

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



346th

PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 15 November 1951, at 3 p.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

CONTENTS

	Page
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	151
Speeches by Mr. Paz (Argentina), Mr. Sharett (Israel), Mr. Sevilla Sacasa (Nicaragua), Mr. Kiselyov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Volio Mata (Costa Rica), Mr. Subardjo (Indonesia) and Ato Abebe Retta (Ethiopia)	

President : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. PAZ (ARGENTINA), MR. SHARETT (ISRAEL), MR. SEVILLA SACASA (NICARAGUA), MR. KISELYOV (BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC), MR. VOLIO MATA (COSTA RICA), MR. SUBARDOJO (INDONESIA) AND ATO ABEBE RETTA (ETHIOPIA)

The negotiations for a cease-fire, a matter which is generally settled quickly, have been complicated by all kinds of vicissitudes and disappointments, and the situation at present is this : the war goes on, and its consequences may be disastrous for the future of mankind.

6. Our Organization has had to deal with situations which were never envisaged at San Francisco. In order to cope with them it has had to resort to emergency measures which led to the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)] adopted at the last session of the General Assembly.

7. Let us agree that in a divided world any solution is difficult to reach, but let us also honestly admit that the peoples are following our deliberations and rightly look to us to find the road to harmony and to set the rule of law and order above force and arbitrary methods.

8. If we wish to follow the United Nations Charter faithfully and respect its spirit and letter, let us remember that it begins with the words "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war..."

9. If we wish to avoid the destruction of a civilization which is not only our heritage but which we also hold in trust for future generations, we cannot in this hour turn a deaf ear to the cry of millions and millions of human beings whose hopeful eyes are fastened on this Assembly.

10. The Argentine delegation is inspired by the words of the President of our country : "Our international policy tries to serve the just cause of the peoples". Accordingly, Argentina's international policy has two well-defined objectives : as regards its own problems, to subordinate everything to the supreme will of the people, and, as regards the problems of other nations, to endeavour to interpret the aspirations cherished by the peoples of the world who will be affected by the solutions proposed.

11. We are convinced that if the peoples were to be consulted before any decision relating to international disputes was reached, peace would be assured, because no people wishes to commit aggression upon another people, and no people desires war as a solution for its problems.

12. Faced with the perils which beset us, we are under a duty to explore every avenue and every short cut until

1. Mr. PAZ (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*) : The delegation of Argentina has come to the sixth session of the General Assembly fully aware of the times through which we are passing. At this time, and in the face of the anxiety now besetting man, we in this hapless generation can truthfully repeat that we do not know whether we are treading on fertile or on barren ground.

2. The harmony which reigned between the United Nations at San Francisco was fleeting. While the peoples of the world were still suffering from the consequences of the Second World War, the so-called "cold war" began. The expression was somewhat picturesque and passed into popular parlance, but to responsible minds with any kind of intuition the adjective did not obscure the stark fact of real war, for that was actually the issue—war—under another guise ; that disturbed the main organs of this international institution, and the deep differences of opinion paralysed any constructive effort. Those were the facts ; the rest was mere words.

3. What happened in political affairs ? There the impact of this collision was reflected in the failure of efforts to give effect to Article 43 and related Articles of the Charter which form the basis of the system of collective security contemplated at San Francisco.

4. We have also seen what happened to disarmament. The optimistic hopes entertained at the beginning of this session were dimmed as soon as the general debate got under way, because without the necessary fundamental understanding between the opposing camps it will be difficult for the General Assembly to find a solution in accordance with Article 11 of the Charter.

5. Korea added to the complexities of a situation which was already difficult enough and which was endangering the maintenance of peace, even though a parlous peace.

we find an Ariadne's thread which will lead us out of the labyrinth in which we are lost.

13. We firmly believe that the General Assembly should take the initiative in such a delicate situation as this, without regarding itself confined to the isolated solutions which may be advanced for each of the problems brought to its notice.

14. We are convinced that, in situations as complicated as the present, there ought to be, in addition to an analysis of each separate item, a comprehensive study having the one object of easing the present tension. All efforts will be useless if a minimum of normality is not achieved in international relations.

15. For all these reasons we consider that, side by side with the solutions for strengthening the system of collective security, we should press for action to escape from the impasse which is fraught with grave danger for the whole of civilization.

16. It is evident that political and economic questions are the two sides of the same problem. How can we hope to achieve international peace if we do not at the same time strengthen the domestic peace of nations? This peace can only be achieved if social justice prevails and ensures the best living conditions to peoples. So long as social justice does not prevail, whatever may be devised will be a fabric of illusions, and any remedies contrived will only be a false healing of open wounds.

17. In this connexion I am glad to be able to tell you that my Government has carried through a policy which conforms to Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations. In promoting a higher standard of living it has eliminated the unemployment index and has guaranteed conditions of economic and social progress and development.

18. The economic crisis which afflicts the world is caused by under-production and by the inadequate distribution of goods produced among the peoples of the world. The human element ought to receive special attention in production, because without a just and worthy remuneration the worker's output will always be below normal. In this connexion we have worked out legislation which, based upon the principle of social justice, has abolished the exploitation of man by man. Accordingly our President, General Peron, was able to claim that in our country man has ceased to be the slave of the machine, that man is no longer a mere tool but has become a being.

19. With the same object of social welfare, the Social Assistance Foundation has performed a great work, setting up hospitals and charitable institutions throughout the country, to the achievements of which I can point with legitimate pride.

20. We shall therefore emphatically support the programmes for raising the standards of living of the peoples and ensuring social justice.

21. As regards the adequate distribution of capital goods and materials, we wish to state that it is essential to satisfy the needs of the under-developed countries as a matter of the greatest urgency. The distribution of scarce materials has required the establishment of an international body, which proceeds on the basis of the share in world trade. We support the principle of total representation in international organs. We also consider that rationing plans cannot be partial and include only some of the scarce materials. Nor should international action operate to the detriment of those countries which are the suppliers of primary materials. If those nations are to regulate their

export trade in accordance with the recommendations of international bodies, it is only right that a similar system should be established for their imports.

22. We should also take precautions against the possible devaluation of funds in foreign exchange or gold which, because they could not be used for the purchase of goods, have had to be accumulated by the central banks of nations which have favourable balances of payments. The experience of the last war has taught us a lesson which should not be forgotten.

23. In general we agree with the principles concerning land reform, referred to in resolution 401 (V) of the General Assembly and resolution 370 (XIII) of the Economic and Social Council, as an instrument of social justice and a means of ensuring a better standard of living for the peoples. The object will be to give the land to those who till the soil. In this way we shall be building the economy of one of the main sources of our wealth on solid and lasting foundations.

24. As regards trusteeship, we shall impress upon the Administering Authorities the need to do their utmost to promote the rapid political advancement of the Trust Territories of which the Charter speaks.

25. In the matter of administrative and budgetary policy we shall maintain the view that economies compatible with the performance of the essential services of the Organization must be made.

26. Our Government is following with special interest the studies relating to the progressive development of international law and its codification. We believe that development should be sought step by step in keeping with the principle of recognition of the sovereignty of nations, with its corollary of non-intervention.

27. In this great assembly of nations we note the absence of many countries whose co-operation in the task of maintaining peace would have been most desirable in these difficult times. The Argentine position in the matter of the admission of new Members is so well known to you that I need not elaborate it further. I merely wish to state that we maintain our attitude, which is based on the principle that the General Assembly is the supreme authority competent to rule on admissions. In addition, we firmly believe that the success of our Organization will depend in great measure upon its universality. Consequently we find it unjust that countries such as Italy should be absent from our deliberations. We know the qualities of the Italian people and we are convinced that their exclusion is contrary to right and justice. We are strengthened in our view by the conviction which springs from our historical link with that great nation and from the contribution which its citizens have made to the growth of our country.

28. In this serious international situation the questions at issue are not simply material interests but, above all, spiritual values which constitute a way of life and basic principles of our civilization which are now in danger. We therefore share the view that in this respect large and small countries are on the same moral footing, and that today more than ever the voice of the weakest should be heard with the same respect and attention as that of the strongest because, in the final analysis, what we are all seeking is the establishment of the rule of law and order over force.

29. For this purpose, it would perhaps be advisable to consider the pressing need to set up a neutral group with instructions to work out the minimum conditions on which the General Assembly, in virtue of the powers conferred

upon it by Chapter IV of the Charter, would make general recommendations for the improvement of the present state of affairs. The urgency of the present situation demands courage and decision on our part in facing the responsibility we have assumed towards our peoples. Let us hope that this debate will bring forth ideas that will lead to the improvement of the international situation.

30. So we come to the Assembly animated by the earnest desire to find ways of improving the relations between Member States. As regards continental relations we are united to our brothers in America by the undertakings we have entered into and, more than that, by the bonds of affection deriving from our common origin. This close spiritual brotherhood is what leads us forward in America along a common path.

31. Argentina, as a Member of the United Nations and on the basis of the Charter, is guided, as our President has said, by the traditional desire of its people to settle international disputes by pacific means and by respect for equality between individuals and for the sovereignty of the State; we affirm our will to social justice, our repudiation of any form of hegemony, our belief in democratic ideals and in the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States.

32. We are convinced that only on those principles, which are the basis of our Organization, can a better world be built, a world in which there will be no privileges of any kind, either for nations or for States.

33. In this two-thousand-year-old city, gracious host to this sixth session of the Assembly, steeped in the spirit of the great minds that have illumined the history of culture, I express my hopes that their light may shine today upon the path of men.

