are being sent large quantities of weapons and encouraged to use them against others. Passions are being stirred up rather than calmed. Not only have nuclear tests not been suspended, they have been periodically intensified, the explosions becoming more powerful and reaching greater heights in the atmosphere.

68. The "cold war" has not subsided; it has, in some ways, grown more intense. Armaments have not been reduced, but are daily being made more accurate and quicker and deadlier in their effect. It is pointless to try to calm our minds and allay our fears by representing ourselves as noble defenders of peace and the other camp as fiendish war-mongers. Our arguments and justifications, our reasons and excuses will be of little avail if this dramatic period in human history finally ends with the destruction of towns and nations, with the incineration of men and women and with the disappearance of that hope which is constantly reborn in children and in nature.

69. For the first time in history the leaders of the two most powerful States in the world have publicly agreed that general and complete disarmament in their nations and throughout the world must be effected. Yet, in total contradiction with their expressed desires, we continue to advance towards a catastrophic end, depicted so variously in scientific and literary works, in film and in drama—an end towards which we are moving as though we were victims of the blind forces of Greek tragedy.

70. In a speech delivered in late 1959 and reproduced in The Strategy of Peace,^{5/} Mr. Kennedy, now President of the United States, stated the following:

"Already our total destructive capacity is sufficient to annihilate the enemy twenty-five times over—he has the power to destroy us ten times. Between us we are in a position to exterminate all human life seven times over."

What would the situation be now, three years later, with the further formidable development of nuclear weapons? Even if we had seven lives, our chances of surviving a thermo-nuclear war would not be very great.

71. The Federal Civil Defense Administration of the United States has declared that a 2,000-megaton

^{5/} John F. Kennedy, The Strategy of Peace (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 26.

attack on the United States would produce the following effects in less than one week: 47 per cent of the population would perish, 15 per cent would suffer injury and sickness and 38 per cent would be unhurt, although many of the latter would succumb later in the process of moving about, consuming contaminated food and water, etc. If that were the result of a relatively small attack, we can readily imagine the consequences of an attack ten or fifteen times stronger. But so much has been written on this subject and on the possibility of thermo-nuclear war occurring by accident or miscalculation that we need not labour the point here.

72. Regarding the possibility of "winning" what is called the "cold war", we must examine the meaning of the word "winning". Does winning the cold war mean reducing the other side to such a state of desperation that it resorts to a hot war, a thermo-nuclear war, as a last, suicidal course? Does winning the war of nerves mean causing one's adversary to lose his senses and send his countless messengers of death into the air?

73. The efficacy of threats is steadily decreasing. Statesmen are no longer disturbed by repeated warnings from their adversaries that nuclear war is imminent unless they agree to do this or refrain from doing that. A few may think it best to yield to a vigorous opponent; but the majority of nations, as we see, prefer to take the chance, even to risk destruction.

74. What then are we to do? Maintain the former attitudes which are bringing us to the edge of the abyss, to try every possible new formula? As the President of the United States said last year in this very hall [1013th meeting], "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind".

75. It is no secret that huge amounts of human and material resources are being expended on so-called defence efforts which, as the leaders of the great Powers themselves admit, in the last analysis have nothing but mutual destruction in view. But we are not making the same economic and intellectual efforts to build and consolidate peace. True, the United Nations exists; but it is not yet well enough equipped, economically and scientifically, to determine the real, the effective means which in the present world situation could be used to ease tensions, to place modern science and technology in the service of peace, and to create a stable and balanced world—a renewed world of human beings in which knowledge is used to promote not death but life.

76. As early as 1945, at the dawn of the atomic era, Einstein asserted that "a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move towards higher levels". In 1948 he said:

"The 'clichés' of yesterday will no longer do today, and will, no doubt, be hopelessly out of date tomorrow. To bring this home to men all over the world is the most important and most fateful social task intellectuals have ever had to shoulder."

