

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

PLENARY MEETING



SIXTH SESSION

Monday, 12 November 1951, at 3 p.m.

Official Records

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

CONTENTS

General debate (<i>continued</i>)	Page 65
Speeches by Mr. Politis (Greece), Mr. Tsiang (China), Mr. Maza (Chile), Mr. Al-Jamali (Iraq) and Mr. Wierblowski (Poland)	

President : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. POLITIS (GREECE), MR. TSIANG (CHINA),
MR. MAZA (CHILE), MR. AL-JAMALI (IRAQ), MR. WIER-
BLOWSKI (POLAND)

1. Mr. POLITIS (Greece) (*translated from French*): It is certainly no accident that the sixth regular session of the General Assembly is being held in Paris. On the contrary, it is significant that, whenever the most representative organ of the United Nations contemplates the possibility of holding its meetings away from the headquarters of the Organization, eyes turn to the capital of France—France the great centre of human freedom and fraternity, whose soul perfectly reflects the spirit of the principles embodied in our Charter. We are sure that this atmosphere will not be without influence on the Assembly's work.

2. Every year Greece steps on to this rostrum with increasing satisfaction at having placed its confidence in the United Nations.

3. Our Organization has two main aims: the security of peoples in freedom and independence on the one hand, and their progress and well-being on the other. And everyone knows that in the last analysis these two aims rest on the same fundamental principle, that of human solidarity.

4. If we look back on the Organization's activity in the second of these fields, it must be acknowledged that the work done during the first six years of its existence has justified the hopes the peoples placed in it. This is certainly only a beginning, but it is a happy beginning, which allows us to hope for ever greater results.

5. The setting up of specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the International Refugee Organization, and the affiliation to the United Nations of such specialized agencies as the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, which were already in existence, are so many initiatives on which many peoples have had reason to congratulate themselves. For the value of this work should not be measured only by the direct material profit the peoples derive

from it. The pooling of the great capital of science, technique and experience is in itself a valuable contribution to the attempt to improve the living conditions of so many sorely tried peoples.

6. What is more, through the inquiries they make so skilfully through their comparative studies and through thorough examination of the conditions peculiar to each people and each country, these agencies bring out the needs of each people and diagnose their ills, and that is already the beginning of a cure.

7. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the convention condemning the crime of genocide, the ever-expanding programme of technical assistance granted across frontiers and above passions, the repatriation of refugees, the aid to unhappy children, the struggle against epidemics, in short, all those activities which are aimed at freeing mankind from hunger, want and fear, are a remarkable achievement on the credit side of our Organization. I am happy to take this opportunity to remind you that a large part of the honour for this goes to Mr. Trygve Lie and his distinguished colleagues.

8. It is almost four years since a powerful and generous nation, rightly alarmed by the distress of nations less favoured by nature and more tried by the calamities of war, took upon itself to finance their rehabilitation. For almost four years we have witnessed the moving sight of homes being rebuilt, cities being reconstructed, economies being reborn. At an astonishing pace whole populations are being restored to health, while others are literally brought to life again. This phenomenon, on such a scale, is undoubtedly unique in the history of nations. It would not perhaps be too bold to ascribe the origin of this gesture in part to the Charter and to the principle of human solidarity which the Charter has laid down as the basis of our society. That is to say that the world does not profit from the formal provisions of the Charter alone. The Charter is just as effective through the morality it has established and the atmosphere it has created.

9. While this is the balance-sheet in the social field, we must honestly say that in the matter of the security, freedom and independence of the peoples, the picture is far from reassuring. No doubt some of the anomalies which we note are due to the shortcomings of the Charter, and last year, thanks to a happy initiative on the part of the United States

of America, the work of filling these gaps was resolutely begun. It is our hope that this effort will be continued and extended to other points of the Charter which also call for improvement.

10. Let me cite one instance in which Greece is particularly interested. In the Chapter on the International Trusteeship System, which deals with backward peoples, the Administering Powers are given the task of leading those peoples towards complete independence. In another article, Article 73, which also deals with a category of peoples under foreign administration, this objective of complete emancipation is not expressly mentioned, although the intention of the Charter must be the same in both cases. It could not indeed be maintained that territories whose lot is governed by Article 73—and the millennial civilization of some of them antedates any European civilization—have been deprived by the Charter of the right to determine their future, a right stipulated in favour of the Trust Territories, which in some cases are scarcely emerging from a primitive state.

11. There is in this instance a discrimination which is not consonant with the spirit of the Charter and it should be remedied either by an official interpretation of the Charter, or through a practice to be adopted *motu proprio* by the Administering Powers. But other alarming symptoms darken the picture the world offers at this time in the matter of the security, freedom and independence of the nations.

12. Six years after the end of the war, a great country like Germany is still split into two zones, separated by bulkheads as water-tight as they are artificial.

13. Another country, Austria, vainly awaits the signature of a treaty which would bring it back to the family of nations as a territorial and economic unity.

14. Not even a beginning has been made with the application of some of the peace treaties signed in Paris in 1946. The countries which negotiated them and freely affixed their signatures, literally repudiated them the day after they were concluded. They practically elude any constructive contact with the other signatories of these international instruments and live in a kind of seclusion of which everyone now suspects the disquieting motives.

15. Is there any need for me again to recall that horrible crime which shocked the world and which everyone terms the shame of our century, that crime of which the equal is sought in vain even in the most obscure periods of primitive societies? Everyone knows of the shocking abduction of tens of thousands of children with the object of perverting their souls and making them matricides. This abominable crime, which in any morally sound society would have deserved the severest punishment, still goes on and still braves the outcry which it raised in the world conscience. Furthermore, the passage of time, perpetuating the crime, is likely to render it impossible of redress. These Greek children, torn four years ago from their parents and their country, have since grown up under the authority of their kidnappers. It may be that at this moment they are no longer Greek and no longer children. Their tender existence has served to forge unconscious instruments of hatred and subversion. Soon it will perhaps be too late to save of these children what still remains for saving.

16. As well as the children, three thousand persons, soldiers of all ranks, taken away as hostages by the guerillas in their retreat northwards, are perishing in exile and imprisonment. A General Assembly resolution [382 (V)] declaring this act contrary to all rules of law and demanding their immediate liberation has remained without the least response.

17. Finally, the spirit of aggression, that evil genius of our age, which we had believed for ever banished from the society of nations, has for some time past been making daring reappearances, and already has two victims, Greece and Korea. It seems also to be hatching evil designs elsewhere, threatening to convulse the world and forcing all peace-loving peoples to live a nightmare.

18. The sons of Greece, after having struggled for three years to free their homeland from the hordes of aggression, have already gone to join the United Nations forces and exorcize evil at the other end of the world.

19. I must, however, state that, although I mention such alarming occurrences here, it is assuredly not with the intention of suggesting the idea of failure by the Organization in the field of international security and of the free development of peoples. The prompt and decisive manner in which the United Nations has met the peril in Korea would of itself suffice to prove the contrary.

20. Moreover, in evoking the heroism and self-sacrifice with which our people has faced the threat which weighed so heavily upon its independence, we cannot forget the moral support which we have received from the United Nations and which has so largely contributed to our successful defence. My Government cannot insist too strongly on the services rendered to the cause of peace in our area by the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. This Commission, which the Organization had the happy inspiration to dispatch to the locality itself, has revealed itself as an organ of high authority. By its conscientious work, by the profound knowledge of the facts which it has acquired, and by the prompt and objective findings which it has been able to present, it has shed full light on a question which its authors had every reason to keep dark.

21. The constructive part played by the United Nations in the problems of Indonesia, Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland must also be recalled.

22. Nonetheless, in spite of this meritorious work, mankind lives to-day in anguish, and we should be closing our eyes to the evidence if we failed to admit it.

23. The reason for this situation is that the fundamental principle of the solidarity of peoples, to which I referred at the beginning of my address, has not yet reached among the Members of our Organization that universality which is essential for its triumph, and as soon as fear in matters of security invades the hearts of men, preoccupation with defence takes hold of their minds.

24. It is therefore not surprising if, in the present atmosphere, peace-loving peoples seek to organize their own defence and are reluctant to entrust any part of their security to the malice of the often treacherous turns of fortune. This likewise is not surprising, so long as the machinery provided under the Charter for the enforcement of its own provisions is not established, and so long as the much talked of agreement on disarmament keeps the ever-renewed distance of a fleeting mirage on the horizon.

25. Yet, peace-loving peoples are not content with this fate, however much confidence their own precautions may give them. What they ask of the Organization is final deliverance from the fear which forces them to remain constantly on their guard and to live, as it were, weapon in hand, to the greatest detriment of their progress and well-being.

26. It is against this background that they will always welcome with the utmost relief any sincere initiative aiming

at this result; they know full well that to achieve it, it would suffice for each one of us to make his contribution resolutely and without reserve.

27. The ideal to which all peace-loving peoples aspire is peace in security; none of them aspires to this more ardently than my own country, whose ordeal has been without equal in the history of our time.

28. Mr. TSIANG (China): My delegation is glad to be in Paris once again. We are glad to be here not only because of the physical attractions and the kindness and courtesy of the French Government and people, but also because of the French tradition of freedom. The struggle for human freedom in France during the last 150 years has been not only an achievement for the French people but a positive contribution to the whole world.

29. It seems to me self-evident that freedom and peace are inseparable. There can be no peace without freedom. If a peace without freedom were established, it would entail the death of civilization. A living peace can be achieved only with and through freedom.

30. The peoples of the world desire peace. When they are free to express their opinions and decide their own destinies, they undoubtedly choose peace. It is only when they are deprived of their freedom and made to think and act as the dictators wish them to think and act that they appear to support an aggressive war.