34. Mr. SHARETT (Israel): It had not been the intention of my delegation to take up the time of the Assembly during the general debate with any problem of specific concern to Israel, but the attack which was launched the other day from this rostrum against Israel and the Jewish people by the representative of Iraq—and also some of the remarks made this morning by the distinguished representative of Lebanon—compel a brief rejoinder.

35. Mr. Al-Jamali apparently takes a rather naïve view of either the knowledge or the political understanding of the distinguished representatives here present if he believes that the picture of the situation presented by him could pass muster as true to the facts. Applying to his task the gifts of an elastic memory and a pathetic faith in the notion that it is possible to lend plausibility to an untruth by dint of endless repetition, he again chose to ignore or distort some of the most salient features of that phase of recent history in which both his country and mine were involved.

36. May I then be permitted to refresh his memory and straighten the record by pointing out first, that it was none other than the Arab States, including the Kingdom of Iraq, which set so pernicious an example by not merely ignoring a clear and emphatic recommendation of the General Assembly but by taking up arms in an attempt to defy and subvert it by force—an ignoble enterprise in which they duly failed; secondly, that it was as a result of that reckless adventure into invasion and aggressive war that the tragic problem of Arab refugees was created; thirdly, that the brunt of responsibility for the continuing failure to solve that problem again lies on the Arab States, which have added insult to injury by refusing to negotiate a peace settlement or even to make a tangible advance towards

it; fourthly, that as everyone familiar with the problem is now aware, its solution can be attained only through resettlement in the Arab countries endowed with large areas of fertile and uncultivated land, and not through repatriation; fifthly, that Israel has repeatedly declared itself willing to contribute to the cost of such resettlement by the payment of compensation for abandoned Arab lands; sixthly, that within the short period of its existence Israel has given shelter and work to masses of Jews fleeing from Arab countries, including 120,000 from Iraq alone, who were despoiled of their property and arrived virtually penniless, while the world has yet to hear what the Arab States are prepared to do to relieve the misery of the Arab refugees—a misery which is of their own making; and lastly, that the position taken by the Arab States in declaring themselves to be still at war with Israel—a position given practical expression by an economic boycott, by a sea blockade and by a systematic attempt to sabotage Israel's participation in regional organizations of the United Nations—is a violation of the Charter, a flagrant disregard of successive Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and a travesty of the protestations heard from this platform about the dedication of the Arab Governments to the ideals and ways of peace.

37. A great deal more could be added to bring out the true nature of the distorting mirror which has been set before you from this platform, but my delegation has no desire unduly to prolong what is in this context a futile verbal controversy. We would rather apply our efforts at an appropriate stage to the exploration of the practicable and realistic solution of a problem which can be solved, if not through direct settlement between us and the neighbouring Arab States, then at least by means of a common endeavour with the United Nations.

38. Surrounded as we are at present by unfriendly States, we are of necessity intensely sensitive to the problem of our own security and to the impact upon it of the world situation. Moreover, as a State very actively engaged in the twin task of reviving a country and rehabilitating a people, we are most vitally concerned in the preservation of international stability, for this effort of revolutionary reconstruction may be expected to prosper only in an atmosphere of peace. Our concern for the peace of the world is enhanced by the anxiety we feel for the fate of Jews scattered in minority groups all over the world, whose position in many a land, though happily not in all, continues to be precarious. Finally, and above all, we joined this Organization to take part in the world-wide effort at buttressing the edifice of peace, and we are a people humbly conscious of the duty to maintain that dedication to the ideals of world peace and human brotherhood which has been bequeathed to us by the visions and prophecies of our ancestry.

39. We therefore deeply share the distress so sincerely and eloquently expressed by many distinguished delegates during the present debate at the tragic plight of the world, split by a seemingly irreconcilable conflict between two rival political systems and balanced so precariously on the brink of a catastrophe.

40. The prize of this conflict is nothing less than the mastery over the soul of mankind, yet the furies which it is liable to unleash may in their deadly clash destroy mankind's very body. The fateful question is whether, from the universal concern for the survival of human civilization and perhaps of the species itself, will emerge an over-riding common purpose and a will for peace powerful enough to protect society from self-destruction.

41. Moved by this anxiety, the delegation of Israel will give its most careful attention to the study of the proposals put before this Assembly for the limitation and control of armaments and for linking up all powers in an effective system of world security.

42. While the ideological clash between communism and free democracy is world-wide in its scope, there is being waged today yet another conflict, different in character, the scene of which is a vast belt of territories in Asia and Africa enfolding in one of its corners my own country of Israel.

43. We are witness to deep and far-reaching antagonisms, sometimes latent and smouldering, sometimes flaring up in violent disputes, between Occident and Orient, between the more fully developed and the so-called backward countries, between nations accustomed to domination and races still recently subject, between the high industrial civilization of the West and an East only just awakening from age-long lethargy.

44. The fact that Israel itself is no longer directly involved in this clash does not make us indifferent to its trend and outcome. Nor does the absence of peace between us and our neighbours militate against our sympathy with the struggle of the surrounding world. Short-term considerations of self-defence may dictate to us attitudes which in conditions of good neighbourly relations we should have been happy to avoid. Moreover, we do not hold for the unilateral abrogation of binding treaties. And we differentiate between national and world assets. We cannot agree, for example, that an international waterway should be treated as if it were an internal river of a country which just happens to lie astride it. Nor do we have much respect for the method of lashing the populace into fury in order afterwards to become its slave. But for the genuine aspirations towards freedom and independence we have a deep understanding. We try to lift our eyes above the spray of the stormy sea of controversy raging around us and look to the distant horizon of long-term solidarity.

45. Many of us have returned to our ancestral home in Asia, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, after our fathers and forefathers had dwelt and wandered for centuries in the countries of the western world. We have re-established ourselves as a permanent and integral part of our old and new environment. We shall always maintain our links with the Jewish communities everywhere, while at the same time seeking new intimate relationships with our oriental neighbours, near and far. In trying to revive and reinvigorate our national culture in the country of its inception, we are anxious to preserve, to learn and to apply, the best elements of occidental tradition and modern progress as well as the teachings and attainments of western democracy.

46. What we see around us is, in the broadly historic sense of the term, a revolutionary phase, the root cause of which lies in the obsolescence of time-honoured relationships of dependence and sway. These no longer fit the new realities of national and international life; they call either for a gradual adjustment or for a swift change. Over vast areas, great and ancient peoples have emerged to sovereign statehood after centuries of subjection. Their own struggle for liberation, coupled in some cases with a far-sighted statesmanship of renunciation on the part of the dominant Power, have achieved the transformation. Yet the process is still far from completion, either in area or in extent. From formal to real independence there is a road to travel. Even old-established States seek to liquidate

the heritage of inferiority in which they have long acquiesced. All these weaker nations claim an effective status of full equality. The Powers of the Occident, on the other hand, seek to safeguard positions on which depends not only their own strength but a great deal of the prosperity and security of the areas concerned. The historic query is whether these interests are necessarily incompatible or whether they can be reconciled.

47. There is yet another query. The clash between the Orient and the Occident sometimes mingles with what is usually termed the conflict between East and West—that great controversy to which I have already referred. More often than not the former adds fuel to the fire of the latter and renders its dangers more widespread and acute. Yet there is no organic unity between them. The historical coincidence of the two struggles need not lead to their political identity. It is vital, I submit, that it should not. For their merger is fraught with an incalculable aggravation of the world crisis. To keep them separate is one of the most crucial and challenging tasks of international statesmanship in this critical epoch.

48. Multitudes of mankind in backward countries, consciously or otherwise, now stand at the crossroads of a choice between true democracy and its complete negation. For some the die has already been cast, with the result that over immense territory democracy has missed its chance of earlier realization. Weakness of purpose, ineptitude and corruption—above all the setting of exclusive privilege above the interests of the common man—have already proved democracy's undoing. But there are other rapidly awakening nations still on the threshold of a fateful decision to be made by them or for them. So here comes the second query. Must the attainment by the peoples of full independence be necessarily accompanied by the loss of their internal freedom? Is there no other way to ensure their material and cultural progress than by subjecting them to the ruthless efficiency of a dictatorial régime? Would not progress then be achieved by the sacrifice of the highest values of social life—the free awakening in the masses of people of the dormant creative impulses and the full many-sided development of man's personality? Yet dire need and unimaginative or selfish statesmanship may drive those countries, one after the other, to take the irrevocable plunge. Should this trend prevail, democracy will find the area of its application convulsively and progressively restricted and may face the danger of losing its historic battle on a continental scale.

49. Against this background, the struggle between the two divergent political systems and social philosophies, in the ultimate outcome of which the fate of the undeveloped and under-developed areas of the world seems destined to play a decisive role, is not the only world issue to be faced. Quite apart from that grave collision, differences of race, religion, culture and economic standards, sharpened by complexes arising from close and prolonged relationships of political and social inequality, are liable to grow into unbridgeable gulfs and wreck for a long time to come the hope of a united humanity. The United Nations, which has assembled under its banner all nations, large and small, on a footing of complete equality without distinction of colour or creed, is the symbol of the fate of all of us not only in the ultimate triumph of the brotherhood of man, but in the fulfilment of this lofty ideal in our own time. Yet a symbolic framework of unity and mere statutory authority are not enough to resolve these grave discords between inherently unequal Powers which today threaten the stability of the Middle East and becloud the future of large parts of Asia and Africa.

50. Let me re-state the original question posed about the inevitability or otherwise of violent change. That we have here to deal with a world in transition is fully accepted by all concerned. It is the manner of the transition that constitutes the crux of the problem. Can it evolve peacefully by mutual consent and accommodation, or must it take the form of crisis and upheaval? It is not merely a matter of safeguarding legitimate interests and protecting lawfully acquired rights. Something far more important is here at stake.

