



C O N T E N T S

Opening of the general debate.....	Page 9
Speeches by Mr. de Pimentel Brandao (Brazil), Mr. Stikker (Netherlands) and Mr. Acheson (United States of America).	

President : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

Opening of the general debate
[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. DE PIMENTEL BRANDAO (BRAZIL), MR.
STIKKER (NETHERLANDS) AND MR. ACHESON (UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA).

1. Mr. DE PIMENTEL BRANDAO (Brazil) (*translated from French*): From this platform, which I have the honour to be the first to mount today, I salute Paris in all its splendour. *Fluctuat nec mergitur*. Our faith and our confidence in peace, freedom and right shall likewise never founder.

2. Like the poet of old, in admiration and gratitude I cry : " Oh holy light, golden eye of day ! " And in the glow of the hallowed radiance that greeted the birth of Lutetia two thousand years ago, let me render to France, welcoming us with all her matchless, stately charm, a tribute of solemn and heart-felt homage. In the name of all those peoples whose language echoes, even from afar, the tongue of Latium, I renew the oath of eternal fealty to Christianity, to the rule of law, and to the culture of the Mediterranean Sea.

3. The tradition of the philosophy of law, and of the basic principles which issue from that great original fount was proclaimed and adopted by the peoples and was embodied by them in the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. It is there that we shall find a constant source of inspiration for our labours in the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, labours bearing on matters of the highest import to international peace and security.

4. The diversity of the topics which the General Assembly must study during its sixth session brings out in clear relief the importance of the work of this session. No matter what the subject of debate, whether it be the vital problem of the maintenance of world peace and security, or the details of economic and technical co-operation between Member States, the Assembly once again emerges as the quintessential body of the United Nations. Containing within itself the most varied trends of thought, analysing and discussing the whole gamut of the problems of international society, it assumes the character of a universal forum in which all the Members of the Organization are represented with equal rights.

5. The existence of the Security Council; the body specifically charged with the handling of issues relating to the ultimate purposes of the United Nations, does not in any way detract from the supreme authority of the Assembly. It is the Assembly that by reason of its structure is responsible for the effective working of the Organization and the realization of its aims. And the many obstacles which the Council has encountered in the attempt to achieve its high objectives fully justify the adoption by the Assembly at its last session of resolution 377 (V) which seeks to ensure that the great Powers shall work together in a spirit of mutual understanding and thus to make good any deficiency that might result from failure on the Council's part.

6. In this connexion, may I recall that the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in Washington at the beginning of this year, showed its complete agreement with the spirit of that resolution, entitled " Uniting for Peace ", by recommending to all members of the Organization of American States that they should adapt their resources and their defence systems to the present-day requirements of international security without, however, prejudicing the legitimate needs of their own defence.

7. We have herein a concrete example of effective participation by a regional body in the endeavours of the United Nations to round off its task of international peace. There is no need for me to dwell on the importance of the activity of such bodies within the system instituted by the Charter. Regional organizations have a steadily increasing value as agents for the propagation of the United Nations and the development and application of its principles. The benefits that accrue therefrom are undeniable once it is conceded that neither by their existence nor by their activities shall they ever detract from the universality upon which the hope of final victory for the United Nations rests.

8. If it is successfully to cope with the present crisis in international relations, our Organization must strive with a vigour renewed each day to expand its sphere of action and to increase its territorial domain by admitting all those nations which desire loyally to collaborate in its noble task. It is regrettable that we still cannot hear within these walls the voice of certain nations, particularly of certain great Latin peoples, whose assistance could be valuable indeed, not only for the United Nations but also for the large numbers of mankind dwelling within their frontiers.

9. Brazil recently convened the first Congress of the Latin Union. This is a movement for the progressive reinforcement of the peaceful and constructive work of the United Nations by inter-linking twenty-six European and American nations of Latin origin. The movement, the first Congress of which was held at Rio de Janeiro, reached conclusions that represent a reaffirmation of the principles on which western civilization is based.

10. In view of its competence and of its composition, universality is the vital condition for the success of the United Nations. We shall gain but little profit from the continual proliferation of specialized agencies and *ad hoc* committees, unless our labours are directed by a spirit of loyal, of unreserved co-operation on the part of all peoples of the world. As Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, has so truly stated, neither walls nor curtains will prevent the peoples from belonging to the United Nations, nor the United Nations from belonging to the peoples.

11. It is now almost a truism to say that the colossal difficulties with which certain communities are at grips are political and not technical in character. For the Brazilian delegation it is a sad thought that the human intellect, which has applied itself so successfully to the unravelling of the most arduous mysteries of science, is often baffled and frustrated in achieving practical results, through the lack of understanding of certain governments actuated by ideological fanaticism or a mistaken attitude of firmness. The growing interdependence, indeed the virtual coincidence, of the internal and external policies of States has had the truly paradoxical result of threatening the cause of world peace. An age which claims to be enlightened is faced with the grim reality of multitudes enslaved in a sombre moral and spiritual thralldom, a fertile soil for the propagation of doctrines both anti-democratic and contrary to the interests of peace.

12. The problems arising out of the nationalistic claims of certain groups are delicate and difficult to solve. While Brazil, in accordance with its political traditions, feels deep sympathy with the legitimate national aspirations of the peoples, it has none the less always been in the vanguard of those who advocate peaceful and conciliatory solutions for all the conflicts of international life. President Vargas, in his message to the Brazilian Congress this year, stated that all colonialism must be regarded as an undesirable survival in international life today. At the present juncture it is of pressing importance that peoples aspiring to total freedom should endeavour to act with the prudence and calmness demanded by the need for safeguarding the security structure that has been so slowly and painfully built up and that affords the best guarantee of the realization of their desires.