31. When the Charter was framed, the events which had led to the Second World War were still fresh in the minds of the representatives assembled at San Francisco. They knew that the Japanese militarists could not have launched their full-scale war against my country in 1937, or their Pearl Harbour attack against the United States of America in 1941, unless and until they had secured absolute control in Japan. In the six years which preceded Japan's full-scale war against China, the militarists in Japan executed a series of terroristic acts to get rid of political leaders who stood for peace and moderation. They succeeded in manipulating Japanese political life and public opinion to such an extent that their régime, in fact, became a totalitarian one. The suppression of freedom in Japan was a pre-condition and a prelude to aggressive war.

32. The representatives at the San Francisco Conference undoubtedly also remembered the development of Nazi rule in Germany before the German army marched against Poland in 1939. Hitler did away with the Weimar Republic. He established in place of the liberal Weimar Constitution a totalitarian regime which, for many years to come, the people of Germany and people everywhere will not easily forget. That was Hitler's way of preparing Germany for aggressive war. If, by 1939, Hitler had failed in that part of his task, he might have hesitated to launch aggression against Germany's neighbours.

33. The events leading up to aggressive war on the part of Japan and Germany were fresh in the minds of those who framed the Charter. It is for this reason that throughout the Articles of the Charter we find two consistent and intertwining themes. One is, of course, peace: the other is human rights and fundamental freedoms. Right in the Preamble to the Charter we find in the second paragraph, the declaration that we, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined

"to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...".

34. Article 1 of the Charter states the purposes of the United Nations, among which is this:

"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".

35. Chapter IV of the Charter deals with the General Assembly. Article 13 states:

"1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:...

"b. promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

36. Chapter IX of the Charter is devoted to the subject of international economic and social co-operation. I would like to quote a part of Article 55:

"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:...

"c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

37. Chapter X of the Charter is devoted to the Economic and Social Council. In defining the functions and powers of that Council, Article 62 states:

"2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."

38. Chapter XII of the Charter is devoted to the International Trusteeship System. In defining the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, Article 76 states that, among the basic objectives, one should be "to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion..."

39. The Charter makes very clear the basic importance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, both intrinsically and in their relation to international peace and co-operation. The importance attributed by the framers of the Charter to human rights and fundamental freedoms was due not only to the general enlightenment of the times, but also to a clear and deep recognition of the causes which had led to the Second World War.

40. When we view the prospects of peace in the world today, as it is the duty of the General Assembly to do at each Session, we must ask ourselves this question: Have the States of the world made progress in respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms? I submit that this question should be put at the forefront of every session of the General Assembly.

41. In asking this basic question now, we must all be frightened by the present state of the world, for instead of making progress in the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms, we are actually drifting back to the age of barbarism.

42. I shall not discuss conditions in Eastern Europe, because they are relatively well known to you. I shall confine my remarks to conditions on the mainland of China.

43. On 6 November, when the Assembly held its opening meeting and we listened to the earnest plea of the President

of the French Republic for renewed efforts towards the achievement of the high purposes of the United Nations, an important French newspaper *Le Monde* published an account of events in my country, under the title "*La révolution chinoise est entrée dans une ère de violence*". The account is accurate though not complete. It deserves the attention of every representative. I do not pretend that I could give a complete account of the width and depth of the terror which today dominates the mainland of China. I shall briefly report to the Assembly the main features of the communist rule by mass murder.

44. At the beginning of October 1950, the communist authorities reviewed their first year's accomplishments. Yao Su-shih, the so-called Chairman, of the Military Commission of East China, reported that in the year from 1 October 1949 to 1 October 1950, his so-called Commission had liquidated 107,000 "counter-revolutionaries" in the provinces of East China.

45. Teng Tze-huai the so-called Vice-Chairman, of the South Central Military Commission, reported on the same day that his commission had liquidated 611,000 "counter-revolutionaries" in the provinces of South-Central China in the same period.

46. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the so-called Vice-Chairman of the South-West Military Control Commission, reported that his commission had liquidated 400,000 "counter-revolutionaries" in the South-Western provinces during the same period.

47. Peng Teh-huai, the so-called Chairman of the North-Western Military Commission, reported that, for that period, his commission had liquidated 58,000 "counter-revolutionaries" in the North-Western provinces.

48. These four so-called regional military commissions proudly reported that in the course of one year, from 1 October 1949 to 1 October 1950, they together had succeeded in liquidating 1,176,000 so-called counter-revolutionaries.

49. The account is incomplete because I do not have the official reports of the so-called North China Military Commission, or of the North-East—that is Manchuria—Military Commission, or for the extreme North-West—that is Sinkiang—Military Commission. If the figures for the regions on which we do not have reports were added to the figures set forth in the four official reports which I have cited, the grand total for that one year must have exceeded one and a half million.

50. The record of the communist domination on the mainland of China during the second year, from 1 October 1950 to 1 October 1951, is even worse, although we do not have access to the official reports from these regional military control commissions.

51. In spite of the tragic record of their first year, the Chinese Communists did not feel satisfied. The members of the communist Politburo thought that the attitude of the communist military police and party organs was too soft, too bourgeois. On 21 February of this year, the Communists proclaimed a set of regulations to systematize and intensify terror. These regulations are officially called "Regulations for the suppression of counter-revolution". Under these regulations, so-called spies, saboteurs, and agents of imperialists are all grouped together as "counter-revolutionaries". The penalties provided are death and imprisonment. The execution of the terror is entrusted to military courts and to the so-called peoples' courts.

52. I now wish to present to the Assembly the operation of the military court and people's court in the city of Shanghai for the months of July, August and September of this year as a sample study of this "rule by mass murder", as one American correspondent described it. I hope my colleagues will appreciate the tragic life of that great city. For this purpose I use exclusively the official bulletins of the Communists in Shanghai.

53. On 6 July 1951, the courts were very lenient. They condemned 56 persons to police supervision and released 80 persons on guarantee given by friends and relatives. On 7 July 1951, the military court condemned to death and immediately executed 60 persons; it condemned six persons to death postponing their sentence for 2 years; it imposed life imprisonment on 27 and imprisonment of lesser terms on 92 others; it placed 16 persons under police supervision or private guarantee. That is the record for 7 July. On 9 July, the military court condemned to death and immediately executed 48 persons; it condemned 15 to death, with postponed execution; it imposed life imprisonment on 115, and placed under police supervision or private guarantee 23 others. On 11 July, the military court executed 58, condemned 6 to death, with postponed execution; and it imprisoned 20. On 12 July, the military court placed 91 under police supervision and released 52 under private guarantee. That again is a record of leniency. On 14 July, the military court executed 57, condemned 22 to death, with postponed execution, imprisoned 132, and placed 17 under police supervision. On 20 July, the court placed under police supervision 102, and released 78 under private guarantee. On 21 July the court imprisoned 301, placed 53 under police control, and released 26 under private guarantee. On 26 July, the military court executed 28, condemned 6 to death, with postponed execution, imprisoned 35, and placed 29 under police supervision or private guarantee. On 27 July, the court executed 144, condemned 29 to death, with postponed execution, imprisoned 55 for life and 300 for lesser terms, and placed 209 under control or guarantee. That was a very dark day for the people of Shanghai.

54. On 3 August, the military court imprisoned 122, placed 144 under police supervision and released 40 under private guarantee. On 6 August, the military court contented itself with imprisoning the round figure of 500. I give you the figure as stated in the official bulletin of the military court of that day. On 9 August, the court executed 19, sentenced 2 to death with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 9, and imprisonment with lesser terms on 43, it placed 37 under police control and released 9 under private guarantee. On 10 August, the court imprisoned 1,000, placed 98 under police supervision, and released 35 under private guarantee. The figure of 1,000 for imprisonment is the figure in the official bulletin of the military court. On 13 August, the court again condemned 1,000 to imprisonment, placed 59 under police supervision, and released 31 under private guarantee. On 18 August, the court executed 21, condemned 9 to death with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 7, and imprisonment with lesser terms on 75 others. On 22 August, the court imposed life imprisonment on 100 and imprisonment with lesser terms on 200. These round figures are again taken from the official bulletin of the military court. On 27 August, the court executed 62, condemned 3 to death with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 16 and imprisonment with lesser terms on 182, and placed 2 under police supervision.

55. On 1 September, the court placed 75 under police supervision and released 22 under private guarantee. On

8 September, the court executed 45, condemned 13 to death with postponed execution, imprisoned 147, placed 10 under police supervision and released 19 under private guarantee. On 10 September, the court executed 21, condemned 8 to death with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 173, placed 18 under police supervision and released 15 under private guarantee. On 14 September, the court executed 119, condemned 41 to death with execution postponed, imposed life imprisonment on 106 and imprisonment with lesser terms on 107 and placed 3 under police supervision. On 17 September, the court imposed imprisonment of varying terms on 127, placed 33 under police supervision, and released 6 under private guarantee. On 22 September, the court condemned 15 with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 47, and imprisonment with lesser terms on 200; it placed 6 under police supervision, and released 3 under private guarantee.

56. On 28 September, both the military court and the so-called people's court went into action. The military court on that day executed 96, condemned 15 to death, with postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 28 and imprisonment with lesser terms on 114; it placed 5 under police supervision. The people's court on that same day executed 45, condemned 22 to death but postponed execution, imposed life imprisonment on 21 and imprisonment with lesser terms on 77, placed 5 under police supervision and released 14 under private guarantee.