77. In 1955 another great atomic physicist, Leo Szilard, expressed the view that new political and social inventions were needed to found an organized world community capable of living permanently in peace. Quite recently the Canadian nuclear physicist, Dr. Alcock, stated that, in the consideration of matters relating to disarmament and peace, not only

was the scientific method not being used but no method at all was being employed. He pointed out that while 90 per cent of the total funds invested in research went to the physical sciences, only 9 per cent went to the biological sciences and less than 1 per cent to the social sciences. It is therefore not surprising that we should have made such fabulous progress in the building of armaments, and so little in the building of the new and stable institutions of peace which the atomic age and the survival of our species require.

78. Yet it is true that scientists, writers and thinkers from East and West have made fairly frequent and fruitful contact with each other, as at the Conferences on Science and World Affairs which have been organized from time to time. Just over a year ago, one of these Conferences—held at Stowe, Vermont—was attended by nearly fifty eminent scientists from the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries of the East and the West, who agreed that all other dangers were minute compared with those presented by total nuclear war.

79. The Conferences—which, in order to avoid propaganda publicity, were held in private—recommended the establishment of a special mixed group of experts to study problems such as the organization of world security forces, the development of international law, the adoption of standards to ensure the effectiveness of peaceful coexistence, the creation of international tribunals and the strengthening of the United Nations. It was thought necessary for this purpose to set up study groups under the auspices of non-governmental organizations such as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

80. Among other topics suggested for study were the elaboration of methods for dealing with ideological conflicts arising from social upheavals instigated and abetted from abroad, the control of recent scientific discoveries capable of creating new hazards in a disarmed world, the development of a body of international criminal law, the protection of the rights of States against abuses of power by international bodies, and the restriction of propaganda directed against other nations or particular races. Working groups of the Conferences considered various matters connected with disarmament, and proposals were put forward for a joint United States and Soviet Union programme of outer space exploration, for a world oceanographic study, for a programme to identify and utilize the mineral resources of the seas, for the establishment of a world cancer institute, etc.

81. Messages of encouragement and support were sent to the Conference—and this is significant—by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, and by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev. And both the Soviet and United States scientists subscribed to a declaration affirming that the principal goal of the Conference was to find ways of avoiding the misuse of science for the wholesale destruction of mankind.

82. I may say that the Spanish-speaking world has not remained aloof from this endeavour to find a new framework for human coexistence adapted to our age and to modern science. As long ago as 1922, the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset pointed out that since the beginning of our century new trends of thought had begun to appear on man's intellectual horizon, creating a system of ideas peculiar to the twentieth century and in sharp contrast with the scien-

tific notions of the previous era. In 1950, another Spanish writer and philosopher, Rafael Rodríguez Delgado, in his work Introducción a una Filosofía de la Era Atómica, published at Havana, noted that existing antagonisms between large human groups were endangering the existence of the human species, and advised the creation of an economic and ideological structure adjusted to the new era through the discovery of new principles for coexistence and for the transformation of relationships between groups. Mankind, he said, must escape from the "polarizations" established in the course of history—masters and servants, saints and sinners, capitalists and proletarians—and bring about the synthesis of "integrated man", capable of controlling natural forces through machines, physically strong, technically efficient, morally robust and intellectually developed. "The possible solutions for overcoming the present crisis", he argued, "must be total and must encompass all man's relations with his environment and all relations between human groups, giving rise to the birth of a new culture".

83. In 1954 the Sociedad Venezolana de Síntesis (Venezuelan Society for Synthesis) was formed in Venezuela; its members included distinguished thinkers and scientists, such as the biologist Dr. Augusto Pi Suñer, who was awarded the Kalinga Prize by UNESCO. In the Society's declaration of purposes it was stated that "the dangerous polarization of our intellectual world calls for an effort to overcome the antinomies which are apparent in human thought and consequently in human action", and that modern science—which is threatening us with annihilation—must therefore be oriented towards the tasks of human existence.

