

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION



PLENARY MEETING

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General debate (*continued*)

[Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. FARRAG (EGYPT), MR. ZAFRULLA KHAN (PAKISTAN), MR. KISELYOV (BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC) AND ATO AKLILOU (ETHIOPIA)

1. Mr. FARRAG (Egypt): When, toward the end of the Second World War, the representatives of some fifty different peoples gathered in San Francisco to establish the foundations of lasting peace, they laboured under the definite conception that the United Nations could attain its objective only in so far as the internal order of things within each Member State would be in harmony with the lofty ideals of our Organization. The signatories pledged themselves "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

2. It is therefore with legitimate pride that the Egyptian delegation presents itself today before the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and states that, by its political and social revolution, started in July 1952, Egypt has now fully carried out that pledge and has assured the welfare and self-respect of its citizens.

3. The radical changes in the political and social institutions of the country have been realized in an orderly and most dignified manner, without strife or bloodshed.

4. One of the most important achievements in those fields has been the agrarian reform in favour of the hard-working Egyptian peasant. The new law has restricted ownership of agricultural property to 200 acres per owner, just compensation being paid by the State for the surplus. This broader distribution of landed property has drawn the different classes of the population closer together and has brought social and political stability into Egyptian public life, thereby affording encouragement to free enterprise and to the investment of foreign capital at the same time.

5. Another highly important achievement is the agreement arrived at with all Sudanese political parties, affirming the right of the Sudanese to self-determination. It gives me pleasure to cite here the first three articles of that agreement, which has been communicated to the Government of the United Kingdom:

"Article 1. The Egyptian Government firmly believes in the right of the Sudanese to self-determination and the effective exercise thereof in the proper time and with the necessary safeguards.

"Article 2. To attain the above-mentioned object, there should begin forthwith a transitional period envisaging two objectives. First: to secure full self-government for the Sudanese. Second: to provide the requisite free and neutral atmosphere for the Sudanese to exercise self-determination.

"Article 3. The transitional period, being a preparation for the effective termination of the dual administration, shall be considered as a liquidation of that administration. The Egyptian Government declares that the sovereignty of the Sudan shall be kept reserved for the Sudanese, during this transitional period, until self-determination is achieved."

6. Certain Middle Eastern problems for which the United Nations has so far been unable to find adequate solutions still constantly preoccupy Egypt and the entire Arab world.

7. That is the case with regard to the disquieting situation of the Arab refugees. No plan to achieve peace and stability in the Middle East will be worthy of attention unless it aims at equitable and humane solutions of such problems. Under pressure from world political Zionism, about one million Arabs have been ruthlessly torn from their homes in Palestine. For the first time in history, the indigenous population of an area has been displaced in order that so-called displaced persons from other areas might be accommodated.

8. Recently, the same pressure has been brought to bear upon the Government of Western Germany. That Government's agreement to provide Israel, under the

guise of reparations, with large monetary funds and enormous quantities of heavy machinery, which will be available for Israel's economic and military potential, can cause no optimism as regards the prospects for peace and stability in the Middle East. The Government of Egypt views this proposed reparations agreement with grave concern. It is our firm conviction that Israel is in no way entitled to reparations from Germany on behalf of the Jews of the whole world. Israel has no more rights in this respect than would a Moslem or Christian country to receive reparations in the name of all Moslems or Christians throughout the world.

9. Another disquieting situation bearing directly on the peace and stability of the Middle East is the one prevailing in Tunisia and Morocco. The struggle of the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples to regain their independence deserves the full support of the United Nations. In his speech before the General Assembly [392nd meeting], the representative of France only underlined his Government's failure to recognize the inherent rights of the heroic peoples of Tunisia and Morocco. Perhaps unwittingly, he sought further to aggravate an already tense situation. His speech does not serve the cause of peace in North Africa.