57. Such is the record of terror in the city of Shanghai during the months of July, August and September 1951. I have placed before you an abstract of the consecutive official bulletins of the Shanghai military court during the three summer months of this year. I think the data sufficient to give you an idea of the awful days and nights of the people of Shanghai since the Communists came to rule over their city.

58. I shall not repeat the same story for the other cities of China. However, I should like to describe for you the proceedings of the so-called people's court as that court was held in Canton on 15 July of this year. The official communist report states that at 8.30 a.m. on 15 July, 35,000 citizens of Canton congregated on the big square in front of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall to participate in a mass meeting for the purpose of "accusing the counter-revolutionaries". The assistant director, Sun Lo-nyi, of the Public Security Bureau of the city of Canton made a report to the assembled mass. He began by reminding the audience that that meeting of 15 July was the third of its kind; he pointed out that at the first meeting, at the end of April, the people had "with waving of flags and beating of drums, killed 198 counter-revolutionary criminals", and that, on 8 July, at the second such people's meeting, the workers of the city had condemned to death one who was a spy for the National Government, a traitor to the working class and a gangster. He reminded his audience that on the previous occasions the people had shouted: "It is good to kill; it is right to kill; it is proper to kill".

59. Of the 136 accused of counter-revolution on that day, 15 July, 7 whom the military court proposed to execute on the spot were brought in and made to kneel before the mob. The chairman urged the citizens to state their feelings publicly. Altogether 7 accusers made their accusations, one for each victim. The crimes cited covered everything evil that human imagination could concoct.

60. After the people had vented their wrath verbally, the presiding judge of the military court of the military commission of the city of Canton proposed to the people that 7 should be condemned to death and shot immediately;

that 6 should be condemned to death, with sentence postponed for two years, during which the victims should undertake hard labour as a matter of education and test; that 1 should be imprisoned for life; that 9 should be imprisoned for fifteen years, 5 for twelve years, 17 for ten years, 6 for seven years, 19 for five years, 7 for three years, 4 for two years, 1 for two years with parole, 10 for one year with parole, 11 to live under police supervision, and 20 to be released under private guarantee. The mob voted by acclamation to accept the verdict. Altogether 136 persons were dealt with on that day by the so-called people's court of Canton.

61. The record of the proceedings concludes with the following paragraph—and I quote from the official record:

"The public security organ of the people, in compliance with the wishes of the broad masses of the people, put the seven worst criminals on a cart which, after circulating through the whole city, reached the place of execution. When the criminals' cart and the propaganda carriage which accompanied it moved through the streets of the city, the people along the route pronounced oaths of condemnation on the criminals. The people at the foot of the Pearl Bridge and on Tongfu Street were especially enthusiastic and called out that the criminals should be made to eat many bullets".

62. I notice that the Paris paper, *Le Monde*, of 8 November, published an account of similar proceedings in Shanghai for the night of 27 April and the next day. It is worth reading.

63. In the city of Canton there occurred an episode of so-called "popular vengeance against imperialist agents". The so-called People's Relief Association investigated the orphanage established by Catholic sisters from Canada. These sisters had lived in China for many years and had become known by their Chinese names. They were Pan Yah-fong, Kao Chung-chun, Lien Wan-teh, Tong Yeh-ching and Lu Hsiang-tah. I now quote from the report of the so-called People's Relief Association:

"According to our investigation, from January 1950 to the middle of February this year, the Catholic orphanage received altogether 2,216 infants. On 5 March of this year when the People's Relief Association took over the orphanage, there remained only forty-eight infants of whom twenty-nine were sick. The death rate in the orphanage exceeds 98 per cent. Using this percentage as a basis for calculation and remembering that this orphanage has been in existence for eighteen years, we come to the conclusion that the five sisters have killed 36,000 infants".

64. The People's Relief Association, on the basis of this fantastic investigation and more fantastic statistics, turned the five Canadian sisters over to the military control commission.

65. I will omit all other data on religious persecution because the religious bodies in the Western world have in their possession a vast collection of data. The religious bodies are not giving the data any publicity for fear that the followers of the Christian religion in China might suffer thereby. I shall likewise omit all data on religious persecution under the Chinese Communists.

66. What the outside world has learned, and that very imperfectly, is the terror in the larger cities of China. The outside world has no knowledge of the greater terror in the inland cities, towns and villages. I have a report made by an eye-witness who succeeded in escaping from the mainland to Hongkong on 14 July of this year. He witnessed

the terror in the city of Chengtu in the province of Szechuan in the far west of China. This eye-witness states that at midnight on 21 March, when people were all asleep, the so-called "People's Liberation Army" suddenly invaded the houses of the inhabitants of Chengtu. They searched through all trunks and all drawers, under the beds and around the beds. The search lasted until 6 p.m. of the next day. All those who had at one time or another accepted public office, from that of chief of a street to that of chief of a section of the city, and all those who had at one time been in the army, whether as officers or as privates or even as transport workers, were arrested. The total number arrested during that big search reached 25,000, in a city of 750,000 inhabitants. Of this number only a small percentage returned to their homes. Every one of those who were fortunate enough to be released carried heavy injuries on their bodies. On 15 April, 500 of the arrested were executed. The fate of the large majority remains unknown. I call your attention to a report of the terror in the small town of Huangshihkang, 100 miles west of Hankow, a report made by Father Sullivan, of the Catholic Mission in that town, published in *The Washington Post* of 21 October.

67. In the province of Kwangsi in the district of Tenghsien, there lived a Judge Wu who had presided over cases where Communists were tried in past years. In 1949, when the communist army came to Kwangsi, Judge Wu left his home district and fled to a remote spot. He was caught later and brought to trial before a "peoples' court" in his home district. The sentence was that Judge Wu and his family, including all members of his father's generation, his own generation and his children's generation, should be put to death. The total number of victims in the case of Judge Wu was 23. Judge Wu had been regarded by the people of his province in the same light in which Judge Medina is regarded by the people of the United States of America.

68. The terror is greatest in the province of Szechuan in the far west. Next come Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan. But there is no province, no district, no village, which has not suffered from this "rule by murder". In the bigger cities the Communists bother to issue official bulletins. In inland provinces people are put to death without even a record being made. The grand total for the second year of communist rule far exceeds the total for the first year. This "rule by mass murder" is entirely un-Chinese. The fanaticism behind this mass murder is also entirely un-Chinese. The apparatus by means of which this kind of mass murder has been committed is also entirely un-Chinese.

69. Under such circumstances the common people of China, who ordinarily wish only to be left alone and who have no devotion or antipathy to any kind of abstract ideology, are driven to desperation and therefore to fight for a different régime. Many of the common people of China are today fighters for freedom.

70. We who fight for peace must not forget those who fight for freedom in China and, I must add, in other countries behind the Iron Curtain. If we are to create a better world, the fighters for freedom and the fighters for peace must combine to rid this world of the new barbarism which threatens to engulf us all. When we plan and work for peace we must not forget for a single moment that peace and freedom are inseparable. Let this Assembly remember the numerous Articles of the Charter which bid the peoples of the world to promote respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Let us all remember that terror is preparation for war.

71. Mr. MAZA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like first of all to express my delegation's sincere gratitude

for the friendly hospitality offered by this two thousand year old city towards which the hopeful eyes of the world are turned.

72. It is no mere coincidence that the General Assembly of the United Nations is holding its sixth session in a country which is making a magnificent effort at reconstruction in a continent still suffering from the consequences of the Second World War and beset by fresh economic, political and social difficulties. The meetings of the General Assembly, the principal aim of which is to re-establish confidence in the possibility of peoples living peacefully together, cannot find a more propitious setting than this Republic which, after suffering twice in a single generation the horrors of war, draws strength from its painful experiences and hopes for living conditions which will enable it to view the future with optimism.

73. My delegation believes that at such a critical time it is the duty of the small countries to state their opinions here with the greatest clarity and frankness, at least so far as the acute problems troubling humanity and this Organization are concerned, because blind and all-destructive war does not discriminate between small and large nations and relentlessly annihilates all the moral values of the community. The voice of countries which are not expected, on account of their geographical situation or their slender material resources, to assume the responsibility of moulding action, is of particular importance; for, being freed from the pressure of immediate interests and not suffering from the confusion of innumerable problems which constantly require the adoption of definite positions, they perhaps come closest to being able to present a comprehensive view and so convey the opinion of the common man, or, to put it differently, international public opinion. It is not difficult to trace the origins of the present crisis. Those of us who represented our countries at San Francisco in 1945 and signed the Charter there, hoping that we had succeeded in establishing an international organization which would maintain peace and collective security, have witnessed how, in the space of a few weeks, some peoples lost the freedom for which the democratic world had had to fight.

74. There has been a systematic encouragement of underground political activities, of subversion of the existing order, of the violent replacement of independent régimes by others unconditionally subservient to foreign Powers, of the mockery of human dignity, the annexation of territories, and the constant refusal to sign peace treaties which would end conflicts once and for all.

75. The mere enumeration of geographical names known to all of us is an eloquent indication of the state of slavery of many peoples which were solemnly promised that the free exercise of their rights would be restored and their security protected. An identical pattern would seem to be discernible in the events following both of the world wars. At the end of the First World War, an effort was made to establish an international organization which would safeguard the freedom of peoples, their self-determination, observance of the obligations undertaken and the protection of peace. After a few years the League of Nations found itself first threatened and then destroyed by new forms of imperialism which replaced those annihilated shortly before by the democratic countries at the cost of every kind of effort and sacrifice.

76. At San Francisco the four freedoms appeared to be a new and luminous cross stretching out its arms to envelop the world in an eternal resurgence of peace. Now, however, we are witnessing the decay of a system which arose at the end of the First World War as a reaction against the excesses

of power and the abuses of capitalism. The doctrine set forth by the founders of that movement brought hope to the poor and was the signal for many of the coming of a new order: equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth and the elimination of arms as a means of settling disputes.