13. It is therefore vital to seek compensatory agreements through friendly negotiation. To bring a dispute before the United Nations without having first exhausted all other means of peaceful solution is to run counter to the spirit of the Charter and to do it considerable harm. At a moment when the problems which weigh upon the world are submitted to the United Nations no reaffirmation can be too strong of the vital need for mutual confidence and for faith in our Organization and in its aims and objects.

14. It is imperative that the resolutions and recommendations, both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, should be respected by all States Members and that the decisions of the International Court of Justice should be upheld by all governments. Brazil feels herself particularly well qualified to support such projects in that

the spirit of conciliation and peace so often attested by her historical development and by her conduct within the community of nations, is part and parcel of her legal tradition and of the character of her people. For the true democratic spirit is founded upon a just reconciliation of group and individual interests.

15. In advocating, under the authority of the Charter, peaceful solutions for the problems which threaten the world, the Brazilian delegation has no intention of restricting the freedom, detracting from the rights, or ignoring the aspirations of certain peoples to the advantage of others, whether large or small. It seeks only to establish an equitable balance of interests by giving a measure of satisfaction to either party and by guaranteeing to all the minimum conditions of life which will permit them to enjoy the rights they have thus acquired.

16. Looking back on the work undertaken by the United Nations since its creation I feel we can say that it has already many positive achievements to its credit. As an example of those achievements, it is with great satisfaction that the Brazilian delegation, at the opening of the General Assembly's sixth session, can point to the felicitous intervention of the United Nations in Greece and Korea.

17. Those who cast doubt upon the Organization's activity up to the present time tend to an over-simplification of the issues and an unduly superficial analysis of the principles on which the United Nations is based. It is truly encouraging to review all that has been planned and achieved during these six years of work. We have established standards and techniques for the economic and social advancement of man as a pre-eminently political being. We have reaffirmed the fundamental rights of man enunciated in the draft convention which we shall discuss and which is one of the most ambitious attempts at legal and social creative action ever undertaken by an international organization. The United Nations is an institution created by man for man, and this fundamental feature expresses at once its whole weakness and its whole strength. Its vicissitudes, its setbacks and its hesitations are the vicissitudes, setbacks and hesitations of modern man, at a loss before a multitude of problems, war-weary and yet ever filled with the hope of peace notwithstanding the darker aspects of contemporary existence. The fidelity with which the United Nations has reflected and interpreted the situation in which man thus finds himself today is above all eloquent proof that it is a vital instrument of politico-social progress and development.

18. The experience of joint action in Korea, on bases which would have been thought highly improbable and even impossible a few years ago, has demonstrated the degree to which the peoples of the world are imbued today with the ideals of the Charter. Realization of the fact that peace is indivisible and that aggression against any State is not only a violation of world peace but an act directed against the community of free nations, has led to the establishment of certain standards of international conduct and the crystallization of certain principles which will complete the collective security system of the Charter in so far as they reflect the political and social systems of the contemporary world. It is for this reason that the Brazilian delegation is particularly interested in the careful analysis which we shall make of the report by the Collective Measures Committee [A/1891].¹ The preliminary work carried out by fourteen delegations, meeting throughout seven months at United Nations Headquarters, provides us with a basis for discussion on the

¹ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 13.

strengthening of the principles of collective security. As Brazil has already stated in that Committee, the establishment of a system of collective security is not the final goal of the United Nations. On the contrary, we regard it as a contingency arising out of the continuing precariousness of peaceful international relations, and as an admission that new acts of aggression are still possible.

19. The results thus far achieved are a step on the road to peace; but they do not signify that we have achieved the final objectives we have set before ourselves. We are striving to render collective security as universal as possible. But how much further on our way should we be if a glimpse were vouchsafed to us now of an age in which we could regard a genuinely universal system of collective security as something completely incompatible with a stage of political development in which the principles we are formulating today will be seen to be the inadequate and obsolete conceptions of men still obsessed by the fear of aggression and war.

20. We live in an age of profound political and social change; our task is not to oppose or to retard it. Our Organization, in the form in which we have planned it, has received from all nations the task of imparting substance and form and shape to these new aspirations, of creating a link between the achievements of the past and the promises of the future, between thought and action, between the ideas which inspire us and the aims which in the spirit of the Charter we have set before ourselves, and with the realization of the responsibilities incumbent upon us at a specially critical stage in the history of mankind.

21. I endorse the hope expressed by one of the outstanding leaders of Brazilian thought, who is a member of our delegation, that the storms of the soul may take hold of this Assembly.

22. Mr. STIKKER (Netherlands) (*translated from French*): A surprising current tendency is to crystallize the most complex problems in the simplest terms, in slogans. That is practical; it saves time, a commodity of which there is a world-wide shortage. Among the slogans familiar to this Assembly there is one of more recent coinage: "peaceful coexistence". It is an extremely important formula, because "peaceful" and "coexistence" are words which we all have greatly at heart. In my country they are taken to mean the hope of a real comity of the peoples for which hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are longing, a comity which can endure only if it is based upon mutual tolerance and respect. Five or six years ago we believed that this could be achieved soon. Millions, who had drawn the strength necessary to wage the struggle from this ideal of tolerance and respect for the dignity of the human person, fell in the last war. That same ideal is still our inspiration.