84. Only a month ago, in a periodical published under the auspices of the Association of Spanish University Graduates in America, the Spanish version appeared of a study—issued earlier in English—which I think might be useful in the direction to which I am referring. It is entitled "Goals for the Human Race",^{6/} and it offers constructive proposals for the lessening of the ideological conflicts which accompany the conflicts of interest dividing our world.

85. Among the voices which are making themselves heard with increasing insistence in support of peace, I would mention that of Pope John XXIII, who has spoken out on numerous occasions for peace, freedom and social justice and who has recently affirmed that the coming Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church must express and encourage the yearning of mankind for a peace free of armed conflicts and having its roots and its guarantee in every human heart.

86. In the field of concrete achievement, we must mention the existence of many centres and bodies—generally of a university nature—concerned with a scientific study of the problem of building a stable and peaceful world. In the United States, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Institute for International Order, the Peace Research Institutes, the University of Michigan Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution, the Duke University World Rule of Law Centre, and the Creighton Catholic University Peace Research Centre; in Norway, the Oslo Centre for Social Research; in Japan, the Hiroshima Institute for the Sciences of Peace; in India, the New

Delhi School of International Studies; in Switzerland, the Geneva Postgraduate Institute of International Studies; and many other institutions which it would take too long to enumerate, are studying various aspects of the basic problem. However—as was said just over a year ago by Mr. James J. Wadsworth, well known in these precincts as former United States Representative, and now President of the Washington Peace Research Institute—whereas every human group, enterprise, trade union or Government continually analyses projects and evaluates the future, the remarkable fact is that no one is actually devoting himself to projecting and planning, on a scientific basis, the establishment of peace.

87. Attention was drawn to this state of affairs at the national level, in 1958, by a United States Senator, who noted with surprise that in the State Department of his country there were only six or seven officials working full-time on the problems of disarmament. The Senate Sub-Committee on Disarmament, he said, was surprised at the existing disparity between the theoretical and practical efforts being made by the world to control and reduce armaments and the energies devoted to the development, manufacture and improvement of weapons.

88. It is true, however, that a beginning has been made in remedying this situation. As is well known, the Government of the United States recently created an agency for arms control and disarmament, which proposes to study the question of world peace and security on a scientific basis; for this purpose some 250 officials—many of them scientists—will study the economic, political, legal, social, psychological, military and technological factors which have a bearing on the prevention of war; and we believe that other countries are also making efforts in that direction, although we lack adequate information on this point. Be that as it may, the positive work being done in this field remains infinitesimal, and will have to be multiplied many times over if it is to have any radical effect on the world's destiny.

89. These are the reasons and the hopes and fears which led the delegation of Honduras to submit a draft resolution and to propose for the General Assembly's agenda an item [item 23] entitled "Organization of peace".

90. Much work goes on in institutes and universities all over the world in the cause of peace, without the United Nations having any reliable and direct information regarding its results. Numerous conferences of scientists interested in preventing a destructive war are held with hardly an echo reaching us through the newspapers. Many public and private initiatives go forward in north and south, in east and west, without our being able to enjoy the encouragement and inspiration which are to be derived from these developments. Many significant efforts are undoubtedly being made in the fields of the social, legal, economic and political sciences, as well as in the spheres of philosophy and religion, without our receiving due information about them. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to these events in the governmental and private spheres, which are continually increasing in number and importance. As we said in the explanatory memorandum accompanying our draft resolution, "The United Nations... should co-ordinate and promote such efforts on a world-wide scale and become the focal point for their extension, thus ful-

^{6/} Rafael Rodríguez Delgado, "Los nuevos objetivos del hombre", Boletín Informativo del Seminario de Derecho Político de la Universidad de Salamanca, Princeton, N. J., 1962, pp. 131 et seq.

filling its historic function of eradicating the scourge of war by every means in its power".⁷

91. To this end we propose the establishment within the United Nations of a special committee for the organization of peace. The United Nations, through this committee, would encourage and co-ordinate the responsible scientific efforts being made all over the world in favour of peace, publicizing the most positive aspects of those efforts. It would thus become the centre for a co-ordinated endeavour, in both the governmental and the private spheres, calmly to determine—with the help of objective scientific methods, and eschewing all propagandist and partisan motives and passions—the best methods of making disarmament and peace a reality, and the practical procedures which could be adopted for that purpose.