77. In every corner of the world there were people who believed in the truth of those theories and in the sincerity of their aims. The seed took root in the soul of millions of men of good faith. Now, however, there is an unbridgeable gap between the original pronouncement and the present attitude of the leaders of the régime. Thus, in the economic field the action undertaken by the international body and particularly by the under-developed countries has found them remiss in the accomplishment of their duties; and in the social and political field it may be asked: What principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and what standards of democratic action have they respected?

78. All this points clearly to the responsibility of those leaders, but it also imposes a no less clear obligation on the statesmen and peoples of the democratic world. Some have already suffered the bitter disillusionment of seeing the apostles of a movement which called itself a movement of liberation taking the path of imperialism. It is unnecessary here to refer also to the disillusionment and despair of those who put their faith in democracy. Democracy must not abandon its heritage of spiritual attributes, but it must realize that the seed of disintegration takes root more strongly in the soil of economic and social distress.

79. It is a noble truth that man will fight indefatigably for his ideals; but it is no less true that a humanity torn by two successive wars requires something more than illusions to enable it to remain strong and vigilant in defence of its freedom.

80. Chile resolutely supports the three-Power statement on disarmament. We consider that it would, in a constructive way, help to end the present international tension and ease the economic burden of the countries which, directly or indirectly, are bearing the weight of the armaments race. In our opinion, there is not a single point in that programme which can in all honesty be repudiated.

81. I think that I may add my voice to the voice of all small countries which are feeling the consequences of the present international situation and which, owing to their weak economy, are unable to absorb the impact of present economic and social conditions. We are speaking for the hopeful masses when we claim your attention for the tragic spectacle of ever-increasing social and economic injustice.

82. To speak in concrete terms, we believe that the search for an understanding to put an end to the present extremely serious situation must not be abandoned. What we should like to see is direct contact between the leaders of the major Powers; a considered and objective study of the disarmament plan; the signing of those peace treaties which have been so unfairly deferred, with provision for equitable treatment of former enemy nations; and the admission to membership of the international Organization of all countries accepting the obligations of the Charter. In particular, Chile sympathetically supports the just aspirations of the Italian people.

83. The collective work of the United Nations has made a great contribution towards the establishment of the rules of international relations as accepted by all civilized peoples. The persevering work of the specialized agencies is clear

evidence of their effectiveness. The acceptance of women as intelligent collaborators on equal terms has made for harmony in their work and has infused charm into their mission. Results in economic matters would have been even better had not the circumstances of which I have spoken interfered.

84. There are, however, a few words I should like to add in this connexion. In a few months, Chile will be ending its six years' term of office in the Economic and Social Council; Chile was elected to the Council when the United Nations first began to function, and its term was renewed in 1948. While we were members of the Council, we had only one object: to comply faithfully, strictly and diligently with the letter and spirit of the Charter, which clearly stipulates that the duties connected with collective security are indivisible from the duty to co-operate in raising standards of living and in ensuring social progress and the rule of fundamental human rights.

85. On leaving the Economic and Social Council, we see with great satisfaction that, with our enthusiastic co-operation, the first steps have been taken in decisive international action for promoting the economic development of under-developed countries. A technical assistance programme is already under way, and the basis has been laid for large-scale international financing of corresponding development programmes. We trust that the Council, following the lead given by the Assembly, will carry this work to a successful conclusion.

86. When we were elected by the Assembly to a seat on the Economic and Social Council, we were expected to some extent to represent the Latin American continent, as the Charter itself indicates. We should like to say at this stage to our colleagues of Latin America that never for one moment during the last six years did we forget this honourable duty of representation.

87. We strove steadfastly to achieve those objectives which, while of universal interest, most closely and urgently affected our Latin America, as well as those, such as the protection of fundamental human rights and dignity, which take pride of place in the spiritual heritage of our peoples.

88. The work done in the Committee on Collective Measures constitutes, beyond any doubt, a most important and historical development in the field of international co-operation and solidarity.

89. Korea has both a symbolic and a real significance. It represents the first co-ordinated action taken by the Members of the international Organization to support the principles of the Charter by concrete deeds; it is, further, an instance of the state of insecurity which has spread all over the globe through the international tension.

90. The Chilean people and its Government wish to make an earnest appeal for agreement and an honourable settlement of the differences which have arisen and which threaten to destroy us. We bear no responsibility for the origins of the present international crisis, and yet, in spite of that, we should find ourselves the victims in any outbreak of violence, just as would other nations which are as little responsible as we are.

91. For that reason, and because we understand that confused reasoning or pride can vitiate any peaceful solution, we advocate a strengthening of the system of collective security; however, at the same time, we urge that such an effort should not entail the sacrifice of the living conditions which have engendered the democratic ideal in all free men.

92. The steadily growing faith in this democratic ideal will help to strengthen the international Organization, and this ever-growing solidarity will be the soundest guarantee of stable peace and of confidence in a better future for mankind.

93. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): In this critical period of human history, it is a good omen that the sixth session of the General Assembly should meet in the beautiful city of Paris, one of the mainsprings of Western culture, where the ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality have found their most eloquent expression in modern times, and where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was unanimously adopted by the Members of the United Nations. I have great pleasure in expressing, on behalf of my delegation, our thanks and appreciation to the French Government and people for the hospitality and welcome they have accorded to us all.

94. Humanity has long been struggling to realize the aims and ideals of the French Revolution as well as those of many other revolutions carried out in the interests of individual and national freedom and equality. Wars, both local and universal, have been waged simply because certain Powers and interests have not recognized the right of other people's to freedom. It was to replace the destructive methods of war and revolutions by the peaceful methods of conciliation and evolution that the United Nations was established. Humanity has had enough of wars and bloodshed. It is time that we should be guided by intelligence and farsightedness instead of emotion and sentiment. It is time that the lessons of tolerance and fair play were learnt, so that the march of humanity towards its goals might be positive and progressive and not negative and destructive. Old habits of thought and action, selfishness, self-aggrandizement, domination and the exploitation of others must be effectively erased and replaced by co-operation, friendship and fair dealing. Otherwise, humanity will be crushed under the weight of the most destructive weapons which modern science can produce.

95. The lessons which wars and revolutions have taught mankind are clear. They consist of respect for the rights and freedoms of the individual as well as of nations. If the world learns these lessons, no more wars and no more revolutions will endanger peace and tranquillity. It is not enough, however, to learn these lessons, which are embodied in the Charter only in the abstract. We need to practise them and to apply them. It is in the application and practice of the principles of the Charter that we discover some difficulties and some failures in this Organization. We shall allude here only to a few of the causes of these failures.

96. In the first place, it seems that while we pay lip-service to the natural rights and freedoms of peoples, we are not always consistent in applying them. Human slavery on the individual level is universally prohibited throughout the civilized world, but a considerable part of the civilized world has not recognized the rightful aspirations of other peoples to independence and freedom; in other words, slavery is still being practised on a national level while it is prohibited on the individual level.

97. National sovereignty on the basis of equality is clearly recognized in the Charter for all the Members of the United Nations: still we find that there exists treaties not based on the principle of equality between Members of the United Nations.

98. The sanctity of home and property and the right of every individual to live in his own country and return to it whenever he desires are guaranteed in the Charter and

in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Nevertheless, we find that about one million Arabs, Moslem and Christian alike, have been forcibly evicted from their homes in Palestine and prevented from returning to their country while outsiders are constantly pouring in and occupying their homes and making use of their property, thus creating difficulties which would stand in the way of their return. It seems to us that there is a grave inconsistency there. It is either that the Charter is so ambiguous that we need a new interpretation on a re-drafting of its provision, or that it is clear but we flout it in practice while claiming to respect its fundamental principles.

99. Secondly, a very obvious cause of the paralysis of this Organization comes from the rule of unanimity of the five permanent Members of the Security Council, the so-called veto. My delegation continues to claim that the principle of the veto is not consistent with the spirit of the Charter, which is based on the principle of the equality of nations big and small, strong and weak. While this principle is for the present accepted, it has been misapplied especially in the admission of new Members to this Organization. My delegation believes in the universality of the United Nations and considers that its membership should be made broad and inclusive.

100. My delegation has always claimed that the veto is not applicable in the case of admission of new Members: for the function of the Security Council is to recommend admission and not to decide upon it. The decision for admission is a function of the General Assembly and not of the Security Council.

101. Besides, this unanimity rule itself has been circumvented and violated by the Security Council, by interpreting "abstention" to mean a concurrence of vote. If one abstains, one is not concurring in the vote either with those who say "yes" or with those who say "no". One has to say "yes" or "no" to concur with one group or the other. To say nothing is not concurring. Still the Security Council did twist the letter of the Charter in the admission of the fifty-ninth Member to this Assembly¹ as it did in its decision this year on the Suez Canal question when two of the permanent members of the Security Council abstained.² We say: abolish the veto! But if it is kept it should be observed conscientiously. Favouritism and power politics should not be permitted to influence the decisions of the United Nations, and yet they have almost rendered this Organization impotent, thus endangering the peace of the world.

102. Thirdly, probably the greatest crisis of this Organization and of the world at large emanates from the fears and suspicions between the major Powers. These fears and suspicions are the cause of the cold war, they are at the basis of the race for armaments, and unless they are dispelled by reason, mutual confidence and common sense, humanity will face a new and devastating catastrophe.