51. From the standpoint of the common good in the long run the question is two-fold. First, can the inevitable transformation be achieved without the destruction of the economic assets created under the old régime, without the lowering—even if it be temporary—of the standards of living of masses of people; in short, without interrupting the continuity of material civilization in the areas affected? Or is it a decree of fate that all the good in the former phase must be swept away with the evil, and the backward nation, handicapped for a long time past by its enforced inferiority, must start its hard upward struggle from an even lower level? Secondly, can the old relationships between the weak and the strong, so humiliating for the former and so demoralizing to the latter, be amicably transformed into a mutually advantageous partnership between two equals, or must there be a violent rupture causing havoc and ruin and leaving behind it for a long time to come a chasm of bitterness and hatred?

52. A synthetic and harmonious solution of the problem entails on both sides courageous forethought, freedom from prejudice and wise restraint. These, apparently, are not easily forthcoming. A sense of superiority, born of a privileged position enjoyed without challenge for a considerable length of time, dies hard and is not quickly discarded. Insistence on legal rights is not always mitigated by regard for genuine and deep-seated psychological susceptibilities. Too often, undue reliance is placed on economic rationalism, on the assumed indispensability of outside assistance, or on the inexorability of economic logic. The part played in the counsels of poorer and weaker States by their own appreciation of what is their fundamental national interest, and by considerations of national pride and self-respect, is underestimated. That one can be proud while poor—and even particularly proud just because one is poor—is not always realized. Fatal blunders are sometimes committed through disregard of these elementary truths.

53. On the other hand, grave dangers of self-defeat beset the path of a young nationalism. A nation forfeits its moral title to freedom if, on achieving it, it proceeds to oppress its minorities and to deny the right to independence of its neighbours. On a different plane, independence conceived merely in terms of formal sovereignty remains in empty shell, unable to withstand internal and external pressures. Political power entails economic and social responsibility. Without a constructive policy of social justice and material advancement, both independence and democracy fail to strike root in the hearts of the masses of people, lose their vitality and eventually break down under the impact of outside aggression or internal disorder. National independence and democratic institutions alike are brought into contempt by their inability to improve the lot of struggling humanity.

54. Inequalities of military strength, level of culture and economic development are the products of history. Unless constructively faced, they will constitute a growing menace to democratic government, to international stability and to the peace of the world. They call for a universal framework of international solidarity and discipline, pledging

all to the defence of each. They entail a system of international and interstate assistance such as has been initiated by the United Nations, and such as has so beneficially been practised on a most generous scale by the United States. A stable and harmonious international order can only be achieved by the rule of law and respect for established right, as well as by their peaceful adaptation to the changing realities of the modern world.

55. The issue between the Occident and the Orient is not merely one of temporary adjustment of the most pressing conflicts. What should be sought is a broad current of positive cultural integration. Mutual respect for the great human values crystallized in the tradition of both worlds is the basis for a relationship of trust and solidarity leading to the organic unity of the future.

56. In this, it is up to the Occident to go more than half way. In bringing to the Asian continent its own modern civilization, it has so far been hardly aware of the latter's ancient cultures. Yet it may be that in them is hidden that spiritual strength which alone can ennoble and purify technological progress and save man from becoming the slave of matter. Much as the Orient can benefit from Western science, the Occident can enrich its spiritual treasury by drawing upon the wisdom of the East. It is a challenging enterprise for the United Nations to promote and enlarge the contacts between the two worlds on a cultural and social plane aimed at the growth of confidence, mutual study, co-operation and a deepening sense of their indispensability to one another.

57. Without ceasing to grapple with the burning problems of security and of resistance to aggression, the United Nations should increasingly address its attention to the fundamental issues of the survival of man and his chances of a better life. It is by striking at the roots of the basic problems of food and shelter, health and education, that the United Nations may succeed in providing that common denominator for all mankind which will in the course of time prevail against the cleavages of political systems or cultural traditions. The only way, incidentally, of bringing the dissidents back to the fold of common international endeavour is by a compelling demonstration of massive achievement. Much indeed has already been accomplished in these fields by the specialized agencies, the salutary effect of whose work is felt in ever-widening areas. Yet a bolder initiative and more ambitious scope appear to be urgently called for. It is enough to mention the grave prospect which confronts a rapidly increasing world population, of progressive soil erosion and the consequent menace of food shortage, to give the measure of the global effort—global in this case in the literal sense of the term—which is incumbent on the United Nations.

58. The peace of the world depends on the readiness of the contending political and ideological blocs to live together. World harmony requires that East and West in the historic sense of the term should learn to be brothers. Humanity's survival entails a concerted effort on the part of the United Nations in all fields, political, cultural and economic, to meet the issues which face us and will face the generations to come. With unremitting toil and the full utilization of all its organs and agencies, the United Nations must persevere in forging the united will of the world as the instrument of its own salvation.

59. In offering these reflections to the collective thinking of the Assembly, the delegation of Israel does so in the name of a people whose trials and torments, through long and dark centuries, have neither crushed its national pride nor extinguished its creative genius. It ventures to express

these ideas on behalf of a State whose emergence may well be viewed as a triumph of the human will against all odds of history. It voices the passionate belief that it is within the capacity of the organized human race to attain by common endeavour the fulfilment of those ideals of freedom, brotherhood and human dignity whose proclamation at a momentous juncture from this glorious city will continue to ring in the ears of tormented posterity as a message of eternal hope.

[The speaker continued in French]

60. In conclusion, I should like to add my delegation's whole-hearted expression of gratitude for the generous hospitality offered to us all by France and by the City of Paris to that so eloquently voiced by many other representatives.

61. I should also like to take the opportunity of offering from this platform the Israel Government's hearty congratulations to Léon Jouhaux, that staunch champion of social justice in France and everywhere, on the important international distinction¹ so justly conferred upon him.

62. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*translated from Spanish*): At a time when Paris is celebrating the bi-millenary of its foundation, fate has ordained that the United Nations should hold its sixth session in this bright and everlasting city, thus paying tribute to immortal France of heroic tradition, which is an inexhaustible source of culture and freedom, and where the purest expressions of the mind and spirit are forever established.

63. Greetings to France on behalf of Nicaragua. Our countries have always been closely linked together, and even more closely since the time of our immortal Rubén Darío, who extolled France in verse with the best of his gifted inspiration and with love and devotion for her finest sons.

64. Greetings to President Auriol and to his renowned colleagues of the Government. We who come from America are more impressed each time by the indestructible ties which have bound us and which will always bind us to this noble country, the cradle of the glorious Revolution of the eighteenth century, the city where the Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed.

65. A few months ago the Foreign Ministers of the American States, who held their Fourth Meeting of Consultation in Washington, heard the eloquent words of President Auriol. Moved by affection and admiration for France as the parent of culture and freedom, and inspired by the traditional links which strengthen our common civilization of Graeco-Latin origin, we heard our eminent guest state that a powerful force unites us beyond frontiers and oceans: liberty; that a common need was our driving force: prosperity; and that a common will inspired us: peace.

66. Our enthusiasm however, knew no bounds, when President Auriol said: "Your continent continues to be for us what it was for Columbus through the tempests and moments of doubt, what it was for its pioneers and liberators, what it is today for the entire free world: hope."

67. France and the rest of the world can be sure that our America, as an eminent Argentinian said, stands for humanity. And we Americans who truly love peace and who seek universal harmony believe that the prophetic words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt are already being

fulfilled, when he spoke of America's faith in and ardent desire for world peace and our ability to extend that faith, as a firm hope to our brothers beyond the seas.

68. The love of peace of the American peoples—who conduct their external affairs along the lines of their regional system—is inspired by the sincere wish of all to respect the rights of others and to order their lives in conformity with the principles of law and international morality.

69. We come to this session after crossing the Atlantic Ocean, the *Mare Nostrum* of those Americans and Europeans with whom we wish to live in peace and spiritual harmony. We arrived on these European shores at a time when world peace was going through its most critical period. The anxious eyes of all mankind are fixed on the discussions in the Palais de Chaillot. In many ways it would seem that we are nearer to peace than when we held our 1948 session under the same roof. In many other ways we feel we have come closer to war. The hope of men who do not wish a third world conflagration, because they know the horrors and have personal experience of the tragedies of the two wars we have suffered in our generation, reside in the belief that the great Powers must come to an understanding based on respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter in order to foster reconciliation and restore international goodwill.

70. The ways to final international peace are beset with various obstacles, but we are convinced that, with patience, goodwill and that stubborn perseverance we have shown in previous years, and with the experience we have gained, we shall be in a better position to attain our main objectives and to fulfil the obligations and responsibilities we have undertaken towards the peoples of the world when we agreed to represent them at these supremely important discussions.

71. With the rebirth of international harmony, the human race will be able to devote its best efforts in tranquillity to implementing moral and legal principles, to improving the collective concept of the individual freedoms and to seeking a satisfactory solution for all problems and disputes by the peaceful methods indicated by international law.

72. The Nicaraguan delegation attends this session of the General Assembly with the keenest desire to co-operate, and we feel bound to repeat that we are ready, as we have been for the last six years since our Organization was established at San Francisco, to extend our enthusiastic support to every project designed to strengthen the possibilities of a stable and lasting peace.