23. That is why we must look closely into the very substance of this appeal which today comes to us from Moscow. I am prepared to do so with the utmost attention, for I cannot and will not assume that such words as "peaceful coexistence" can be lightly spoken. To trifle with ideas which incarnate the deepest aspirations of mankind would be worse than a lie, little better than a crime. We shall have ample opportunity to undertake the examination I contemplate during the session which has just opened.

24. The United Nations does not exist merely to maintain peace, but above all, as the Secretary-General has so aptly remarked, to create it. Despite all our differences of opinion at this time, we have an Organization able to gather the

representatives of sixty countries around a table. We owe this to the wisdom of those who, although at the cost of certain compromises, established the almost total representation of the world by laying down the basic principles of the Charter. Let us endeavour, so far as we can, to draw from that wisdom the lessons inherent in it.

25. I myself am ready to join those who are trying to achieve a real "peaceful coexistence". I am also prepared to take part in any discussion likely to lead us towards that end. But in any discussion there must at least be general agreement as to the meaning of the words used, for words, like currencies, are subject to devaluation. Is coexistence intended as an aim, a *modus vivendi* or a fleeting tactic? The word is not new. Twenty-five years ago a statesman said that the coexistence of two opposing systems was conceivable. But he had stated previously: "War is inevitable; but it can be postponed until the proletarian revolution is ripe in Europe". That kind of coexistence is that of the jungle, in which wild beasts share their hunting grounds out of mutual respect for tooth and claw.

26. Let the past not become an impediment to present action, however! The idea of peaceful coexistence has evolved. It has been embodied in the United Nations since 1945 and any of us who speaks from this rostrum about peaceful coexistence is referring to the kind of coexistence envisaged in the Charter. That is the only ground upon which I can stand and on that ground any kind of discussion can take place. I am eager to play my part and I shall try to be clear. Clarity and a sense of reality, particularly the latter, are the salt which should season our discussions.

27. Coexistence, as implied in the Charter, is our aim. But what is coexistence today? It means a situation in which my country is compelled to set aside one-third of its budget for armaments. Why? Because there is, between the Elbe and Heartbreak Ridge in Korea, a powerful bloc, with which we would of course be ready to talk about coexistence, but which, dominated as it is by a totalitarian conception, maintains a very large army and has built up an immense arsenal. As against the totalitarian idea we confidently maintain the concept of democratic freedoms. But arms and armies represent force to which we can oppose only force. The United Nations Charter recognizes this necessity. It states that we are "determined... to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours" and adds that we are determined "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security".

28. The North Atlantic Treaty is just such a union of strength on a regional basis, finding its justification solely in the fact that it is based upon the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter; it is the inevitable result of the meaning today attributed to "coexistence". It is an instrument of the Charter; that means that it will never be an instrument for aggression. Until the basic principle of the Charter, collective security, has become reality through the efforts of all, the North Atlantic Treaty, as a regional organization, is, for lack of something better, the means of carrying out what was intended at San Francisco. But "for lack of something better" can never be our last word on the subject. We shall not fail to embrace a more satisfactory idea of "coexistence" as soon as circumstances permit. I have not given up the hope that we may one day be able to reach a better mutual understanding with regard to this concept.

29. Does that mean that the United Nations has no meaning at this time as a universal organization? I do not believe that. Besides its many worthy activities in the social, economic and cultural fields, there are enough things

to prove that the United Nations is effectively helping to foster coexistence, the road leading to a genuine spirit of good neighbourliness. Coexistence is maintained because the United Nations does not hesitate to cope with disputes likely to degenerate into war. It deals with them—indeed, it must deal with them—by the slow and cumbrous means at its disposal and sometimes the result is impatience and weariness. But a disadvantage may turn into an advantage. It deals with such disputes curbing its hasty passions, ponderously slowed down by procedural wrangles, legalistic caution, decisions taken only after lengthy discussion, and the endless production of documents. It deals with them, finally and most importantly, with the authority which is none the less accorded to it, an authority which no other body but the United Nations possesses, as it is the sole political organization embracing the whole world.

30. This is precisely where we are on the road that should lead us to make a reality of our ideals of peace and security. Our confidence in the moral force of the Charter gives us the necessary courage to continue on our way. When the final goal, tolerance among men and among the peoples, is attained mutual respect and the dignity of the human person will prevail. This tolerance, this respect we must achieve and defend.

31. We should therefore feel that we were failing in our duty as a Member of the United Nations and as the heir, with others, of a great Christian and European tradition, if we did not make a further appeal from this Assembly to the rulers of States which, though Members of our Organization, must in our opinion be regarded as totalitarian. We do not say they have not the right to hold political views different from our own, but we shall never be able to live without fear so long as there are totalitarian systems. We earnestly appeal to them to give the principle of human dignity the place it merits. Such a policy pursued in a truly liberal spirit in their own country would at once considerably decrease the differences, if not entirely do away with them, and make real coexistence possible.

32. For our own part it is our firm, our unshakable resolve to defend human dignity and tolerance. Far from being mutually exclusive, tolerance and a firm resolve to defend it are essential complements to one another.

33. The road is long and many difficulties have yet to be encountered. It is true that the legacy of the last war is disappearing; Italy and Japan are about to take their place once more among the free and peace-loving nations. It is with regret therefore that my Government observes Italy, in spite of the views expressed by the large majority of Members of this Organization, still being obliged to wait for admission to the United Nations. Then there is the important problem of the future of Germany. A satisfactory settlement of the German problem would provide a cornerstone for the coexistence of the great Powers, and thus more than anything else provide the basis for lasting peace for us all. The General Assembly of the United Nations can only play a limited part in achieving such a settlement. Problems of such a far-reaching character must in the first instance be resolved by the great Powers among themselves.