103. My delegation listened last Thursday [335th and 336th meetings] to the distinguished representatives of the United States of America and of the Soviet Union, and tried in vain to find a common ground between the two representatives of the two conflicting camps. This is a situation which is saddening to us all. We had hoped to start this session of the General Assembly with greater readiness on the part of all concerned to show a spirit of conciliation and recognition of the fundamental truths and

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, 414th meeting.*
² *Ibid.*, Sixth Year, 558th meeting.

values of the United Nations Charter. This crisis of fear and suspicion calls for a fundamental analysis and basic treatment. For unless this psychosis is properly and sincerely treated, no proposal for disarmament—no matter how desirable—and no system of inspection of atomic or any other weapons will be possible. So long as there are fears and suspicions, mental and emotional barriers, this Organization and the whole world will suffer. One way to dispel these fears and to remove suspicions is to have free contact between the peoples concerned and to develop among them a spirit of tolerance and forbearance. It is in this spirit that my delegation, along with the delegation of Syria submitted a draft resolution at the last session³ calling on the five permanent members of the Security Council to meet individually or collectively with the intention of settling together the many problems that endanger world peace today. It is to the regret of all peace-loving peoples that the Conference of the Deputy Foreign Ministers in Paris failed to work out an agenda for a future meeting. We believe that all difficulties in the way of such a meeting should be overcome. We would certainly welcome the suggestion made here by His Excellency, the President of the French Republic, to the effect that the great leaders of the major Powers might meet here in Paris. Such a move might lead to a reduction of the fears and suspicions prevailing, and eventually contribute to world peace and security. Leaving matters as they stand today with mental and material walls separating the two great camps will certainly lead to the final dissolution of this Organization and consequently to the destruction of all civilization. Were it not for these fears and suspicions, the war in Korea would have stopped at least a year ago. We still hope that wise counsel may prevail and that a cease-fire in Korea will take effect at the earliest possible date.

104. Another deadly enemy of this Organization is the existence of power politics and pressure groups. Once power politics prevail here at the expense of human rights and the clear principles of the Charter, peace and justice are in jeopardy. The worst example of this case is the tragedy of Palestine. It has now become abundantly clear that it was due to the influence of widespread propaganda of the "Zionist International" upon the Press, the cinema and the intellectual and political centres of the world that the infamous partition of Palestine was brought about. It is unbelievable that an institution designed to guard human rights and freedoms should have taken an illegal decision leading to the uprooting of one million Palestinian Arabs who were left destitute in a state of misery and suffering. This Organization cannot relinquish the responsibility for the deep wound inflicted on the Arab peoples, and the status of the refugees is a constant irritant of this wound. There is no doubt that thus far this Organization has always shown weakness before Jewish aggression, stubbornness and disregard of United Nations resolutions in failing to yield to Arab rights in Palestine. So far it has failed to do justice to the Arabs of Palestine. It is to be noted that Jewish aggression has never ceased, and during this very year Syrian villages have been bombed from the air by Jewish planes, the Jews have illegally started to change the course of the Jordan River, thus depriving the Kingdom of Jordan of its legitimate share of its waters; they constantly attack and shoot peaceful Arabs; destroy their homes and villages and evict them from their lands.

105. It is regretted that honest and impartial United Nations officials are intimidated—one of them at least,

a French official, was removed at the instance of the Jews because he would tell the whole truth. There is no doubt that the presence of the Jewish State is the greatest single factor that disturbs peace and stability in the Middle East; that, coupled with the status of the refugees, is enough to create a serious situation of tension and hatred. Does the future look any brighter? While the decisions of this Assembly in 1948, 1949 and 1950 with regard to the right of Arab refugees to return to their homes remain completely disregarded by the Jewish State, hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants are pouring into Palestine to occupy the homes and farms which rightfully belongs to Arabs. Eventually this uncontrolled immigration will develop into an explosive situation which will endanger the peace of the whole area.

106. But can the United Nations, which is responsible for this state of affairs, stop the danger from growing any further? It certainly cannot do so as long as the Zionists exercise great pressure in the capital cities of the world. The debates of the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem last August amply demonstrated the intention of the Zionist International to go on bringing pressure in world capitals at the expense of Arab lands and Arab rights. But what about peace and stability in the Middle East? Is it to be sacrificed and crushed in the grindstone of power politics and pressure groups? What is to be done is quite simple. It is incumbent on those Powers which are primarily responsible for the creation of the Jewish State to see to it that this State abides at least by the United Nations resolutions, those resolutions which have been so unfair and unjust to the Arabs. Peace in Palestine and the Middle East is a vain hope so long as Arab rights are ignored and so long as Arab honour and dignity are wounded. Any proposals by the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine that water down the United Nations decisions and whittle away Arab rights are doomed to failure. It is high time that the United Nations should rid itself of power politics.

107. The Arab world, extending from Casablanca to Basrah, consists of peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples. The awakening Arab nationalism based on common language, culture, history and geography binds us all together and has created amongst us a sense of unity. The Arab nation has fought on the side of the democracies in two world wars, hoping to achieve its national aspirations of freedom and unity.

108. Notwithstanding their great sacrifices, many Arab territories still await their deliverance from foreign subjugation. It is for this Organization, if it is to function according to the spirit of the Charter, to see to it that these people achieve their political freedom, their unity, and their economic, social and educational development in a democratic world. By tradition the Arab is friendly and hospitable. Xenophobia grows under foreign domination and exploitation. Political problems and difficulties in the Arab world are due primarily to foreign influence and machinations. We believe that once power politics give way to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, the Arab world will provide a good pillar of peace in this world.

109. Besides the problem of Palestine, the United Nations has been called upon to take action on two Arab questions. The first is that of Libya. We sincerely hope that Libya will become an independent State before 1 January 1952, and that at this session it will join us as the sixty-first Member of the United Nations. We sincerely hope that the decisions of this Assembly with regard to Libya will be put into effect in their true spirit. All we want in Libya is

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, First Committee, 371st meeting.*

to see created a free and independent State—democratic and united, and ruled by a constitutional government supported by the true representatives of the people. Let us hope that no intrigue will be permitted to compromise the unity and territorial integrity of Libya. Libya certainly deserves all the technical and material help of the United Nations and let us hope that it will be a credit to this Organization.

110. The second question is that of Morocco. In this connexion, we wish to submit that the end of the Second World War saw a number of new countries attaining their freedom and independence. The emergence of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Syria and Lebanon as independent States is no doubt a credit to the statesmanship of the leaders of both sides. Undoubtedly some inevitable struggle and friction did take place—but ultimately all was settled and friendly relations much more lasting than the former relations came into being.

111. Arab North Africa, which has been so helpful, and which has sacrificed so many of its young men for the cause of the Allies in two world wars, is not yet free. We sincerely hope that France, that great champion of freedom and democracy, will see to it that political, economic and cultural development in these countries go on at a faster pace and that Morocco will soon exercise its full independence. The United Nations Charter certainly stands for the principle of self-determination of peoples, and the people of Morocco are certainly ready for independence and self-government. They have been under French tutelage for over forty years. Last year the United Nations General Assembly decided that Somaliland should attain its independence in ten years—a period which my delegation thought to be unduly long. If ten years are adequate to provide independence for Somaliland under Italy, should not the lapse of forty years have been enough for Morocco? It was in this spirit that the Iraq Government, along with other States members of the Arab League, submitted a request proposing that the item concerning Morocco should be included in the agenda of the sixth session and we sincerely hope that the General Assembly will take up the matter at the earliest possible date in this session.

112. We are confident that France, whose friendship my country—like all other Arab countries—cherishes so much, will give due consideration to the national aspirations of the peoples of North Africa.

113. The Arab world has been suffering for generations from poverty, disease and ignorance—curses due mainly to past wars and invasions which were not followed by redress or reconstruction. Neglected and left in their present difficulties, they will always contribute to world tension and instability, and the danger of subversive activities will not be excluded.

114. Technical and economic assistance on a large scale by the United Nations is a matter of great urgency if we are to avoid unrest and political upheavals. We need not emphasize here that any economic or technical assistance should in no way compromise the political freedom of these peoples.

115. In spite of the difficulties of the United Nations, which are themselves a reflection of the ills of the world, the fact remains that the Organization is the last hope of mankind. We must either make it work according to the principles of the Charter or we must abdicate and let power politics and the law of the jungle prevail. In other words, humanity faces its greatest test today. It either rises to new heights of peace based upon truth, justice and prosperity, or falls to its final doom. Let us hope that our will to survive

will prevail and that we will move along the path of mutual confidence, mutual respect and co-operation for political freedom, social and economic justice for all, individually and collectively.

116. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting in the very heart of France, here in Paris, with its magnificent tradition of fighting for freedom, Paris, whose streets only a few years ago rang with the boots of the Wehrmacht and which was liberated by its heroic people at the cost of bloody sacrifice.

117. Those wounds are still not closed. In this part of Europe, as in my own country, everyone knows that war brings the nations neither profit nor dollar dividends, but only ruin, poverty and death.

118. Once more, and despite the tragedy caused by the Second World War, the threat of armed conflict weighs upon mankind. Since the capitulation of the Axis Powers no one has threatened the security of the United States of America. But, from fear of public opinion at home and in the world at large, the United States Government is trying to pass off its plans of aggression as plans for defence.

119. Neither has anyone threatened the United Kingdom, nor is anyone threatening it. It is incomprehensible therefore why Mr. Eden should have attempted to justify the Atlantic pact by appealing to Article 51 of the Charter. That article, as everyone knows, applies specifically to the event of an armed attack. The Atlantic pact is consequently flagrantly inconsistent with it. Nor can the Atlantic pact be regarded as a regional pact.