73. Our country, amid so many tribulations and so many and anxious expectations, takes a certain pride in the peaceful and constant contribution it has made at the various meetings of the General Assembly and in all the bodies where its co-operation has been requested. Inspired by that consideration we supported at the last session, with all our faith and enthusiasm, the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)] of 3 November 1950, submitted to the General Assembly by the eminent Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honourable Dean Acheson.

74. This memorable resolution, which contains practical provisions of incalculable value, brings hope to all those who, desiring the success of our system of collective security, were discouraged to see the Security Council and the entire machinery of the Organization almost paralysed and subject to the inexorable and obstructionist will of Article 27 of the Charter.

¹ The Nobel Peace Prize.

75. Under this resolution the General Assembly—which is undoubtedly the most representative and democratic organ of the United Nations—assumes functions which it should logically exercise in order to maintain the peace of the world and, as the Charter says, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”. If the Security Council is paralysed by the abuse of the veto, the General Assembly can take action at an emergency session and recommend the measures it considers appropriate for the establishment of order and the maintenance of international peace and security.

76. We are glad to have co-operated in every way in the approval of that most important resolution. The Peace Observation Commission and the Collective Measures Committee are to provide the services indicated in their terms of reference, and the free nations of the world who wish to maintain peace and put an end to aggression will place their armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations, as they have done in Korea, so that those who violate the rights of other peoples may learn that the universal system already has sufficient force to keep the world under the rule of law and justice. We shall not forget the historic words of Secretary of State Acheson when he said in New York [279th plenary meeting]: “...if the Security Council is not able to act because of the obstructive tactics of a permanent member, the Charter does not leave the United Nations impotent... The Charter... also vests in the General Assembly authority and responsibility for matters affecting international peace. The General Assembly can and should organize itself to discharge its responsibility promptly and decisively if the Security Council is prevented from acting”.

77. The American Republics, at their fourth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, repeated their conviction that “the strengthening of the action of the United Nations is the most effective way to maintain the peace, security, and well-being of the peoples of the world under the rule of law, justice, and international co-operation”.

78. And in approving their second resolution the Foreign Ministers declared as their firm intention “that each of the American Republics immediately examine its resources and determine what steps it can take to contribute to the defense of the Continent and to United Nations collective security efforts, in order to accomplish the aims and purposes of the ‘Uniting for Peace’ resolution of the General Assembly”.

79. Thus the American continent, meeting in the Pan American Union’s *Salon de las Americas*, expressed its solidarity of action through its most authoritative spokesmen on foreign policy when it endorsed the resolution which has made it possible for the General Assembly to obtain new powers that will put an end to the vetoes and obstructionist tactics used in the Security Council under cover of Article 27 of the Charter.

80. I have mentioned Korea. When hostilities broke out—immediately subsequent to the resolutions of the Security Council²—as a result of the flagrant aggression of those who avail themselves of whatever means to satisfy their absurd ambitions of conquest—many feared that the flame of a third world war might be set alight in those areas.

81. Today, when there is less likelihood that that will happen, we feel, cheered by the repeated victories and the

magnificent bearing of the brave soldiers fighting under the flag of the United Nations, that it was on the battlefields of the Korean peninsula that the military machinery of our system was successfully applied and that the aggressive action of unscrupulous imperialists was paralysed. Let me express on this occasion our admiration for the noble conduct of the valiant soldiers of various nationalities who are courageously fighting to defend the peace of the world.

82. My delegation’s views on the various proposals connected with the items on the agenda will be presented in due course, in the Committees and plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

83. I should like, however, to take advantage of your patience in order briefly to explain our opinion and clarify at this time our position with regard to the joint proposal on disarmament submitted by France, the United States of America and the United Kingdom [A/1943].

84. My delegation is prepared to support that proposal. In addition to disarmament being universal and general, the surest means must be sought to enable the United Nations to guarantee the most complete control over the future production of war materials. Similarly, we have also decided to support the United Nations plan for the control of atomic energy.

85. If we achieve a reduction of armaments based on good faith, or if we even lay the foundation for an agreement at an early date, we may consider that we have saved the future of humanity, and we should see with great satisfaction the disappearance of the present state of armed peace and its replacement by what Aristide Briand, the well-remembered French statesman, had in mind when he aspired to “found the peace of the world on a legal order”.

86. The world would then appreciate the truth of what President Truman said when he informed the people of the United States of the submission of the joint proposal of France, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. President Truman stated: “New hope and opportunities would be given everywhere for better conditions of life. There would be greater freedom—greater production—greater enjoyment—of the fruits of peaceful industry. Through the United Nations we could wage the only kind of war we seek: the war against want and human misery”.

87. The future of the world rests with the deliberations in the Palais de Chaillot. If during this session of the General Assembly an agreement is reached on the vital question of the reduction of armaments, or some other agreement of a similar kind, we are sure that just as the third session which met in Paris in 1948 is called the “Human Rights Assembly”, so the sixth session will be known, with the assent of all humanity, as the “Assembly of Universal Reconciliation”.

88. May God inspire our minds and enable us to achieve such vital aims in the discussions in the august Palais de Chaillot, so that tomorrow, free from the fear of a new conflict, we can dedicate all the constructive forces of good to the perfecting of our international machinery, so as to encourage our fraternal association, strengthen the freedom of the individual and promote the social and economic progress of all the peoples of the earth.

89. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): At this session we are taking stock of the work of the United Nations over the six years of its existence. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic also wishes to express its views on the results of that work.

² See *Officials Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Nos. 15 and 16*.

90. The longing of the peoples for a firm and durable peace is a characteristic of our era, and we should therefore ask ourselves how far the United Nations has succeeded in discharging its duties under the Charter.

91. We are compelled to answer frankly that the United Nations has failed to justify the hopes and expectations of the peoples of the whole world, who want a lasting peace, the development and strengthening of international co-operation and the promotion of trade, economic co-operation and social progress. The policy of strengthening international co-operation on a basis of respect for the independence and sovereign equality of nations has not been carried out in the United Nations.

92. International developments during the last year fully confirm the profound political analysis of the work of the United Nations made by Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, head of the Soviet Government.

93. In an interview on 17 February 1951 with a correspondent of *Pravda*, J. V. Stalin said: "The United Nations, established as a stronghold of peace, is being transformed into a weapon of war and an instrument for launching a new world war.... Thus, the United Nations is following in the inglorious tracks of the League of Nations, thereby destroying its own moral authority and bringing about its own downfall".

94. International events during the past year have fully confirmed these words. The entire work of the United Nations—in which the Anglo-American bloc is the directing nucleus—over the past year testifies to the incessant efforts of the Anglo-American bloc to undermine the principle of the equal rights of States.

95. Conversely, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR and those other delegations friendly to our point of view have endeavoured to preserve the principle of the equal rights of States, and to maintain general peace and security throughout the world. Surely it should be the duty of the United Nations to ensure equality, peace and friendship among the nations, on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, rather than help to make the present international situation worse.

96. Their stubborn refusal to replace the representatives of the Kuomintang-Chiang Kai-shek clique in the Security Council and the other United Nations organs by the true representatives of the lawful government of the People's Republic of China demonstrates that the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the States supporting them have no desire for co-operation and the strengthening of the United Nations.

97. The United Nations radio station broadcasts open reactionary war propaganda. The broadcasts are imbued with a spirit of hysteria and provocation inimical to the cause of peace.

98. The representative of the Kuomintang has to this day not been excluded from the United Nations and no offer of the membership which it deserves has as yet been made to the true representative of the Government of the Chinese nation—the representative of the Chinese People's Government.

99. On 8 November [335th plenary meeting] we heard Mr. Acheson's statement. He attempted to conceal the aggressive plans of United States foreign policy behind phrases about peace and the regulation, limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. While these proposals were made with the alleged intention of streng-

thening the peace, Mr. Acheson did everything in his power to sidetrack this session and to divert its attention from the real reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

100. Speaking of Korea, Mr. Acheson and certain representatives of other countries distorted the facts by stating that the aggression had come from the North Korean side. It is well known, however, that the act of aggression was committed on 25 June 1950 by the South Korean forces against the Korean People's Democratic Republic in accordance with a plan worked out in advance with the American General Staff. This fact is confirmed by a map showing the strategic plan of attack against North Korea, with exact details of the direction of the main blows against the People's Army, which was discovered among the archives of the Syngman Rhee Government in Seoul and published by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. It is corroborated by a large number of documents which show that preparations for aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic were being made by the Syngman Rhee puppet clique under the direction of American generals and government politicians. Armed intervention by American forces in the civil war in Korea continues to this day.

101. These facts show that it is the United States which prepared and launched aggression in Korea. Mr. Acheson and his adherents need this talk of North Korean aggression in order to justify intervention by American forces in Korea. Mr. Acheson also stated that since July the United Nations command in Korea had been conducting negotiations with a view to concluding an armistice, but that so far no success had been achieved.

102. All the world knows that the Kaesong talks on a cease-fire and armistice in Korea have frequently been interrupted owing to the provocative acts of the Americans. A careful analysis of the course of the Kaesong talks leads to the conclusion that the main objective of American ruling circles has been to hoodwink world public opinion by their assumed love of peace.

103. Mr. Acheson passed over in silence the atrocities and cruelties systematically perpetrated on the Korean people by the American interventionists. He was also silent with regard to their flagrant violations of the principles of humanity and international law laid down in The Hague and Geneva international conventions on the rules of war. The extermination of the Korean people is to this day being carried out by the systematic destruction of Korean towns and villages and the use against women and children of the most inhuman methods of destruction, such as incendiary and napalm bombs. In the territories occupied by American forces tens of thousands of completely innocent peaceful citizens are being bestially murdered without trial or investigation.