34. I nevertheless venture to hope that this Assembly may help to ease the general tension. The present session will be judged by its concrete achievements. Our function is above all to help, so far as possible, to promote a settlement of various political questions, and to forward by every means in our power the constructive work already undertaken by the United Nations. The agenda includes a number of political questions the mere statement of which describes,

as it were, the symptoms of the ailments of the present world. What can we do to cure them?

35. It seems to me a good sign that we meet at a moment when reports of the possibility of peace are reaching us from Korea. The world hopes that during the present session of the Assembly we shall be able to announce that the first military action of the United Nations, taken in the name of collective security, has been brought to a conclusion and that the conclusion is the fruit of co-operation between all the parties. It is with mixed feelings that we survey what the United Nations has so far achieved in Korea. The condition of the Korean people fills us with sorrow. But we must also remember with admiring gratitude the courage and the sacrifices of the United Nations forces. We still view the failure to achieve a unified Korea with concern. Unification of Korea in accordance with the agreements between the great Powers concluded during the Second World War has been for a number of years, and still is, the avowed purpose of this Assembly. Uppermost in our minds, however, is the thought that we have no cause to regret that last year the United Nations took up the challenge to world peace and international law thrown down by aggression, and made a stand to defend them in the conviction of the justice of its cause. The opening of negotiations in Korea a few months ago at the same time inspired us with fresh hope, particularly since they were facilitated by a favourable reply by a Soviet Union spokesman to the repeated appeals made by the United Nations.

36. The expression "peaceful coexistence", to which I referred at the beginning of my statement, applies not only to the world in general, but in no less a degree to crises of a regional character.

37. Such, for example, are the difficulties still remaining unresolved between the Arab States and the State of Israel. The United Nations has, on a number of occasions, given them attention, and it has an undoubted responsibility at the present juncture. We have still not received the report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, which has made such vigorous efforts to obtain a settlement. My Government hopes that the Commission will be able to indicate practical ways and means of easing the situation, so that the development of the Near East may make fresh progress.

38. My Government observes, further, that the United Nations is faced with a series of problems ranging geographically from Teheran in the east to the Atlantic coast of Africa. Tracing the line on the map we find a number of names that occur on our agenda or on that of the Security Council, which indicates the tension existing in those areas.

39. What does coexistence mean there? I shall confine myself to a very general answer. We believe in the first place that it means that each nation must, within the framework of the United Nations, learn and accept the fact that supranational interests have a validity of their own and that different principles must be applied to them from those which individual nations would like to apply. The satisfaction of all national aspirations cannot result in peace; peace and international security can only result from mutual concessions in which national, regional and world interests have to be given equal weight. Coexistence here also means consideration being given to the aspirations of peoples.

40. I now come to technical assistance, one of the most successful spheres of United Nations activity in recent years. Such co-operation between countries at different stages of development opens the door to mutual understanding and creates a world-wide network of relationships. Within the limits of its resources, my country has contributed to this

worthy cause. My Government is certain that the United Nations is on the right track there and believes that the experiment of exchanging experts and exchanging fellows should be vigorously followed up. The supply of knowledge and technical experience and the demand for them are badly distributed in this world, and I am sure that we could help one another in this respect. We hope shortly to be able to open in the Netherlands an international academic institution, at a university level, to give courses on development problems in countries requiring technical assistance. We confidently hope thus to be able to make a contribution to the study of the technical problems which arise in many under-developed countries. Admittedly, the present technical assistance programme is as yet only in its infancy. In a sense we are still at the pioneer stage, drawing up a systematic programme for development. The programme will require, not only manpower which, in most cases, is already available, not only experts who are now being recruited and will soon be available in sufficient numbers, but also funds which for the moment are lacking. That is why it is important that the United Nations should take stock now of the full magnitude of the problem of financing economic development. It is not an easy problem and there can be no ready-made solution. It is therefore imperative that preparatory measures should be taken without delay.

41. Another question facing the sixth session of the General Assembly is that of the refugees. It is desirable, even essential, to lay the foundations for practical results in the course of the present session. The fact that these millions of unfortunates are forced to live without hope for the future not only constitutes a threat to the political security of some parts of the world; it also, as the letter recently addressed by Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands to the President of the United States of America so eloquently puts it, represents a challenge to the conscience of the world. The International Refugee Organization, which, under able leadership, has achieved such magnificent results during the last few years giving more than a million people a new start in life, has come to an end. This does not mean that the problem has been solved; merely that a certain category of displaced persons, those who at the outset stood in greatest need, have received assistance thanks to an international effort. But other categories remain a heavy burden on the political and economic life of several countries. It is the opinion of my Government that, in order to ease the situation, intensive work will have to continue for several years to come. Before this Assembly rises, this matter will have to be thrashed out. A frank discussion will help, but we must be chary of uniform solutions. Groups of refugees are not all alike. Moreover local conditions differ widely, sometimes even within the same country. Methods will have to be varied. We must also remember that the financial resources of Member States of the United Nations differ greatly and that some of them are able to make only a small contribution to international humanitarian work. None the less, within the limits of our capacities, all of us must shoulder our responsibility.