120. For that reason we have from the very first consistently denounced the Atlantic pact and all American military pacts as pacts for war. And now, at the end of 1951, no one in his right mind continues to cherish illusions as to the real objects of these so-called defence pacts. We have unmasked more than once the aggressive nature of the Atlantic pact. What was the reply? That it was a regional pact in accordance with the United Nations Charter. But this "regional" pact is now being extended to every continent. In defiance of geography, the waters of the Atlantic today bathe not only the Italian peninsula and North Africa but also the shores of Greece and Asia Minor. It is now the aim of the Americans to make even the Mediterranean a *mare americanum*, and their Press already calls it *mare nostrum*. And their plans are even more ambitious than that. Is not Mr. Acheson dreaming of making the power of the United States felt in every corner of the world?

121. The United States is forcing the governments under their domination, in every continent, to place their territories at the disposal of American forces of occupation. American garrisons are moving in on aerodromes which are being prepared in France, the United Kingdom, Italy and numerous other countries. The United States intends to surround the Baltic with a network of bases and aerodromes. The end in view is always the same: preparation for a new war to establish American domination, the American "new order".

122. The United States is forcing the members of the Atlantic bloc to accept its military command and its supreme commander, to whom their armed forces are subordinate, contrary to the will of their people. That is shown by the hostile reception accorded General Eisenhower by the masses on his first tour of inspection of Marshall Aid Europe. The concentration of large forces of police has been required to enable Eisenhower to pass through Western European capitals.

123. The San Francisco, Washington and Ottawa conferences mark a fresh stage in the realization of American war plans. At those conferences the United States Government imposed upon its allies its plan for making German and Japanese militarism the main instrument of aggression. In return, Western Germany and Japan were given a privileged position in the aggressive bloc. The other partners in the pact were to pay the price.

124. The United States has sought to give a semblance of legality to the revived German militarism by including Western Germany in the Atlantic pact. That was flatly opposed by the European countries, who will understand the danger of an Americanized neo-hitlerite Germany, armed to the teeth. Consequently they had to be tricked. An attempt has been made to do so by disguising these plans for the revival of German militarism under the idea of a so-called "European Army", named after the French Premier. The name of another French politician provided a cloak for the plans for rebuilding the German war potential. The Schuman plan and the Pléven plan mean the rebuilding of the war potential of Germany under an American protectorate! Mr. Van Cauwelaert, President of the Belgian Parliament, has stated with regard to Belgium what these plans really mean for the countries of Western Europe. He has said: "Acceptance of the Schuman plan, the Pléven plan and a 'European Army' would be the end of our sovereignty".

125. The idea of creating a "European Army" is not new. One of the leaders of the neo-hitlerite Bruderschaft Deutschland said recently: "A European army, inspired with the truly European spirit, already existed during the last war when the German Armies with their French, Flemish, Walloon and other allies were fighting Bolshevism".

126. Need I say that the French, Walloon and other detachments of that army consisted of traitors to their country, Quislings, men without faith or honour? Would any patriot have allowed himself to fight in such an army?

127. Under United States control, revengeful and revisionary slogans have become key motifs in the programme of the Bonn political leaders. Mr. McCloy, the American pro-consul, in his speech of 16 August 1951, promised the support of the United States Government for the German plan of revenge. It is not surprising therefore that the former hitlerite general, Frissner, elected President of the German Servicemen's League, should be vindicating, even now, the hitlerite aggression of 1939. On 9 September last, he stated at Bonn: "I still think that the Polish expedition was necessary". He praised the crimes committed by the hitlerite troops in the last war: "The Waffen SS units" he said "stood the test of fire. They did their duty in a spirit of sacrifice and unalloyed idealism; their behaviour was exemplary". That is how one of the protagonists of the new Wehrmacht attempts to efface the memory of those abominable crimes. He is trying to excuse in advance similar methods that may be used by the revived Wehrmacht. That is how the Americans, against the real interests of the German people, are creating a new Wehrmacht, a mercenary army of aggression, under the Bonn régime, and foisting on the German people war criminals like Frissner, whom they are putting in key military and economic positions.

128. In assuming responsibility for the economic administration of Germany, the United States of America is reconstructing its war potential, clearly at the cost of that country's peace-time production but also at that of the economic life of the whole of Western Europe.

129. We are dwelling at considerable length on the German problem, not only because it is a serious peril to peace, but also to warn the countries of Western Europe against the consequences of the restoration of German militarism. The revival of militarism and neo-hitlerism threaten all Germany's neighbours. In this respect the politicians of Bonn, from Schumacher to the leaders of the rightist S.R.P., such as Remer, are uttering symptomatic threats. Schumacher's statements are well known; I would like, however, to quote Remer's most recent statement: "Germany should take advantage of its strong position to obtain the most favourable conditions. By defending our interests we shall show ourselves to be good Europeans".

130. Poland's position is that aggressive Prussia is no longer its neighbour; a friendly frontier unites it to the peace-loving German Democratic Republic, that Republic whose existence is due to the German people's change of heart. The ever-growing influence of the democratic elements, which the Soviet Union's execution of the Potsdam Agreement has enabled to come to power in Eastern Germany, has contributed to the destruction of the breeding centres of fascism, militarism and the desire for revenge and aggression. East of the Elbe friendly relations, uniting peace-loving governments and peoples, have developed. West of that river the decrepit generals of the Wehrmacht brandish their sabres, in defiance of the wishes of the German people. The complete settlement of relations with Poland is an earnest of the German Democratic Republic's wish for peace. The development of relations between Poland and the German Democratic Republic makes it possible to state that the coming to power of the democratic elements throughout Germany would be a powerful factor for peace and security in Europe. The basis upon which relations with Poland have been set up shows that the Government of the German Democratic Republic is determined to carry out fully the principles set forth by Prime Minister Grotewohl on 12 September 1949 at the time of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic. He stated in particular that the Government of the German Democratic Republic, following a peace policy, wished "to establish peaceful and friendly relations with all countries". In its defence of the interests of the German people and of peace, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is fighting for the unity of Germany. A divided Germany is a permanent cockpit for strife in Europe.

131. That is precisely why the United States, by bringing Western Germany into the Atlantic pact, has entrusted to it a very special role in its preparations for aggression, that of perpetuating the division of the country at all costs. That is also its aim in proposing to the General Assembly a commission of investigation into conditions in Germany, at the very moment when the German people is increasingly showing its desire for unity. Meanwhile, at Bonn, the American occupation authorities and the government of Hitler's heirs in the pay of the United States are vainly endeavouring to stifle this wish for unity. They reject the proposals for unification put forward by the Parliament and Government of the German Democratic Republic. As is well known, the proposal made by the President of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Pieck, for the immediate beginning of direct negotiations to put an end to the division of Germany has been rejected by Mr. Heuss, the President of the so-called Bonn State. The proposals recently submitted by the three Powers are merely a manoeuvre intended to justify this rejection, and can only result in the maintenance of a divided Germany.

132. I should like to add that this is being done despite international treaties and in violation of the United Nations

Charter. In the same way, the Atlantic pact itself and the incorporation of Western Germany into this pact, as I have already said, constitute a violation of the Charter also.

133. Japan has been assigned a similar part in the Far East to that filled by Western Germany in Europe. The aim of the San Francisco Conference was the consolidation of the American positions in the Far East, the legalization of the present armament of Japan and its participation in the Korean war and preparations for aggression against the People's Republic of China. During this conference, the United States tried to show the world, by means of the radio, the Press and television, that it was capable of dictating its wishes to the governments dependent upon it, although they were fully aware that they were acting contrary to their own national interests.

134. The military failure in Korea and the failure of the American plans in China have brought Japanese militarism into the foreground. It is Japan, with its government imposed upon the Japanese people, which is henceforth to carry out American plans in the Pacific. That is why article 1 of the so-called treaty of military aid to Japan guarantees in the first place the protection of the Japanese militarist Government against its people, which hates militarism and is fighting against its oppressors, American and Japanese. The 5,500,000 signatures to the demand for a five-Power pact, despite the repression carried out by the police and United States armed forces, bear witness to the Japanese people's desire for peace, as does also the wave of strikes and protests throughout the country.

135. But it is obvious that after the Soviet Union's victory over Hitlerism and Japanese militarism, after the victory of the People's Republic of China, while the heroic Korean people is successfully repulsing imperialist attacks, and while Viet-Nam is fighting for its freedom and a wave of struggles for liberation against foreign occupation is spreading throughout Asia, the methods of the Japanese Samurai American-wise are doomed to shameful defeat.

136. The policy of war preparations in all parts of the world, the feverish creation of new bases for aggression against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies are obviously incompatible with the aims of the United Nations. Such behaviour is a direct threat to the existence of our Organization.

137. Mr. Eden calls this policy a policy of collective security, but collective security cannot be based on conspiracy and plotting by a group of States against other States, under the pretext of defence. Collective security should be based on co-operation between all States, in the interests of their common peace and security. The United Nations should be the centre round which the peaceful co-operation of men of peaceful ideas and of respect for international law will harmoniously develop.

138. In organizing a general aggression pact, violating international agreements, struggling against peoples who wish to govern themselves, interfering in the internal affairs of various countries and waging economic war, the United States continually attacks the very principles of the United Nations Charter.

139. Mr. Eden did not say a word about this. When he spoke of respect for international law and of the sanctity of treaties, he made no reference to the systematic violation of the agreements signed at Cairo, Yalta, Potsdam and Moscow, although those agreements were signed in good faith and on the basis of equal rights. Mr. Eden was probably thinking of treaties imposed by force upon weaker countries. He is even prepared to resort to armed force in order to defend these treaties.