104. Every honest man and woman in the world protests in anger and indignation against the atrocities perpetrated by the American forces in Korea and demands the immediate termination of the Korean war.

105. In his speech Mr. Acheson actively defended the proposal put forward by the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France entitled "Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments" [A/1943], and declared that it represented a new matter of great urgency and importance.

106. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has carefully studied the proposals, and also the explanations which Mr. Acheson gave in his speech. The proposals do not

provide for any real reduction of armaments, nor do they provide for the prohibition of atomic weapons. The main point in the three-Power proposals for regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments is the introduction of disclosure and verification, to be carried out in successive stages with the object of revealing data concerning armed forces and armaments, including atomic weapons.

107. Thus, genuine reduction of armed forces and armaments are to be replaced by a census of the armaments and armed forces existing in individual States, while the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons is completely ignored.

108. For the moment the three-Power proposals envisage only a study of this "programme", while its implementation is to be postponed until the end of the war in Korea and until the principal political problems dividing the various States have been settled.

109. No mention is made in the three-Power proposals of the task of preventing aggression. Why is there no reference in the proposals to the prohibition of the use of poison gas and of bacteriological weapons in a future war?

110. Why is it now necessary to confine activities to the collection of information relating to the most simple types of armaments? Who will determine the reliability of such information? It is possible at any moment to question data received and to refuse to recognize any given census.

111. Explaining the three-Power proposals, Mr. Acheson stated [335th plenary meeting] that "That system of disclosure and verification must be a system which progresses from stage to stage as each one is completed". The question naturally arises as to who will determine when a given stage has in fact been completed. If, for instance some United States Senate committee is not satisfied with the result of the work performed at one stage or another, it will prove impossible to realize the plan for reducing armaments and armed forces.

112. Mr. Acheson was unable to explain when and by what method the possible reduction of armed forces and armaments could be carried out; on the contrary, he made a reduction of armaments depend on a whole series of reservations and preliminary conditions.

113. Everyone is aware that progressive humanity has for six years already been waging a stubborn struggle for the prohibition of atomic weapons, weapons for the mass annihilation of human beings. The USSR delegation has on a number of occasions brought up the question of the need to prohibit atomic weapons and to establish international control over this prohibition. But the delegation of the United States of America, with the assistance of its voting machine in the United Nations, has systematically disrupted the implementation of this just demand of the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

114. Mr. Acheson is again insisting that the basis of work on the atomic question should be the notorious Baruch-Acheson-Lilienthal Plan, the object of which is to subject all sources of nuclear fuel and all atomic production in every country to United States control.

115. And now, in the allegedly "new" proposals for "stages", the attempt is being made as before to find a substitute for and retard real concrete work on the urgent task of elaborating practical measures for prohibiting and controlling atomic weapons. All measures are directed towards preventing any move for the prohibition of the manufacture of atomic weapons and any effective international control.

116. Under the cover of such noisy talk, work on the expansion and construction of new factories for the production of atomic bombs is continuing, as is the accumulation of atomic weapons.

117. Thus, according to a statement by a correspondent of the newspaper *New York Post*, Allen, dated 9 October 1950, the sum of 8,000 million dollars was allocated in 1950 to meet the programme for the stockpiling of atomic weapons. After accumulating stocks of atomic bombs and producing new types of atomic weapons, the ruling circles of the United States of America intend to use them in the war now being prepared by the Anglo-American bloc against the countries in the camp of peace.

118. At the same time as Mr. Acheson advocates a census and inventory of all armaments, including atomic weapons, with the professed objective of achieving subsequent disarmament on the basis of the three-Power proposals, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Bradley, speaks of the necessity for a considerable further increase in the armaments of the United States of America. Speaking on 9 November of this year at the American Petroleum Institute, Bradley stated that the American Chiefs of Staff had decided that it was essential for the United States to make a considerable increase in its air forces and that the effort in that direction should be undertaken immediately.

119. An important place in this atomic general's speech was occupied by the question of using atomic weapons for aggressive purposes, and he declared that aviation continued to be the best method for the use of atomic power on the field of battle and in the heart of the territory of any large country.

120. Bradley's statement bears witness to the real intentions of the United States ruling circles. Mr. Acheson attempts to hide such aggressive aspirations of the American imperialists behind hypocritical talk about the reduction of armaments.

121. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that the General Assembly should lend its ear to the voice of many millions of people in every country of the world, and should reach a decision, in accordance with the demands and desires of all peoples, for the prohibition of atomic weapons and for the establishment of strict international control over its observance.

122. The representative of Canada, Mr. Pearson, in his speech at the 339th meeting of the General Assembly held on 12 November, stated, in the anti-Soviet tone usual with him, that the speech of the head of the USSR delegation, A. Y. Vyshinsky, was only propaganda and alleged that "the Russian Government has now decided to abandon the effort (for peace) completely and to use the United Nations not for the removal of differences, but merely to vilify, to sneer at and to attack those with whom it disagrees".

123. It would be scarcely necessary to dwell upon Mr. Pearson's speech were it not for the fact that its slanderous inventions were broadcast from the rostrum of the General Assembly. It is well known that the Soviet Union, faithful to its policy of peace, has ceaselessly carried on a struggle for the prevention of war and for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

124. At the five preceding sessions of the General Assembly, at the sessions of the Security Council and of other United Nations bodies, the USSR delegation has repeatedly submitted concrete proposals to ensure peace throughout

the world. Representatives at the General Assembly are acquainted with the USSR proposals for the reduction of the armed forces of the five great Powers by one-third, for the prohibition of atomic weapons, for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great Powers, and other proposals. But these peaceful proposals of the USSR have been systematically rejected by the Anglo-American majority in the United Nations, and today, Mr. Acheson and his friends represent themselves as inveterate peace-mongers. These gentlemen are very eloquent about peace, but at the same time they are carrying on preparations for a new world war, establishing land, sea and air military bases in foreign territory and attempting to intimidate peace-loving nations.

125. They do not wish to reduce armaments. They have a deadly fear of an agreement on this matter since a reduction of armaments might undermine their aggressive plans and render unnecessary the armaments race which is raising the profits of the monopolists by thousands of millions.

126. Some speakers have objected to the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great Powers, alleging that we have a peace pact between sixty nations in the Charter of the United Nations. It is well known, however, that the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world is borne by the five Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, who have the greatest authority, weight and influence in settling all international affairs. Everyone knows that a peace pact between the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom, France and the People's Republic of China would avert the threat of war and would save humanity from the burden of inflated war budgets and the armaments race.

127. Such a pact would be an adequate foundation for a universal agreement and for the peace and security of nations, and any objection to the proposal for the peace pact is clearly worthless. It might play an extremely positive part in preventing a new war and in establishing friendly relations between nations.

128. I cannot refrain from dwelling in my statement on the insulting and slanderous statements made by the representative of Yugoslavia, Mr. Kardelj, against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

129. The representative of Tito's Yugoslavia made a slanderous attempt to distort the facts and to decry the achievements of the Soviet army, which liberated the peoples of Yugoslavia from the Hitlerite occupation. But no slanderous fabrications and no base insinuations can erase from the memory of the Yugoslav people their recollections of the great part played by the Soviet army in their liberation.

130. The Yugoslav people hold sacred the memory of the days of their country's liberation from the yoke of the Hitlerite occupation. Renegades and those who have crossed over to the imperialist camp have always shown the greatest hatred for those whom they deserted.

131. I shall not dwell on the slanderous allegations made by Mr. Kardelj concerning the peace pact which, he alleges, is directed against the interests of small countries. That is an unworthy fabrication, an evil slander of the bankrupt Tito clique.

132. In that connexion I should like to draw attention to the following fact: today's issue of the newspaper *Parisien Libéré* states that Tito and the United States Ambassador at Belgrade, George Allen, have signed an agreement on the conditions of military aid to Yugoslavia

by the United States of America. The agreement provides, in particular, that a commission of advisers, an American commission, will be set up in Belgrade to supervise the use of the war material supplied to Yugoslavia.

133. This fact shows that, in the plans of the North Atlantic bloc, Tito's Yugoslavia is being given the part of an instrument of aggression against the people's democracies and the Soviet Union.

134. To disguise its traitorous, anti-democratic policy and its defection to the aggressor's camp, and to deceive the Yugoslav people, the Tito clique is resorting to slander against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

135. The Titoists' efforts are in vain. No one can deceive the peoples of the world, who are fully aware that the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of peace and friendship between nations, that it has never threatened anyone and does not threaten anyone and that it heads the camp of peace, whereas the United States of America heads the camp of war and aggression to which the Tito clique has now crossed over by becoming a tool of the American imperialists and aggressors.

136. I need not dwell on that point any longer.

137. As is known, the Soviet Union, from the first days of its existence, has unremittingly and consistently pursued a policy of peace, has continually defended and still defends the cause of peace and has pursued a policy of co-operation with all countries desiring such co-operation. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union corresponds fully to the wishes and aspirations of all peace-loving nations.

138. The Second World War, which was prepared and unleashed by Fascist Germany and imperialistic Japan and which claimed so many victims, has taught peace-loving peoples many lessons. Naturally, those peoples do not wish to shed any more blood for the benefit of millionaires and multi-millionaires, and are therefore uniting in the struggle for the maintenance of peace and against fascism and war. Small wonder that the great movement in defence of peace has so rapidly won over the population of the whole world and has united hundreds of millions of people of all countries under the flag of the struggle for world peace.

139. These anti-war movements of peoples were reflected at the most recent session of the World Peace Council at Vienna, which adopted an appeal to the United Nations, urging that the United Nations should adopt concrete proposals for the maintenance of peace and re-establishment of confidence among States.