92. In our draft resolution we invite Member States to establish government departments or ministerial services—either with a degree of autonomy or as a part of other departments—for peace and disarmament, with a mandate to study ways and means of resolving present conflicts and of preventing the development of conflicts in the future. We should point out that, in our view, such research and its results also may be useful in connexion with domestic questions, since by studying and investigating the causes of external conflicts it is possible to gain a better understanding of internal conflicts—the latter being often closely linked with the former—and such governmental bodies will therefore be able to contribute not only to world peace but to domestic peace and progress and to national stability.

93. There is an evident advantage in having official bodies, in various nations with differing social and political systems, committed to the common task of determining the causes of conflicts and seeking solutions to them. Not only will such organs express clearly their own particular views and solutions, but through a study of the views of others, it will be possible to create the common system of theory and practice which is so urgently required in order to give unity of purpose and outlook to a world threatened by schizophrenia and destruction.

94. Secondly, the draft resolution requests national and international non-governmental organizations particularly concerned with peace and disarmament to conduct scientific inquiries on ways and means of resolving conflicts. The contribution which the social, economic and political sciences have already made to the understanding of our problems is doubtless considerable, but there is still much more that they have to do in order to cap this understanding with new means of solving the problems.

95. As I have already mentioned, the draft resolution asks in particular for the establishment, with the co-operation of the specialized agencies concerned, of a special United Nations committee for the organization of peace. This committee of the General Assembly would really be experimental in character, since the task is one of great complexity. The committee would be asked to collect documentation re-

lating to scientific inquiries on the problems of peace and disarmament and on appropriate means for attaining those ends. It would further encourage the establishment of the government departments or services for peace already referred to, by undertaking a study of the structure and purposes of those which exist or are contemplated and by circulating the relevant information to Member States. Finally, it would be asked to submit to the General Assembly at its next session a report in which it would summarize and evaluate the documentation collected, recommend procedures for conducting fruitful inquiries on peace and disarmament and the limitation and elimination of weapons, and examine the advisability of establishing a permanent committee to continue this work, in the light of the findings and the experience gained.

96. The Committee—and we regard this as fundamental—should work in a serious, factual and technical way, and the echoes of the "cold war" should not be heard in its discussions. With this end in view, it could enlist the assistance of scientists and thinkers of universally recognized merit who would be acceptable to all groups—leading figures who stand above ephemeral passions and are accustomed to consider man and his destiny in a historical perspective and not in the context of the immediate situation.

97. As is clear from what I have said, the intention is not that the committee should carry out a routine task and produce a report which no one will want to read. What is envisaged is a responsible, honest and intelligent endeavour, rising above temporary interests and concerning itself with the essence of the permanent interests of the human race. It should be a creative endeavour, similar in scope to those marking the great junctures in the history of mankind, when man changes the course of his destiny on earth.

98. We urge and beg the General Assembly to give its unanimous support to this experiment. This may be one of our last opportunities to divert science from the cause of war and harness it for peace. A small cause can sometimes produce great effects: a drop of water can result in an overflow from a glass, and a tiny change in speed can alter the course of an artificial satellite and turn it towards the earth or send it into orbit.

99. Possibly this modest initiative may bear fruit and its unanimous acceptance by the General Assembly may revive the hopes of a world living under the shadow of nuclear terror. But even if this new endeavour to organize peace should meet with failure, like others before it, and the thermo-nuclear war which we all fear and to which we seem to draw ever nearer should finally be unleashed, the work done in the meanwhile by the committee for the organization of peace may perhaps be of use to the survivors in enabling them, with more success than we have had, to build a rational, prosperous, peaceful, free and just world—a task in which man has so repeatedly failed throughout his strife-torn history, and in which he must eventually succeed if he is to survive.

⁷ Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 96, document A/5022, para. 5.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.