140. The year 1950 furnished proof of the fact that American threats and calls to world domination had reached the stage of realization. From incitement to war and the organization of future aggression the United States went on in 1950 to concrete acts of aggression. They made brutal attacks upon peoples which they thought would not be in a position to defend themselves. The heroic Korean people was the victim of that policy.

141. The year 1951 saw the failure of the American attempt to enslave the Korean people. Events have proved once again the great historic truth that peoples who struggle for their freedom are invincible and that they cannot be overcome by military or technical superiority. The Korean people is waging a victorious struggle against the aggressor. That people is heroic because it is inspired by freedom, and it is prepared to negotiate because it is anxious for peace.

142. Nevertheless, the war continues. Six months have passed since the day when the Soviet Union representative, Mr. Malik, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted on behalf of the Soviet Union some constructive proposals for a cease-fire in Korea. Under the pressure of public opinion in America and throughout the world, the rulers of the United States of America began negotiations, although they regarded them as a tactical manoeuvre from the outset. That is why the Americans have sabotaged these peace talks, submitted unacceptable claims, withdrawn their own proposals and violated decisions taken by common agreement.

143. Is it not significant that at a time when the armistice talks were taking place at Kaesong and then at Pam-Mun-Jon the Americans were bombing behind the lines, massacring the civilian population and violating the Chinese frontier, while heavy naval artillery was destroying towns indiscriminately?

144. The continuation of military operations and the sabotage of the talks have but one purpose, that of prolonging the war in Korea. In the meantime, hundreds of thousands of innocent persons are being killed and the age-old treasures of the Korean people are being destroyed. Time is pressing. The United Nations can no longer remain passive in the face of this bloodshed. The cessation of hostilities in Korea should be our foremost concern; it is the most urgent problem of the present.

145. Aggression, preparation for war, the armaments race and incitement to war, have resulted in the Korean tragedy. The example of Korea should serve as a warning to all peoples, and especially to small countries. The authors of war plans are not concerned with the destinies of peoples. Even the fate of their own allies is a matter of indifference to them. Mr. Poage, a representative from Texas and a member of the United States Congress, has admitted this with disconcerting frankness: "We can give our allies", he said, "only one assurance: we will carry out the work of destroying means of transport and production as well as we can, far better than any of the armies which have overrun this territory in the last ten centuries. We shall destroy all the bridges, we shall flood all the collieries, we shall raze to the ground all the factory chimneys in Belgium and Northern France. We shall demolish everything."

146. Korea is an example of the realization of these criminal plans. South Korea has been changed from an American military base into a base for attacking the peaceful People's Democratic Republic of Korea. The special correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Monde* gives the following picture of South Korea as it is at the present day: "A former village can now only be seen under the

snow as a kind of abandoned camp, and what a town was like can only be seen from the alignment of the shattered walls and the position of scraps of iron, among which there sometimes stands an ironically preserved sign reading 'Thanks to UN forces'. Here were Kumchon, Yongdong, Tesjon, Konju, Chonan, Suwon, Seoul... 250 kilometres of a road which has become the Appian Way of a gigantic new Pompeii. The stream of fire has spared nothing, the disaster is complete."

147. Is there any nation which would accept such a perspective without resisting it with all its strength? This is the application, raised to the standards of American technique, of the hitlerite method of total destruction, the victims of which were Warsaw, many towns in the Soviet Union, Coventry, Rotterdam, Oradour and Dunkirk. Today it is the duty of humanity as a whole to prevent the realization of these criminal plans.

148. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent in the face of acts of aggression and preparations for aggression. It cannot remain silent whilst popular liberties are being trampled underfoot. Ways and means must be found to ease the present international tension, check the armaments race, and direct the energies of all peace-loving peoples to political and economic co-operation designed to bring peace, security and prosperity to the world. But the measures must be concrete, energetic and effective and, most important of all, they must be taken immediately.

149. It is clearly not the American disarmament plan, presented by the American Secretary of State, that is going to solve this problem. Long before Mr. Acheson made his speech, the American Press had been promising a sensational peace plan which was to help ease the existing tension and provide a basis for co-operation, between the major Powers in particular. Then finally, on 8 November 1951, came Mr. Acheson's speech. We heard once again, expressed this time in even harsher and franker terms than before, American views on the problem of war and peace, and on the independence and subjugation of nations.

150. Never before had we heard American State interests formulated so cynically and so frankly. For Mr. Acheson, these are merely the two sides of the same coin. It is not difficult to guess what coin Mr. Acheson has in mind. Both United States policy and the destiny of the world are closely bound up with the dollar. The chief consideration, for Mr. Acheson, is that the dollar should multiply and increase. Mr. Acheson speaks of the two sides of the same coin; the point is that there is one currency only—the currency of war. On the reverse we have preparations for aggression; on the obverse, pacific, hypocritical phrases.

151. Mr. Acheson juggles with his coin, showing one side or the other, according to circumstances, conditions and needs. At the moment we have what he calls "the mustering of strength"; which means armaments, war orders, and subjugation of nations, one after another; increased exploitation of colonial countries under pretext of defending them, and economic discrimination extending from machine tools to bathing suits.

152. It is this side of the coin that Washington has been showing to the world for the last five years. And Mr. Acheson would have us believe that armaments, the establishment of military bases, and the creation of aggressive blocs are simply directed to "upholding the principles of the Charter", and that the subjugation of countries and peoples to the United States is a means of defending their liberty.

153. It is for this reason that Mr. Acheson praises the San Francisco Treaty, though the whole world knows that it is

in fact a *Diktat* of exceptional harshness, imposed not only on Japan but also on those of America's allies who have signed it. This is an example of the practical application of the principle of negotiation through strength which Mr. Eden propounded to us here this morning. These are, incidentally, the methods commonly used at the conferences of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty.

154. At the same time Mr. Acheson tries to persuade his listeners that the Soviet Union is not showing, in its acts, a will to peace. Mr. Acheson, in his arguments, is obviously avoiding facts. He is purposely twisting the truth about the Soviet Union's peace policy, the Soviet Union's scrupulous observance both of international agreements and of the Charter of the United Nations; the respect shown by the Soviet Union for the rights of other peoples and the Soviet Union's opposition to war preparations and war-mongering, all that he is silent about. It is not the Soviet Union which is launching attacks on other countries. It is not the Soviet Union which is sending its troops all over the world, on the territories of other States. It is not the Soviet Union which is encircling the globe with its military bases, or bombing the towns and villages of Asia. The Soviet Union does not force people to arm, nor does it apply measures of economic discrimination. Mr. Acheson cannot comprehend that a country may be powerful, even very powerful, without being imperialist, without thirsting for wars and conquests.

155. United States politicians are very fond of using the formula "peace through deeds". If Mr. Acheson really wished to show his desire for peace by deeds, he could very easily do so. He could, at this sixth session, have announced the liquidation of American bases on all continents, the recall of American troops to their own country; he could have announced the end of the arms race, the withdrawal of American troops from Korea; he could have announced that the United States of America intended to stop intervening in the internal affairs of other countries on the pretext of defending human rights, freedom of information and the rest.

156. But, what did Mr. Acheson in fact offer us? This allegedly new disarmament plan turns out to be merely the old and already discredited Baruch plan, applied now to all types of armament. It does not provide for prohibition of the production and use of the atomic weapon; nor does it provide for the limitation of other armaments. This plan will not halt the armaments race—which incidentally, it does not even propose to do.

157. On the contrary, it proposes taking an inventory of war equipment and carrying out inspections. The execution of this plan rests, first and foremost, on the ability to count. That is not surprising. Counting is after all a very important part of the American way of life. People spend their time counting their fortunes. And now, they want to set up a commission which will solemnly count rifles and guns, tanks and atomic bombs. Starting with small things and then passing on to bigger ones. The motives underlying this plan are not far to seek. American generals and politicians are tortured by uncertainty: credit or debit—are they ahead or behind in the race? If they are behind, then they must immediately step up production and impose checks on the other side. If they are ahead, they can embark on what they call "negotiation through strength". They can try to impose their conditions on others, dictate disarmament, reinforce and extend their own domination over the world.

158. But even this proposal of Mr. Acheson's is conditional upon the cessation of hostilities in Korea. The linking

up of these two questions is very significant. We know very well who is prolonging the war in Korea, and who, on various trumped-up pretexts is constantly setting up new obstacles to the conclusion of an armistice.

159. The American plan neither halts nor even slows down the armaments race. The plan is that it should proceed by stages. Now, when nations everywhere are staggering under the burden of armaments, and calling for immediate action, Mr. Acheson's plan makes no concrete proposals, solves none of the problems of the hour.

160. We shall have occasion later at the meetings of the First Committee to analyse the Acheson plan in detail. But it must be labelled, here and now, as a new manoeuvre in the cold war—or, as *Le Monde* of 9 November rightly described it, a manoeuvre meant to pose as a peace proposal. It is plain that this manoeuvre will not deceive anyone, this propaganda stunt will misfire, especially since the hypocrisy and guile of Mr. Acheson's words had been unmasked in his own country even before he made his speech in this hall.

161. On the very same day, in fact, General Bradley, Chief of the American General Staff, announced that the United States was going to increase its armaments and prepare for the tactical use of the atomic weapon. Similarly, General Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic bloc, is demanding atomic weapons for his aggressive bases in Europe.

162. That is how the American generals understand Mr. Acheson's words. Those, in practice, are the two sides of the coin with which we have been presented. It is this plan, devoid of all real meaning, which has been submitted to us here in the guise of a real peace plan.