140. We must heed the voices of hundreds of millions of people who are demanding the maintenance of peace. They insistently demand that the peace pact should be concluded between the five great Powers which bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace throughout the world. We have to admit that these demands are legitimate and that they express the fervent wish of the peoples to maintain world peace.

141. The Byelorussian people, which suffered all the horrors of the Second World War, longs for peace, and all the adult population of Byelorussia therefore signed the appeal of the World Peace Council for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great Powers. The Byelorussian people unanimously approves the peaceful foreign policy of the Government of the USSR, which unremittingly struggles for peace and defends the cause of peace throughout the world.

142. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wholeheartedly supports the proposals of the Soviet Union [A/1944] as expressed by the head of the USSR delegation, Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky, at the 336th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 8 November this year. It is a fact that the recent aggravation of the international situation has caused anxiety and disquiet to peace-loving people throughout the world. Every honest man hopes that the five great Powers responsible for world peace should begin negotiations and reach agreement as soon as possible. The General Assembly should call upon the five great Powers to conclude a peace pact and to combine their efforts in achieving this great aim.

143. The General Assembly should call upon the governments of all States, both Members of the United Nations and States that are not as yet Members, to consider the question of the effective reduction of armed forces and armaments at a world conference. The General Assembly should acknowledge that it is essential for the participants in the military action in Korea to cease such action without delay, to conclude a truce and to withdraw all troops from the 38th parallel within ten days; moreover, all foreign troops and foreign volunteer detachments should be withdrawn from Korea within three months.

144. The sixth session of the General Assembly should declare incompatible with membership in the United Nations any participation in the aggressive Atlantic bloc and the establishment by certain States, especially the United States of America, of military, naval and air bases on foreign territory.

145. These proposals represent a new proof of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, which maintains its triumphant progress. These proposals clearly reflect the sincere aspirations of the peoples that have suffered all the horrors of the Second World War for the maintenance of a lasting and stable peace.

146. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR calls upon representatives to the sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt these proposals. By doing so, we would be fulfilling our duty of achieving and maintaining world-wide peace and security.

147. Mr. VOLIO MATA (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): Although my country is small, it has been our high privilege to cherish constantly through the years the ideal of respect for freedom and the effective observance of human rights. No iron curtain along our frontiers prevents open scrutiny of our truly democratic way of life. That gives us the moral right to support in thought and in deed any thesis that will answer the anxious heartfelt cry of millions of human beings for lasting peace, aiming at respect for one another and mutual tolerance.

148. So long as there are peoples living under conditions of slavery, whatever its form, and peoples that are denied their rights, whatever their nature, no lasting peace can be achieved.

149. For that reason we cannot but regret that obstacles are being placed in the way of the revision of the full peace treaty with Italy and that that great nation, with its long tradition, is unable to enter into all the privileges inherent in membership of the brotherhood of nations. For that reason, too, we regret that the new Germany is unable, by means of an election supervised by an international commission, freely to express its right to unite in order to participate under genuinely democratic conditions in the community of nations.

150. For the same reason it is to be deplored that the delaying action of which we are aware has held up the establishment of peace in Korea, where on 25 June 1950 a peaceful people saw its frontier on the 38th parallel violated by the sovietized forces from the north. An early peace in Korea will not only stem the flow of blood with all its attendant sorrow and ruin, it will also make possible a calm and early analysis of the pressing problems of the Far East.

151. It is a source of deep regret that thousands of human beings are being daily removed from their homes to fill concentration camps and the hateful slave labour camps. Such violation of human rights cannot be compared with the unfortunate fate of two coloured men who paid with their lives for crimes they committed in sunny Florida.

152. The peace of the world depends on the firmness shown by the democratic nations and on mutual understanding of rights and obligations. But above all, it depends on the action and resolution of those who today, enjoying the hospitality of immortal France, are forging the destinies of a better world.

153. The free nations of the West are ready to raise a bulwark of peace against aggression from whatever quarter it may come. For that fundamental reason and in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, the North Atlantic Treaty has come into being, not for aggressive purposes but as a defence against aggression. To establish peace by destroying this treaty, as has been cleverly suggested, can never be a success. The peace-loving nations which, by reasons of their democratic structure, cannot but be vulnerable, must build a force capable of resisting the sudden attacks of covetously aggressive nations, so long as the latter continue on that path.

154. History, it must be remembered, repeats itself. All this does not in any way mean that the countries of the world cannot all enjoy the right to live together with one another in peace; on the contrary, the hope of mankind is rooted in the desire that all should live under the sign of peace.

155. United States Secretary of State Acheson, in interpreting the world's cry, has asked for a reduction and control of armaments. Although he himself considers that that is not enough to guarantee peace, a number of measures have been suggested that may help to achieve that objective.

156. The Costa Rican delegation, inspired by unswerving principles of peace and universal harmony, cannot but support wholeheartedly any practicable measures which would ensure world peace, since it does not itself claim to point the way to any particular course or to offer any solution. It has, furthermore, an unshakable faith in the moral authority of the United Nations. The United States representative's appeal for progressive disarmament and control by means of inspection of atomic energy and weapons merits considered and careful study by the General Assembly and, in particular, by the representatives of the four great Powers. On the other hand, the USSR proposal [A/1944] to declare that the conditions of the North Atlantic Treaty are incompatible with membership of the United Nations would seem to have the deliberate aim of proposing the impossible, so that it will prove unacceptable.

157. The Security Council, despite General Assembly resolution 377 (V), impeded as it constantly is by the use of the veto, does not possess the necessary authority to intervene with the requisite speed or as effectively as it should. The Security Council should have greater powers

of control and of investigation, particularly in those places which have come to be known as the "explosive areas", such as the Balkans, the Middle East, Indo-China, etc.

158. In this connexion, we have before us the case of Yugoslavia, which has submitted to the Assembly complaints of provocation by the Soviet Union and its satellites [A/1946], as well as other similar cases. The verification of such complaints should take place by means of impartial commissions competent to take speedy action and, most important of all, to recommend appropriate sanctions if such complaints prove justified. In the absence of specific and adequate sanctions, action by the United Nations can have little practical effect, especially in the case of those aggressive nations which are not inclined to pay serious attention to verbal warnings.

159. The action of the United Nations should in all events bear the clear stamp of universal co-operation, as in the case of Korea, on the battlefields of which the generous blood of the free peoples of the world has been shed.

160. The General Assembly should have greater powers in order to embrace all those organs of security such as the North Atlantic Treaty, the Organization of American States, the Tripartite Security Pact between Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and the security pacts concluded by the United States with Japan and the Philippines, so that each of these bodies may immediately, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, be able to check any attempted aggression.

161. Worthy of mention as a means of co-operation in the joint effort for the maintenance of peace are the various provisions for granting assistance to under-developed countries and for succouring the needs of the world. Let it suffice to say that over 2,000 million dollars have been allocated among forty-three countries of the world under a technical assistance programme. Only last week, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund published a report on the way in which it is investing its budget. Food and medical assistance have been supplied to more than six and a half million children in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Pakistan and other countries of Asia. More than six million children have been examined, almost half of whom have been vaccinated against tuberculosis. Many others have been treated against malaria, and millions of children in all parts of the world are daily receiving milk and other food. This is an instance of effective work accomplished by the United Nations.

162. The western hemisphere is giving the world an example worthy of emulation. No element of discord exists between the nations comprising it, the relations between them being governed by the principles of the Organization of American States inspired by the statutes of the United Nations Charter. Recently, the Charter of San Salvador was signed which, inspired by the same principles, constitutes an instrument of harmony and spiritual union between the five sister Republics of Central America. There exists between all the countries of the hemisphere a close spirit of co-operation and an ever-present desire to make of the American continent a source of wealth capable of mitigating the suffering of the world and a factory which would work unceasingly in the service of mankind.

163. While hunger and misery exist there can be no genuine peace. Full production strength can be devoted to the service of suffering mankind once the clouds of war have disappeared. In this way, the common effort of all the peoples of the earth would lead to the creation of a better

world. The problem of war, if considered in its true perspective, is not a problem of religion, of language, of economy or of territorial divisions; it is the problem of all mankind. Let us call on the sublime inspiration of the Almighty so that He may illumine the illustrious minds of the great statesmen in whose hands lie the destinies of the world so that, invested with spiritual strength and mutual tolerance, they may lay the foundations of peace, which is the supreme desire of mankind and can create an eternal basis of happiness and well-being.

164. Mr. SUBARDJO (Indonesia) (*translated from French*): May I be permitted on behalf of the Indonesian delegation to join the preceding speakers in expressing from this platform our gratitude for the cordial welcome and hospitality which the French Government and the people of Paris have extended to us.

165. The generation of Indonesians that grew up during the first half of this century has witnessed a series of wars and revolutions which have caused changes in the world political situation since the beginning of the century. This generation has seen empires rise and fall in the struggle for Powers contending for the leadership of the world.

166. The national independence of Indonesia itself was achieved at the end of the Second World War as the climax of the Indonesian people's fight for freedom. That struggle, begun in the first decade of this century, reached its culminating point within less than fifty years, in the proclamation of national independence on 17 August 1945.

167. Like all great historical movements which have been stimulated as much by spiritual as by material forces, the Indonesian movement for freedom was inspired by the humanitarian ideals and the lofty principles which have given the modern world the foundations of an order in which all individuals and all peoples may find space enough and opportunities enough to develop their individual and national faculties.