10. This Organization is duty bound to give due consideration to what is going on in that part of the world. A solution must be found—a solution in conformity with the principle of self-determination and in the interests of international peace and security. The arguments advanced by the representative of France, together with the insinuations he saw fit to include in his speech, will be adequately dealt with in the First Committee. The justice of the case of the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples who gave their lives in two world wars for the cause of democracy has no dire need for propaganda from this rostrum.

11. My delegation feels that the colonial spirit, which declined at the end of the last war, has again sprung up as the memory of common sacrifices has become fainter. This is shown by the manner in which the administering Powers interpret Chapter XI of the Charter. It seems that, by restrictive interpretations, they are endeavouring to make a dead letter of that chapter. They would be well advised in making their interpretations to look up such works as Oppenheim's *International Law* or Kelsen's *The Law of the United Nations*. It would also be of great interest in this connexion to refer to the statement made seven years ago, in San Francisco, by Mr. Harold Stassen, the Chairman of the sub-committee charged at that time with the task of drafting Chapter XI of our Charter. Mr. Stassen said:

"It [Chapter XI] is only principles on paper. The test will be: do we, the peoples of the world, give it the life that sincerity in our future action can give it, and in that way do we make it really mean something to those millions of men and women and children throughout the world who do not now have representatives seated at these distinguished council tables of the United Nations?"¹

12. The Egyptian delegation reaffirms its devotion to the fundamental principles established in San Fran-

cisco and its belief in the right of all nations to self-determination.

13. It is a matter of deep regret that a tendency towards discrimination between races still prevails in some quarters of the world, in spite of the explicit provisions of the Charter.

14. Still another source of regret is the arbitrary exclusion of many States from membership in our Organization, which can adequately fulfil its mission only if it is to be a truly universal institution.

15. The Government of Egypt will always be ready to co-operate, within the framework of the Charter, in the enforcement of international peace and security. With open minds, we of the Egyptian delegation are here to combine our efforts with those of other men of goodwill.

16. Mr. ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): We sincerely regret Mr. Trygve Lie's decision to resign his office of Secretary-General, which he has filled with so much credit and distinction through a period of great difficulty and stress. We desire to add our tribute of praise and appreciation to that of our fellow representatives of the great service that Mr. Lie has rendered to the cause of peace and to the building up of this great Organization during his period of office as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

17. We, the peoples of the United Nations, having resolved seven years ago to combine our efforts to accomplish certain aims, namely, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to secure the observance of fundamental human rights, to uphold the dignity and enhance the worth of the human person, to obtain recognition for and secure observance of the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, to maintain justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and, for these ends, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, to ensure that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, are now met together, for the seventh time in general session, to take stock of the progress made towards the achievement of these objectives, and to plan our further policies and programmes.

18. In our judgment, of all these aims the paramount one is the promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. So far as the United Nations is concerned, this is to be achieved mainly through the employment of international machinery "for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". The rest is either ancillary or subsidiary to this paramount objective.

19. Even the maintenance of international peace and security and the saving of mankind from the scourge of war is but an essential preliminary. If there is no peace, there can be no progress and no advancement towards a better life. Yet, though essential, it is only a means, a condition precedent, a *sine qua non* towards the achievement of the ultimate objective. It is not the

¹ See United Nations Conference on International Organization, II/16.

objective itself. True it is, that so long as this condition is not firmly established, no appreciable progress can be made towards making the life of the average human being on this planet a source of satisfaction, joy and beauty. Nevertheless, we must safeguard ourselves against the tendency to overlook the fact that our real and true objective is to promote better standards of life in larger freedom for all peoples. We must not let the real objective be obscured by considerations which, however important and essential, are but subsidiary to and stepping stones towards our true and main objective. Nor must we permit other contingencies to destroy our perspective. Everything must be appraised and judged with reference to our main purpose and objective.

20. What progress have we made towards the achievement of that objective? Poverty, disease and ignorance are the problems that still continue to distress and preoccupy the vast bulk of mankind. In recent times the progress of science and technology has multiplied many times man's control over and direction of the forces of nature and his capacity to process raw materials and primary products. But this augmentation of man's powers and capacity, instead of being devoted wholly to the alleviation of distress and the promotion of prosperity, is being used largely to devise the means of man's destruction.