163. Mr. Acheson in his speech abused the word "peace". That was clearly because the desire for peace is growing ever stronger among the peoples of the world. The past year has witnessed an expansion of the world peace movement and the response of the popular masses to the inaction of the United Nations.

164. Disappointed in their hopes, the nations have taken the cause of defending peace into their own hands. As the peace movement grows, its proposals are couched in increasingly concrete terms. Two weeks ago, the World Peace Council, meeting in Vienna, issued an appeal to the United Nations General Assembly to take concrete effective measures to safeguard peace.

165. The World Peace Council has expressed its conviction that "war is not inevitable, that the peaceful coexistence of different social and political systems is possible". In its resolution, the Council calls upon the General Assembly of the United Nations at its sixth session to adopt effective decisions to guarantee general disarmament and institute a system of international control designed to enforce disarmament by all States.

166. Our Organization cannot remain deaf to the voice of millions of men and women all over the world. It is the duty of this Organization to find a solution for the most pressing problems of the present day and to ease the international tension. First among the matters to be settled is the Korean war. A cease-fire must be arranged immediately. The Korean people, delivered from the threat of foreign bayonets, must be free to forge its own destiny. The Polish delegation therefore whole-heartedly supports the Soviet Union proposal on Korea [336th meeting], calling

for troops to be withdrawn behind the 38th parallel within ten days of the armistice, and all troops and volunteers to be withdrawn from the country as a whole within three months.

167. These last few years have seen a great many armament conferences organized under the auspices of the United States Government—the conferences at Washington and Ottawa, for instance, and the one shortly to be held in Rome. At such conferences, a group of States, under the leadership of American delegates, consult together on the best weapons and the most appropriate strategy for the next war, which they themselves are fomenting.

168. The peoples of the world have had enough of such armament conferences as these. It is high time that an international body, with as large a competence and representative a basis as possible, including both Member States of the United Nations and non-member States, should take the problem of disarmament in hand. Such a conference must be convened within a very short time.

169. Whatever the representative of Bolivia may have said about it this morning, the convening of such a conference is within the competence of the United Nations. In the field of security and peace, indeed, the Organization's activities should extend to the greatest possible number of States, so that their efforts may be combined. The United Nations has already called conferences of this kind on much less important matters, such, for example, as the question of freedom of the Press and of information. The Bolivian representative probably does not like disarmament conferences. On the other hand, he supports the numerous conferences which are preparing aggression and intensifying the armaments race.

170. The problem of disarmament cannot be solved by half measures or meaningless resolutions. The vital interests of all States, both those which are Members of the United Nations and other States, depend on a solution of this problem. Only the joint efforts of all the nations will be able effectively to secure total disarmament. In the present situation, the capitalist countries are advancing ever further along the path of a war economy, lowering as they do so the standard of living of large masses of the population. The armaments race must be checked, so as to allow the economic development of the countries of Europe and raise the standard of living of their peoples.

171. Analysis reveals that of the various proposals submitted to the Assembly only the Soviet Union proposals present the problem with the necessary fairness and seriousness. A general disarmament conference devoted solely to this problem will enable the matter to be thoroughly discussed and make it possible to prepare precise and detailed plans. Such a conference must become a working body which will draw up a plan, offer definite recommendations as to its execution and work out methods of effective control.

172. The problem of disarmament is closely linked with the proposal concerning a five-Power pact. Such a pact, guaranteeing co-operation between the major Powers for the maintenance of peace and security, will create an atmosphere of confidence in international relations.

173. In speaking of the five-Power pact, we are thinking of a treaty which would really bind its signatories. For Mr. Pearson, international treaties and solemn engagements are only scraps of paper. Mr. Pearson has already on several

occasions shown his contempt for law and international pledges. It is sufficient to recall his attitude on the election of the Secretary-General at the fifth session of the General Assembly. He said then that if it was impossible to settle that matter within the framework of law, other methods would have to be used.

174. The conclusion of a five-Power pact will create an atmosphere such as will make it possible to achieve disarmament by all countries without fear or restriction, thus transforming the war economy into an economy of peace. The adherence of other States to the five-Power pact will bring additional guarantees of international security, ensuring peace and independence by co-operation, understanding and mutual arrangements.

175. Speaking today from this rostrum, Mr. Eden failed to mention the concrete proposals made by the Soviet Union. He has, nevertheless, had sufficient time to study them thoroughly. We understand the reason for his silence. It is, however, surprising that the representative of the United Kingdom, a country which is bent beneath the burden of armaments, should have been one of the authors of the proposal recommending a plan which means the continuation and growth of rearmament.

176. On behalf of the Government and people of Poland, I should like here to support without reservation a peace programme as thus conceived. For us Poles the word peace is not an empty expression. The struggle for the maintenance of peace is one of the essential principles of our country's foreign policy. We believe in the possibility of the co-existence and co-operation of countries with different political systems. Peace and co-operation exclude methods involving pressure, discrimination and interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

177. Poland's policy of peace is expressed in the country's creative work, its great effort of peaceful reconstruction, and its desire to overcome the centuries of backwardness. It is expressed in the building of socialism in our country. We are developing our industry, modernizing our agriculture, reconstructing our capital which was destroyed under the Hitlerite occupation, and building new towns and villages. Fundamentally different from the budgets of countries pursuing a war policy, our budget is devoted in the first place to peaceful investment and to social institutions.

178. We are spending considerable sums to raise the cultural level of our people. It is the patriotic devotion and creative effort of the Polish people which will ensure the success of our endeavours. That is what has enabled us to complete the first years of our six-year plan, at the end of which Poland will cease to be a merely agricultural country and will become an industrial and agricultural country with a *per capita* production exceeding that of Italy and equal to that of France.

179. We owe our success, to a large extent, to the disinterested and friendly assistance of the Soviet Union. Thanks to that assistance, we have been able to reconstruct our war-ravaged country and obtain considerable success in economic matters. Our industry is benefiting from the rich experience of Soviet technology and science. The provision of capital goods on the basis of long-term loans is enabling Poland to develop the already existing branches of its production and to create new ones. Our relations with the Soviet Union are relations of a new type; and they may serve as an example to other countries. It is an example of well-conceived relations between States, and particularly between a major

Power and smaller States, an example of relations based on the principle of equality of rights, of respect for national sovereignty and mutual interests and of friendly reciprocal assistance.

180. We are collaborating closely with the popular democracies and are developing our relations with the Peoples' Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic, all this in a spirit of complete mutual understanding. None of these countries makes economic assistance subject to political concessions.

181. The same is not true of the countries involved in the orbit of the American war policy. The United States has imposed its economic dictatorship on the countries of Western Europe and made them dependent upon itself.

182. Twenty years ago, in other conditions and circumstances, the French economist André Siegfried, who has since become an enthusiastic supporter of the Marshall Plan, said on the subject of the so-called American aid: "The danger, from now on, is that everything is permitted to America: it need spare neither persons nor things; it can, if it wishes, behave arbitrarily, strangle peoples and governments, help them on conditions of its own choice, and control them".

183. The interests of international peace and co-operation require economic co-operation and the development of normal commercial relations between all countries. Contrary to these principles, the United States has for years been applying a policy of economic discrimination. It has made international trade and economic relations between States into an instrument of political pressure.

184. In recent months, the United States has denounced, after first violating, its commercial agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland and the other countries of Eastern Europe. That is indisputably an act which endangers peace. The United States is using blackmail to force the countries of Western Europe and the other continents to go back upon their commercial engagements and agreements. Goods that have been ordered are not delivered. Boats ready to get under way are requisitioned. That is the situation, for example, so far as Anglo-Polish relations are concerned. It is regrettable that the Governments of Western Europe are agreeing to apply these methods and failing to keep their promises, although their failure to do so is in flagrant contradiction to the interests of their own countries.

185. Economic circles in the countries of Western Europe are coming more and more to realize the disastrous consequences for them of dependence on the United States, and are increasingly appreciating the advantages of commercial relations with the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Republic of China and the peoples' democracies.

186. Poland has often expressed the desire to maintain normal commercial relations, based on mutual understanding of national interests, with all the countries of the world. That is proved by the agreements we have concluded with the countries of Western Europe and overseas, and by our efforts to create the best possible conditions for the development of trade among the European countries. Once again we place on their guard all those who, under American pressure, are breaking the agreements they have concluded; we place them on their guard against the pernicious consequences for them of such a policy. Trade and economic co-

operation are at the very basis of international co-operation. Any one who attacks international economic co-operation attacks the peace and security of the world.

187. Pressure, blackmail and intimidation—those are the corner-stones of the United States' war policy. As early as 1945 Generalissimo Stalin said that the purpose of that policy was "to intimidate people with weak nerves". The policy of intimidation can have no effect on the attitude of nations which have passed through difficult trials during their history and which have firmly resolved to pursue the way of socialism, peaceful construction and the defence of peace.

188. It follows from my statement that the present session will have to resolve problems of considerable importance.

189. The practices tending to maintain colonial exploitation and foreign domination, an example of which is provided by the situation in Egypt and certain countries of North Africa, should be condemned by the General Assembly.

190. The General Assembly should see to it that the United Nations is not used as an instrument of pressure and interference in the internal affairs of States and nations, as has been the case, for example, in Iran. The exploitation of the under-developed countries, the policy of economic discrimination, the obstacles placed in the way of world trade—all these should be condemned by the General Assembly.

191. To ensure peace and security, to stop the hostilities in Korea, to put an end to the armaments policy and the policy of preparing for war—those are the problems which confront us.

192. The Soviet Union proposal shows the way which will lead to a solution of these urgent problems.

193. The Polish delegation appeals to the General Assembly to support that peaceful and constructive proposal.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.