168. We owe to the French Revolution respect for the dignity of the human person and for the action of people in common based upon equality and fraternity. Furthermore, we owe to the movements for liberty by the colonial peoples of North and South America the principle of the right of nations to self-determination. The idea of social justice, which had already been dimly perceived in oriental society, received a new stimulus from the fact that it was taken as a starting point by the modern labour movement, which found its supreme expression in the 1917 Revolution in Russia, whereas we in our own country are seeking for a solution suited to our own national traits.

169. The Indonesian people in pursuit of its destiny has adopted five guiding principles, known under the name of *Pantja-Sila*, which have been incorporated in our national Constitution and form a philosophy of life for our people in the fulfilment of their national destiny. Faith in the divinity, a national consciousness, human brotherhood, democracy and social justice are the distinguishing characteristics of Indonesia as a nation.

170. Six years after the proclamation of our independence and in the second year of our membership of the United Nations, when we are taking stock of conditions in the world in which we live, we are filled with mixed feelings of hope and fear.

171. We are filled with hope because, thanks to the progress of science and technical knowledge, to the speed of international communications, and to the economic interdependence and collective consciousness of nations, the

world has become an organic whole. This means that the welfare of the world depends in the last resort upon the will of the peoples themselves, and that they are collectively responsible for it.

172. We, the peoples of the United Nations, have met together in this city of Paris for the purposes specified in Article 1 of the Charter :

" 1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end : to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace ;

" 2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace ;

" 3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion ; and

" 4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends. "

173. The United Nations has entered upon its sixth year of activity. For six years this world Organization has been working under the inspiration of the ideals which led the nations to establish it in San Francisco on 24 October 1945 ; for six years, under the efficient administration of the Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, it has been tirelessly engaged in creating a new world order.

174. The constructive work carried out by the United Nations and its specialized agencies is evident in many fields and provides highly encouraging examples of what can be accomplished by human effort in the cause of civilization.

175. The results of technical assistance in the matter of economic development, social well-being and public administration in the various countries, and also the excellent work accomplished in the field of health and humanitarian activity, are indisputable facts which must convince the peoples of the usefulness, and indeed the necessity of the continued existence of the United Nations.

176. For these reasons Indonesia has continued to co-operate, with all its strength and with all the means at its disposal, in achieving the objects which the United Nations has set itself to attain ; these objects are also fully in harmony with the philosophy of the Indonesian people embodied in the *Pantja-Sila*.

177. We are thus filled with hope, which we know to be well-founded, for the success of the Organization's constructive work.

178. The latest developments in international politics, however, cause us genuine concern. All who have closely studied world events since the opening of the century can once again see signs that humanity is on the threshold of a new world disaster.

179. The great war of 1914-1918 was preceded by national antagonisms, that is antagonism between the Allies and the central Powers. That conflict led to the creation of the

League of Nations, which was designed to prevent further wars, but the effort then made failed.

180. The Second World War, from 1939 to 1945, from which the nations have not yet recovered and from which they are still suffering disastrous consequences, was due to the failure to reach agreement between two groups of Powers, on one side the Fascist States of the Axis, anxious to achieve world domination, and on the other side, the democratic Powers. And now we are in presence of two gigantic groups of Powers : the democratic bloc and the communist bloc.

181. The tragic feature of all these efforts to create a new international order in which war would be finally outlawed, is that humanity is once again returning to its starting point.

182. There is no nation represented in this Assembly which does not proclaim its sincere determination to co-operate in establishing world peace and in setting in motion the machinery of the United Nations for the purpose of maintaining peace and security. But neither is there a single nation which would by itself be capable of easing the dangerous tension arising from the formation of opposing blocs. All must co-operate in the creation of an atmosphere of conciliation, mutual confidence and good faith within our Organization before these tensions can disappear.

183. We have now reached a new stage of irreconcilable opposition between those two gigantic groups of Powers which wish for peace but are preparing for war. As in the period between the two wars, the world is witnessing an armaments race between the great Powers, a sinister portent of approaching catastrophe. Once again there is a mutual lack of confidence in the intentions of the two parties. Each suspects the other of seeking its destruction.

184. Tests with atomic bombs of enormous and hitherto unknown destructive power have been carried out on both sides. Bombers with a range of thousands of miles, capable of dropping atomic bombs more destructive than that of Hiroshima, jet-propelled aircraft travelling at speeds greater than that of sound to sow death and destruction in enemy territories, guided missiles and a large number of other destructive and deadly weapons, have all been created for the purposes of annihilation.

185. As a young nation we have no power to stop the cold war which is now being waged. Whether we like it or not, we find ourselves in an atmosphere of continual tension and anxiety which is not conducive to the achievement of total peace. This is all the more regrettable in that countless millions of men on both sides ardently desire peace and the happiness that comes from leading, like normal human beings, a tranquil life in a peaceful world. On both sides there are wise men who realize that this situation neither can nor should continue indefinitely. On both sides there are men conscious of the fact that the armaments race is causing impoverishment for which we shall be held responsible by future generations.

186. When we consider that millions are being spent in the armaments race on the manufacture of weapons which, in the event of war, would cause death and destruction, we are overwhelmed with a sense of frustration and disappointment that, in our present stage of world development, the human race is unable to call a halt to this trend and use these resources for constructive ends.

187. Large sums are required for the development of the so-called backward countries, in Asia, Africa and other

parts of the globe, in order to enable them to participate in world economic intercourse for the promotion of the common prosperity.

188. My country has only recently emerged from a difficult period of eight years of war. It entered the community of nations with its territory devastated and is compelled to undertake its rehabilitation, as well as its economic, social and cultural reconstruction, with the inadequate means at its disposal. It has great economic potentialities but lacks the means to exploit its resources.

189. That does not imply that Indonesia has hitherto been without United Nations assistance. In its work for peace, the United Nations, in addition to its social, cultural and humanitarian activities, is carrying out a technical assistance programme in which Indonesia is included.

190. This programme will yield extremely important results if executed wisely. I particularly emphasize the term "wisely", as that is a most important consideration in determining the success of such technical assistance projects.

191. I shall not at present concern myself with the question of the establishment of a sound financial basis for the satisfactory implementation of the technical assistance programme. Above all, it is essential that those extending aid under the technical assistance programme should show tact and sympathy in dealing with recipient countries and that they should really understand the problems of those countries. In this respect, both parties still have to gain much experience. Nevertheless, we regard technical assistance as one of the most promising activities of the United Nations.

192. Recalling its own colonial origins and its successful struggle for national independence, Indonesia cannot but regard other peoples striving to establish their own national existence with sympathy and understanding. My Government therefore whole-heartedly welcomes every initiative by the United Nations designed to promote national independence in accordance with the provisions of the Charter relating to dependent peoples.

193. If it is true that the General Assembly of the United Nations is the "conscience of the world"—since all its Members have the right and the opportunity freely to express their views on all subjects of world importance—then it is desirable that, at the present sixth session of the General Assembly, we should devote our full attention to the problems that threaten to disturb friendly relations among States. There should be opportunities within this Assembly to call attention to all grievances and wrongs sustained. Frank and impartial discussion of these grievances will ensure that just conclusions providing the basis for just decisions are arrived at. Truth must emerge from the clash of opinions.

194. Many problems, indeed, require our attention. There is the Korean question which has been dragging on for over a year. In Iran, the situation is such as to constitute a threat to international order and security. The problem of the Suez Canal contains elements which may assume grave proportions, and the Moroccan question, if neglected, may become a major international problem. In the Near East and in North Africa, forces are at work which, if wisely guided, may well contribute to world progress.

195. Similarly, the situation in Asia and the Far East is far from having been stabilized. In the political, economic and social spheres, changes are still in progress, the outcome of which it is as yet impossible to foresee. These changes

may give rise to a situation which may endanger international peace and security. They may end in political "explosions" if they are not observed in time and if the necessary action is not taken at the appropriate moment. This is not only a source of anxiety for the interested governments; it is also a matter of concern to the United Nations in the event of the governments in question failing to find a solution.

196. The peoples of South and South-East Asia which emerged from the Second World War as new States and which freed themselves from their former colonial bonds, find themselves with a legacy of problems from the former colonial system. Having inherited nothing but economic and social confusion and administrative machinery in a state of decay, these peoples, who have no technical experts, are faced with the task of building a governmental structure adapted to the demands of present-day international trade, while preserving their own national individuality.

197. A lengthy period of peace is necessary to build up such a structure. The peoples of this part of the world have no other desire than to live in peace, so that they may proceed undisturbed with their work of establishing their national existence.

198. In accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter, the States of South-East Asia have sought to promote their regional interests by developing a spirit of solidarity, mutual understanding and sympathy in safeguarding their joint political, economic, social and cultural interests.

199. Personal meetings and regional conferences have been arranged and treaties of friendship concluded for the promotion of this spirit of friendship, goodwill and understanding. As instances of this, let me cite the conference held at Baguio in May 1950 on the initiative of the Government of the Philippines, in which all the States of South and South-East Asia, including Australia, took part; the discussions which took place recently between the Foreign Ministers of Burma and Indonesia; the meetings between the Prime Ministers of Burma and India; the friendly visits paid by representatives of Burma to Indonesia and of Indonesia to Thailand; the courtesy visits of the Foreign Ministers of New Zealand and of Australia to Indonesia and to the other neighbouring countries, as well as by the Indonesian Foreign Minister to Australia, Thailand, Burma and Pakistan; the official visits of the President of the Indonesian Republic to India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines; and, lastly, the treaties concluded between Indonesia and India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines respectively.