42. I now pass to the question of the evolution of international law which does not always receive the attention it deserves. But the work must be pursued at a pace consonant with the nature of the problem and regardless of political upheavals. The evolution of international law may be compared to the flow of currents which, being slow-moving, or sometimes even subterranean, remain undetected by the human eye. There is nothing sensational about this work, and yet it is gradually introducing into the community of nations a new conception of the principles governing international relations, relations of such vital importance for peaceful coexistence between the peoples. It is for this

reason that my Government follows the work of the International Law Commission with such keen interest and appreciates the Commission's conclusion that one session a year is inadequate for its work. The Nuremberg and Tokyo trials did indeed constitute an innovation in the field of international law, and my Government endorses the words of the former Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Stimson, who called it a "landmark of law". I am convinced that the conception of rights held by the peoples of the world should continue to develop along the lines laid down by these two historic trials.

43. In conclusion, I should like to say a word about the site of this year's Assembly. My delegation last year was opposed to the Assembly meeting away from New York on the ground that sound management would not allow a meeting far from United Nations headquarters. Our financial misgivings are still not entirely allayed, but our heart goes out in sympathy to the country whose guests we now are, the country which has invited us to meet again in its gracious and lovely capital. It was in France, in Paris itself, that an idea which may well become a vital element in the building of peace was born. I am pleased to say that, a week ago, the Upper Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament accepted by a large majority, the plan which will always be associated with the name of my distinguished colleague, Mr. Robert Schuman, thus being the first of the European parliaments to do so. My delegation looks forward to working, during the weeks to come, as the guests of a Government which has proved constructively that it is working for peace.

44. May the work of this the sixth session of the General Assembly be influenced by the essentially French virtues of imagination and realism. May our work here, we humbly implore, be blessed by the Divine Spirit ruling over the fate of peoples and nations.

45. Mr. ACHESON (United States of America): All of us are indebted to the people and the Government of France for the excellence of the arrangements of this meeting. We meet here in Paris on her two-thousandth anniversary. We offer our congratulations and see in the monuments of her great history the symbol and the promise of our United Nations which is still at the threshold of its existence.

46. We, the United Nations, are young indeed but we, too, mark the monuments of our progress. As Paris is the symbol of European culture and beauty, so the United Nations is the symbol of world peace. This city has seen its wars, its strife, and its sorrows, as well as its triumphs. Since we last met in this General Assembly, there have been tensions and crises and armed conflict in the world, but the cause of peace has prospered in tangible ways.

47. We came into existence as an organization at the end of a great war. Our business is peace. The victories of peace are the victories of the United Nations wherever they take place.

48. Since we last met, forty-eight nations have signed a peace treaty with Japan. The way has been opened for other nations to do the same. A long period of free negotiation was crowned with success. For much of this negotiation the meeting of many statesmen here at the United Nations offered fruitful opportunities.

49. These nations did not merely talk about peace, they achieved it. Some prefer to mouth the word "peace" and to oppose the reality. But the peace treaty was concluded. This is fact, not fiction. It is a tangible accomplishment, not a mere empty protestation. The signatures

of many free nations on a just and unvengeful treaty are worth far more on the balance sheet of history than the signatures of those who, by fraud or compulsion, subscribe to vague slogans whose promise is belied by the deeds of those who prefabricate the slogans.

50. Those who unite for peace have also laid solid foundations in the report of our Collective Measures Committee. The report wisely stresses the need for a "mutually supporting relationship" ^a between the United Nations and the regional collective defensive arrangements. This expresses well the direction in which we must work, and I strongly urge that we seek ways of translating this principle into action.

51. If we are to carry out the resolution [377 (V)] entitled: "Uniting for Peace" which we accepted at our last session, we must develop the capacity of the United Nations to act promptly and effectively in the event of aggression. Such preparation is important. It will do much to discourage and deter potential aggressors from carrying out their evil designs. To carry out the resolution of "Uniting for Peace" effectively, we must be prepared in case of need to muster our strength in various parts of the world. No area should be completely unprepared to meet aggression if it strikes.

52. In this part of the world where we now meet, the group of nations in the Atlantic community, acting in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, is fast building bulwarks of peace. The Atlantic community is building its strength in support of the principles of the United Nations. In particular, the Atlantic community is building its armed strength so that free Europe will not be powerless in face of an armed attack from none too peaceful neighbours. We are, as I shall explain later in my speech, eager and anxious to discuss effective means of reducing the burden of armaments. But we are not willing to discuss unilateral disarmament or the holding of armaments at a level which will guarantee the existing armed superiority of the Soviet Union and leave free Europe powerless to meet aggression.

53. The nations which believe in peace and which support the United Nations' system of collective security have now been forced to reverse their post-war programmes of demobilization, not to threaten their neighbours, but to protect the peace of the world. They are laying a foundation for the strength that will protect the world against a renewal of aggression. The structure is not complete; the world is not yet secure against the danger of a third world war. But we have made a beginning. The peaceful nations of the world are more united and better equipped to prevent aggression than would have seemed possible only a few years ago. Centres of defensive power have been, and are being, built up, not only within individual States but to an increasing degree in mutual defence arrangements and in the United Nations.

54. This progress will in time bring us to the threshold of a new period in the affairs of the world. Then the forces of aggression and tyranny will no longer be in a position to attack free nations and find them helpless to resist.

55. The tasks presented by this stage in our efforts are as difficult as any that statesmanship has ever been called upon to fulfil. They are difficult because we must at the same time build strength and work for peace. These are not contradictory; they are two sides of the same coin.

56. We are building strength for one reason, and one reason only—that is, because there will be no peace so long as the peaceful nations are weak and vulnerable. There is no way of escaping this requirement, as the last six years have shown.