200. If this peace policy, deliberately pursued by the small States of South-East Asia, is proving so helpful to the spirit of co-operation in the cause of common progress, there are surely good grounds for thinking that the great Powers could follow the example of the small States and thus ensure world peace and the pacific co-existence of all peoples of the world, irrespective of race, religion or political ideology.

201. The personal contact established between responsible statesmen and prominent personalities during these exchanges of visits might well remove the tensions arising from the cold war that so gravely oppress the human race. Such contact might prepare the way for free and sincere discussions on the concrete proposals for general disarmament.

202. It is not for a young State like Indonesia, which has only recently become a Member of the United Nations, to

remind more experienced States of the promise they implicitly made, six years ago, when they signed the United Nations Charter at San Francisco, to act in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Charter in the interests of world peace. Nor is it any part of its duty to draw their attention to the inexorable law of history, to the law of rise and fall and to the glory and ruin of States covetous of power, of which we, the children of this century, have personally witnessed instances in the space of less than fifty years.

203. And yet that is what we Indonesians seek to do. From the rostrum of this Assembly, and with all the conviction and idealism at our command, we appeal to the reason, the sense of justice and the conscience of mankind that it should do its utmost to gain supremacy over the forces which are driving the world to its destruction.

204. Indonesia is whole-heartedly prepared to co-operate with the Organization in creating an atmosphere of conciliation and tolerance, for Indonesia, the country and the people, by its very nature and geographical situation between two oceans, as well as by its historical development as an area through which peoples and civilizations have passed, has reconciled divergent interests and trends which have found definitive expression in our doctrine of life, the *Pantja-Sila*.

205. Indonesia therefore appeals to the great Powers to make every endeavour to find a *modus vivendi* which will solve the disarmament problem. It asks the Powers concerned to hasten the process of emancipation of the dependent peoples and to abolish the remnants of the colonial system which, wherever it may be found, is at variance with the spirit of the Charter. It calls on all peoples to co-operate in achieving the objectives of the United Nations on the basis of mutual friendship and co-operation, and reciprocal confidence and respect.

206. Ato Abebe RETTA (Ethiopia): My delegation, before addressing this august Assembly, wishes to join with previous speakers in expressing sincere appreciation of the hospitality afforded to the United Nations and, therefore, to the Ethiopian delegation by the Government and people of France.

207. The United Nations, which has just opened the sixth year of its existence at this session, has been devoting its efforts to the furtherance of peace. During this period of five years the United Nations has passed from one crisis to another and many crucial problems remain still to be solved. That may be because the most vital and perplexing problems have been submitted to the United Nations for settlement.

208. The passage of time in itself, or the length of time during which the United Nations has successfully weathered many crises, are not in themselves the cause of satisfaction when the critical issues of the present hour are faced. Rather, the prolongation of a period of crisis is the cause of anxiety. For patience, be it that of individuals or nations, unless mitigated, has always an inevitable point of rupture. It is certainly the profound desire of all representatives, by all means within their power, to prevent the straining of those pressures and tensions which might produce that point of rupture.

209. Notwithstanding the darkened atmosphere of our meeting, we feel that the United Nations, convening in the sixth session of the General Assembly, disposes now of forces which will render its contribution towards the maintenance of world peace more efficacious than in the preceding years.

210. The United Nations has achieved progress in the field of collective security. That is, the United Nations has embarked upon an unprecedented decision to apply military measures for the defence of the Charter. As a representative of a State which is counted among the smaller States, which is making a loyal contribution to the defence of the Charter in Korea by giving a practical example of collective defence at the call of the United Nations, I think it is a matter of encouragement to us all to see this achievement of that collective stand which up to now has been considered an ideal.

211. His Imperial Majesty, our Emperor, when reviewing troops going to Korea, said on 12 April last: "It is but natural that the small nations, who must defend their independence with vigilance, should consider the principle of collective security as the cornerstone of their existence. No small State, no democratic nation, no people inspired with charity for others, could do otherwise." This expression from the Emperor was an expression of a personal experience.

212. I wish to associate the hope of my delegation with that of others, that the main aim of the decisions of the United Nations to defend the victims in Korea will achieve its basic and ultimate objective, which must be to alleviate the misery of that unfortunate nation whether it is classified as south or north of the 38th parallel. That objective, we hope, will in turn lead to peaceful co-operation among the Koreans themselves.

213. A second element of encouragement in this work of the United Nations is the growth of the role of increasing importance of the small States Members of this Organization. In his annual report [*A/1844/Add. 1*]^a the Secretary-General, with great perception and reason, has drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the emergence during the last six years upon the international and political scene of nearly one-quarter of the people of the world, and to the increasing consideration which must henceforth be given to the political and economic problems, particularly of the Middle East.

214. Small States also have strategic locations and strategic resources. It is to be hoped that their potentials may be properly evaluated in the cause of world peace. In this respect I wish to cite, by way of illustration, the situation of the country which I have the honour to represent here. Notwithstanding the devastation of war and the initial disadvantages, Ethiopia has made, under the wise guidance of the Emperor of Ethiopia, outstanding progress in several fields.

215. Today, according to a report published recently by the Food and Agriculture Organization, Ethiopia is by far the most important source of cereals and foodstuffs in the Middle East. Ethiopia's problem is not, therefore, one of margin of subsistence, but that of pushing ahead the frontiers of the economic and social well-being of the people. Here a vast programme of public instruction is an essential prerequisite. To this we have consecrated the bulk of our national revenue. However, it should be apparent that, as elsewhere, there can be no turning back on the road of progress and that—with people everywhere growing in consciousness—unless the programme of economic and social assistance being pursued both within and without the United Nations can be achieved, political as well as social and economic grievances, leading to expressions of

^a See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1 A*.

discontent, will inevitably follow. In no other region of the world is this more true than in the case of Africa and Middle Eastern countries. Their strategic and economic potentials cannot be ignored. Self-sufficiency is not the prerogative of a State, and least of all of the smaller States. The burden of rearmament, therefore, becomes transcendent in the sense that it curtails the amount of co-operation and assistance based on mutual goodwill. For this reason it becomes particularly important to resolve the world crisis, with its accompanying armaments race, in order to devote all efforts to raising economic and social standards—not alone in the Middle East but also in other parts of Africa, Asia, America and even Europe.

216. The kind of progress in social and economic development which I have tried to describe above may appear rather small by other standards. Yet such progress required the marshalling of all the energy that such an African State could muster. With all the goodwill in the world, it is inconceivable that the great industrialized nations which have a programme of rearmament to follow, at the expense of the risk of lowering the standard of living of their own peoples, should be expected, on however advantageous terms, to render, effectively, their co-operation in the cultural, economic and social development of the less-developed countries.

217. The purpose of mentioning Ethiopia's efforts is merely to indicate the conditions which Ethiopia has in common with African and Middle and Far Eastern countries, and the necessity for peaceful conditions for the fruition of their vast social and economic programmes.

218. It might be noted that the small States have been making an increased contribution to the activities of the Organization. This is true in regard to the adoption of policies and decisions by the United Nations and, in particular, by the General Assembly. Small States are sometimes farther removed, politically and geographically, from the scenes of problems and, therefore, may be expected to bring to the examination and solution of such problems an element of disinterestedness and objectivity which might otherwise be lacking. It is also true that objectivity does sometimes imply the absence of an acute sense of practical reality, and that this defect may not have been without its influence in some decisions of the General Assembly. However, the combined actions and attitudes of the great and small States Members of the Organization should prove increasingly conducive to the just and balanced solution of all problems. Never were the great States of the world more powerful and more capable of exerting universally their forces for good or evil. Through the United Nations the same should be true of the small States, which enjoy numerical superiority, in the just solution of the problems of the world that affect everyone.

219. There is, finally, yet another cause for encouragement at this time when we are embarking upon our labours in an atmosphere troubled by war crises. All of us have been deeply impressed by the tone of sincerity of the representatives of the great Powers here calling for measures of

immediate disarmament. A rise in armaments and in armament expenditures is perhaps, in a way, a symptom and not a cause. As has been said, it is a barometer of international pressures. It seems obvious that until these pressures have been removed, disarmament will not become a reality. Yet it is for this very reason that the almost unanimous appeal for disarmament assumes a force, intensity and sincerity which no one can deny. It is the outward expression of an inflexible resolve, whatever be the obstacles, to cut to the core of the problems that have been threatening the nations of the world, in order to remove those causes which tend to stretch yet further the already over-taut strands of patience.

220. The major Powers have the initiation of a solution of all these problems within their terms of reference under the Charter. Though not yet universally represented, the peoples of the world have met together in this Assembly through their representatives. Thus, perhaps, they could have chosen no more eloquent way in which to give expression to their sincerity and determination to bring to an end this long period of tension which threatens to nullify all their efforts to achieve peaceful progress.

221. Such a consideration, we believe, will lead to the end of the armaments race and enable attention to be directed to economic and social programmes which the United Nations is best fitted to undertake, namely those programmes which are set out in the terms of Article 55 of the Charter :

" With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote :

(a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development ;

(b) Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems ; and international cultural and educational co-operation... "

222. My delegation will be happy to lend its support to the agenda of this sixth session of the Assembly, always bearing in mind the positive aspects of the Charter which I have tried to indicate above.

223. In summing up, I beg to express the hope that, since it is the manifest desire of all to see conditions of peace established—and unity has been achieved by collective defence—the terms of the Charter to which I have referred should be applied as conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

224. With resolve and goodwill by all representing both great and small States, it is reasonable to hope that this sixth session of the General Assembly will achieve its high mission by putting an end to the causes of anxiety and by bringing about a new era of peace and understanding among men everywhere.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.