57. But building arms alone is not enough. We must use our strength with moderation and restraint. We must work for peace, for understanding, for a reduction of tensions and differences. We must neglect no opportunity to reduce the danger of war in any way that is open to us, and to get on with our main job which is to work toward the kind of a world we want to build.

58. While we have worked to build up the strength of the free nations, we have also been deeply concerned with the economic and social needs of the peoples of the world. Much has been done this year in international co-operation for economic and social well-being.

59. Some two thousand million dollars of new capital have been made available for economic and social development by private investors, by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and by governmental institutions. Under the expanded programme of technical assistance, experts are at work in forty-three countries. This is merely a beginning. This points the way in which we must move. As President Truman has already stated, our rate of advance has been impeded by the necessity of building up the defences of the free nations. If we can be relieved of some of this burden, the possibilities of improving the lot of mankind should be limitless.

60. As for the future we recognize that there can be no lasting peace, no real security, while hunger, disease, and despair hold millions in their grip. Every people must have a stake in peace worth defending. By the energetic application of known techniques and without any great increase in expenditure of funds or resources, we can make substantial inroads against poverty and famine. We would welcome the establishment of targets setting forth practical agricultural and industrial goals to be attained in a definite period of time.

61. In the field of agriculture, the Food and Agriculture Organization has already indicated the increase needed to provide adequate nutritional diets in the year 1960. The magnitudes required are by no means staggering, and the advice of experts is that the goals can be attained. The world has the natural resources and the technical knowledge to meet these needs, and it should be our goal to do so.

62. The progress which has been made during the past year in the field of technical co-operation should give us encouragement to go further. Time and again, there have been amazing examples of what a few technicians and a few simple implements, like a hoe or a steel-tipped plough, can do with a few bags of seed in countries where people have long gone hungry. These examples ought to inspire us to further effort.

63. I am also encouraged by the attention and study which has been given during the last year to the problems concerning the ownership and use of land. The report of the Secretary-General, ^a and the action of the Economic and Social Council point the way by which individual governments and the United Nations can provide farmers in many parts of the world with both the incentive and the means for increasing their output of food for the world.

^a *Ibid.*, para. 185.

Ibid., Supplement No. 1.

64. Hand in hand with the increase in food supply must come an increase in the world's industrial output. Here, too, it is not revolutionary technological discoveries which are required. Even with the present rate of new investments, we have the means at hand to secure an enormous increase in productive output. The more efficient use of existing factories, mines, and transportation facilities could, so we are told by the experts, boost the world's production on the order of about ten per cent within a relatively short period of time. At the same time, we should be on our guard to see that a fair distribution of the increased output that would flow from this increased productivity results in higher wages for workers, and in lower prices for the consumers.

65. With this possible increase in productivity of existing plants, and with the emphasis on the direction of new capital toward undertakings that will add to the output of the world's supply of needed goods, it should be possible, within a decade, to increase the world's real annual income by more than 200 thousand million dollars. This would add to the present production in the world the equivalent of the entire productive output of the United States only four years ago. Think what this would mean in terms of numbers of pairs of shoes, of clothes, housing, education and all the other basic requirements of mankind. This challenge, this opportunity for expanding the economy of the world, should be one of the principal concerns of this Organization and of all its members. And it could be if the will to peace were universal.

66. The great constructive accomplishments in the past five years, and those which lie before us, are the sort of international co-operative effort in which my countrymen and those of most of you here join whole-heartedly. This is the work we like—to develop, to build, to expand opportunity for the pursuit of happiness. Our country, as its history and institutions show, is dedicated to this objective. But actually what has been done, and apparently what lies before us, must be done in the face of obstacles made by man and undoubtedly made to impede progress toward peace and human welfare. Again we have a symbol. The symbol is Korea.

67. Korea was the place chosen by those who plan aggression on a world-wide scale as the scene for an imperialist blitzkrieg. The Russian State has repeatedly in modern times tried to make Korea a province. When Korea was liberated from Japanese rule and the Republic of Korea was established under the auspices of the United Nations [resolution 195 (III)], the Soviet Union withheld from the Republic all that part of Korea which was under communist control. The iron curtain clanked down on the 38th parallel. Suddenly, on 25 June 1950, the iron curtain was raised to allow Soviet-armed and Soviet-trained armies to pour across the border in their brutal assault on the free people of Korea.

68. With courage and determination, the Koreans resisted the alien aggression, resisted the familiar imperialist expansion. But as the aggressors knew, the young Republic was not strong enough to stand alone against an aggression so carefully planned and so thoroughly equipped.

69. The aggressor did not know that the young international organization, the United Nations, could also act with unity, speed, and eventual military superiority. But that is how it did act.

70. The United States is proud to have been able to play a leading part in this great practical demonstration of collective security. Until there is peace in Korea, the

United Nations will urgently need the maximum contribution—in armed forces and in other means—from every loyal Member of this Organization. And when peace has been restored to Korea, the United Nations must be able to marshal the material aid of all its Members in the great task of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

71. But when will there be peace? We all know that it depends upon the will of those who support, maintain, and defend the communist armies. At a word from them the fighting could end in Korea. Some months ago, it seemed that the word had been spoken. But has it been spoken?

72. The United Nations Command has been negotiating since July to try to bring about an armistice, so far without success. It is only now that the aggressors have agreed to negotiate on the basis of a military and not a political line, taking into account the current military situation.

73. We are hopeful that the achievement of an armistice in Korea might make it possible for this Assembly to bring about a final settlement for Korea, a settlement which will be in accord with the established United Nations objectives in Korea. A settlement such as this, if reached in good faith, could open the door to broader consultations on other aspects of the Far Eastern situation.

74. There are many other areas in which the Soviet Union could demonstrate by action its desire for peace if it chooses to do so. Another example can be found in the case of Germany. A proposal has been submitted [A/1938], for inclusion in the agenda of this Assembly for the establishment of an impartial international commission under United Nations supervision to carry out a simultaneous investigation in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Berlin, and in the Soviet Zone of Germany. The purpose of this investigation would be to determine whether existing conditions there make it possible to hold genuinely free elections throughout these areas.

75. We have consistently maintained, and we continue to maintain, that Germany should be reunified as soon as this can be brought about on democratic lines. It must be done in a way which will ensure the re-establishment of a free Germany able to play her part in the peaceful association of free European nations. This is a constructive effort, and it presents those who claim to support the reunification of Germany with an opportunity to prove their good faith.

76. Austria is another example of an opportunity to demonstrate by action a will to peace. For more than five years now, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States have been discussing the conclusion of a treaty for Austria. The four Powers have promised the Austrian people independence. The Austrians have long ago fulfilled all the conditions for the restoration of their complete sovereignty. But the country is still under occupation. Here again the Soviet leaders can speak the word which will fulfil their promises to Austria.

77. Again, in the case of Italy, as Mr. Stikker has just mentioned, the Soviet Union could fulfil its obligations and make a contribution to the international community by withdrawing the obstacles it has placed in the way of Italy's entry into the United Nations.

78. Another example of an area in which the Soviet Union could demonstrate its desire for peace through action is in the field of human rights, in which the Charter also expresses a profound interest. In a large area of the world, human freedom is being crushed. Millions of persons now work as slaves in forced labour camps, and tens of thousands of

persons are being compelled to leave their homes by mass deportations. I should like to cite one example of these brutal mass deportations, because it is important for us to remember that these are human beings we are talking about and not mere statistics.

79. In the city of Budapest this spring thousands of innocent and helpless families were aroused by the police at dawn and given twenty-four hours in which to prepare for departure. With just a few of their belongings, these people—including infants, the sick, the aged—were transported from their homes to camps and hovels in the country. As one of these unhappy victims wrote in a letter which reached the outside world, "It is very bitter to have to dissolve everything in the course of twenty-four hours". The hopes of the civilized world that the mass persecutions of the Hitler régime would never be repeated have proved to be in vain.

80. Culture and religion have been made the special victims of this tyranny. Scientists and scholars, artists and churchmen are all forced to conform to the single dogma of the all-powerful State. The result is not just sterility; it is the dangerous subservience that results from thought control and makes aggression possible.

81. It was a matter of proper concern to the entire world recently when a foreign correspondent, William Oatis, honestly seeking to report the news in Czechoslovakia, was thrown into prison without a fair trial and on the flimsiest of charges. This man is much more than an individual victim of tyranny. He is a reminder to the world of how free journalism is deliberately throttled by totalitarian régimes.

82. These calculated denials of basic human rights are a matter of concern to the world community. Let all who desire peace and talk of their peaceful intentions demonstrate their good faith by putting an end to slavery, rather than seeking to extend it.

83. But the record of the past year—and I say this with real sorrow—does not reveal a single action—and I am talking about action not words—by the Soviet Union to indicate that it is willing to co-operate with the rest of the world in abating tensions and the danger of war. Its only contribution has been an artificially created "mass movement", built around slogans for peace. Despite these slogans, the familiar methods of threat and subversion are today being used against Yugoslavia as once they were used against Turkey. The method of attack by guerilla forces to upset governments is used today in Indo-China as it once was in Greece.

84. The Soviet Union has talked a great deal about peace, but when it comes to achieving peace through deeds, or to uniting for peace, they obstruct. They call for a new five-Power peace pact, but refuse to carry out our sixty-Power peace pact, the Charter of the United Nations.

85. One of the most urgent of international problems is the level of armaments among nations. Soviet policies have obliged the free nations to begin building up their armaments to levels necessary for their defence. But we do not want an arms race. We are determined to do all in our power to ensure our safety, but we are no less determined to continue to explore, as we have been doing for many years, every possible way of bringing about a safe reduction of armaments. This effort is too important to the world to leave a single stone unturned.

86. A year ago, before this body, the President of the United States proposed the merging of the two United Nations commissions dealing with the problem of armaments

[295th meeting]. We have before us the report of the Committee of Twelve [A/1922] recommending that this be done and I hope that the Assembly will approve this recommendation. At that time the President expressed the determination of the United States to find ways of bringing about control and reduction of armaments as a means of moving forward toward the ultimate goal which the United Nations has set for itself, the goal of a peaceful world in which disagreements are settled by peaceful means. He outlined the basic principles for a real, workable system for reducing armaments and the General Assembly endorsed those principles. The principles are three in number: first, such a system must include all types of weapons; second, it must be accepted by all nations having substantial armed forces; third, it must be based on safeguards that will ensure the compliance of all nations. In other words, it must be foolproof.

87. The United States Government, together with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, has been studying earnestly the real problems that must be dealt with if we are to make genuine headway toward the reduction of armaments. The world does not want catchwords and tricks. It does not want propaganda gestures. It wants an honest programme which will protect the safety of free men and not be a cloak for aggressive designs.

88. After a long period of study, we have arrived at a series of proposals for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces which meets the test of reasonableness and feasibility. Last night the three Governments announced their intention to submit such proposals to this sixth session of the General Assembly. We are therefore asking that a discussion of these proposals [A/1943] be added to the agenda as a matter of urgency and importance. I firmly believe that these proposals can lead to an agreed programme here in the United Nations, if all nations approach them with goodwill and a sincere desire for peace.

89. Last night, the President of the United States discussed our proposals in a broadcast to the American people, and assured them that we, for our part, would approach these discussions with the most sincere desire for a successful outcome. I wish to repeat here the essential elements of the programme as outlined by the President.

90. The first element is disclosure and verification on a continuing basis. It is impossible for the nations to proceed with such a programme unless each one has knowledge of what armed forces and armaments other nations possess. This knowledge must be continually up to date. It must be full knowledge and there must be guarantees that the knowledge is accurate. This in turn means that there must be a system of inspection. The national inventories of all armed forces and armaments must be checked and verified in each country by inspectors who are nationals of other countries and who are working under the United Nations. These inspectors must have the power to find out what are the real facts. This system of disclosure and verification must be a system which progresses from stage to stage as each one is completed.

91. As our three Governments have already stated, this will mean revealing, in appropriate stages, all armed forces whether military, para-military, security or police forces, and all armaments, whether atomic or non-atomic. The least vital information would be disclosed first, and we would then proceed to more sensitive areas. As I have said, each stage would be completed before the next began, until all arms and armaments of every kind had been included.

92. Since 1949, there has been before the United Nations a proposal, supported by the United States, for a census and verification to be carried out on a one-time basis.⁴ We are now moving forward from that proposal in two ways. One is that while the process of disclosure and verification is taking place, we would be working out the further steps of regulation, limitation and balanced reduction. And we are also proposing to alter the earlier proposal so as to include in the system of disclosure all of the aspects of atomic energy. In short, the first step of the general programme we are now putting forward would be the disclosure in stages of all military matters. This would enable us to work out specific arrangements for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of national military establishments while the process of inventory and inspection is taking place. Moreover—and this is of the greatest importance—the continuing disclosure and verification which we propose would provide quick and certain knowledge of any violation. In a world charged as ours is with suspicions and dangers our peoples want the safeguard that disclosure and verification can provide. As we move from stage to stage, we would have increasing evidence of good faith and honesty. We would not go forward without that evidence.

93. Of course, we have always recognized that a census or disclosure of armed forces and armaments would not by itself bring about the change in the military situation which the people of the world so eagerly desire, but it is a necessary pre-condition for the balanced reduction of armaments. This leads to the second element of our proposals which is their general application.

94. It is not enough that four or five States should agree to such a programme. It should apply at least to all members of the international community who have a substantial military potential and we would hope that the programme would be universal.

95. The third element is the establishment of some sort of criteria for the balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces. These criteria, which can be worked out, would determine the exact amounts and kinds of armaments and armed forces which each country would finally be permitted to have. As examples of the criteria that would be considered by the United Nations, the United States would suggest :

96. First, limiting the size of all armed forces, including para-military, security and police forces, to a fixed percentage of population, with a ceiling beyond which no country could go.

97. Second, restricting the proportion of national production which could be used for military purposes to an amount which would bear a direct relation to what was needed for the armed forces permitted under the programme; and here, again, there might be a ceiling expressed in terms of a percentage of the national production.

98. Third, developing mutual agreements on the composition of the national military programmes within the over-all limitations and restrictions; such mutually agreed programmes should be developed within the framework of the United Nations and in conferences under United Nations auspices.

99. Now with particular respect to the control and regulation of atomic energy, we will continue to support the United Nations plan as providing the most satisfactory basis, unless and until a better and more effective plan is devised.

100. These are the general outlines of our proposals. They would establish absolute limits for armed forces and armaments so that they would be adequate for defence but not enough for aggression. That is the central purpose of these proposals and may I state that again: they would establish absolute limits for armed forces and armaments, adequate for defence but not enough for aggression. We will be prepared to explain these proposals in greater detail when the appropriate Committee of the Assembly takes them up for consideration.

101. We believe that discussion of the programme should begin now. No general programme can be put into effect while United Nations forces are resisting aggression in Korea. Moreover, concurrently with the coming into effect of the programme, the major political issues which have divided the world can be settled and must be settled. We pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to bring this about. If such a programme could be put into effect, the immense military expenditures which now press on nearly all peoples of the world could be largely lifted. The Charter of the United Nations speaks of promoting the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources.

102. At the present time, the demands of security, requiring the use of treasure and resources for military purposes, have necessitated in all countries the postponement of great positive programmes of reconstruction and development which had been planned nationally and internationally. If the world could use its resources, its skills and energies for non-military projects, as the United States most earnestly desires, then vast new opportunities would open up for the better and happier conditions of life which all men seek.

103. We could then get ahead, as President Truman said last night, with the only kind of war we seek—the war against want and human misery. Within developed countries, new resources for peaceful production could be put to work, not only for their own benefit but to the advantage of all. And in other parts of the world where, as I said earlier, millions upon millions of people are struggling with poverty, with hunger, with disease, the great constructive efforts of the United Nations could go forward without hindrance.

104. This is what could be done if all nations here were willing to serve the cause of peace by their actions. But so long as some nations talk of peace while their actions make for war, the free people of the world will still continue with determination and steadiness to build the full programmes of defensive strength which their security requires. But we must never cease trying to change this state of affairs. That is why we are submitting these proposals now for proceeding with the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic. The United States is prepared to begin negotiations on these proposals in the United Nations at once. We firmly believe that a workable agreement is within our reach, if all nations will approach this task with good faith and with a will to peace.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex, document A/1020.