21. The United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was inaugurated two years ago as part of the effort to divert some of the forces now available back to the beneficent service of man in areas where they are most needed for that purpose. The programme has made a good start and is expected to expand its activities and operations as resources and personnel become available. We have found the programme very helpful and we hope that under the wise and able guidance of Mr. David Owen, who has already done such good work in the Department of Economic Affairs, its activities will soon be expanded and multiplied. As compared with the needs of the under-developed countries, the resources available for the programme are pitifully inadequate and the programme suffers from the further handicap that it is being run on a year-to-year contribution basis. This makes large-scale long-term planning impossible. What is immediately needed is that the programme should be placed on a permanent basis with adequate funds and contributions to feed its expanding activities.

22. In this context, we venture to draw attention to a serious handicap to which under-developed countries are, in general, subject. The benefit that may be derived by any participating country from technical assistance programmes and plans, whether sponsored by the United Nations or of a bilateral or multilateral character, such as Point Four of the Colombo Plan, is related directly to the capacity of the country itself to carry out its own part of the programme or plan, which in turn is dependent upon many factors of a local and international character.

23. Predominant among these has come to be what is known as the balance of payments position, or, in other words, the capacity of a country to pay for its imports in the needed currencies after it has met the urgent demands of domestic financing. This is largely controlled by the price levels of raw materials and primary prod-

ucts. These have become liable to violent and frequent fluctuations. The recent heavy recession in the levels of these prices has brought countries whose economy is dependent upon these products face to face with another period of apprehended depression and distress. The world needs larger production. Acceleration is being urged through extension of areas, more effective utilization of resources and adoption of intensive methods. Falling prices, on the other hand, are bound to result in restricted production, carrying in its wake scarcity, famine conditions and starvation.

24. This recurring phenomenon calls for a permanent remedy. Deeper and more intensive research needs to be carried out into the causes that set these cycles in motion and the measures calculated to arrest and control them. While this is in progress, a review and consequential modifications of world trade policies must be vigorously pursued to avert the danger that threatens before it assumes the proportions of a catastrophe.

25. At its last session, the Economic and Social Council requested [*resolution 416 (XIV)*] the Secretary-General to appoint a group of experts to draw up plans for the setting up of a special international fund for administering grants-in-aid and low-interest loans to under-developed countries for financing non-self-liquidating projects. We welcome this move and shall look forward to the report with keen interest. The institution of such a fund would be yet another instance of international economic co-operation under the auspices of the United Nations. We earnestly hope that developed countries will show greater enthusiasm in support of the project to which their reactions so far have been none too encouraging. Support of the fund would be a concrete demonstration on their part of willingness to assist under-developed countries in establishing preconditions of development and in making provision for essential services and facilities which may not be paying in the narrow economic sense but without which no economic progress is possible.

26. With the President's permission, I shall now advert to our other objectives.

27. The efforts to secure the observance of fundamental human rights and to uphold the dignity and enhance the worth of the human person are largely complementary of each other. In these spheres, the work of the United Nations can, in the main, be only of an educational character. The Organization can hope to promote these objectives normally only through precept. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been framed and adopted [*resolution 217 (III)*] and its adoption has been duly approved.

28. But these precepts and the efforts of UNESCO and other similar agencies do not appear yet to have had any appreciable effect in checking persecution, restraining intolerance and promoting movements and activities designed to eliminate inequalities and foster good neighbourliness and fraternal co-operation. Indeed, the prevailing tendency in many areas appears to be in the opposite direction. Racial, religious and colour discrimination and prejudice are being intensified. Intolerance and persecution are exalted into virtues on a par with and often not to be distinguished from so-called patriotism.

29. It does not seem to have been sufficiently realized that mankind must henceforth perforce live very much closer together than it has done even in the recent past. If human life is not to degenerate into a welter of annoyances, frictions and bitternesses, a new *modus vivendi* must be evolved. A new pattern must be devised; fresh adjustments must be made. The widest tolerance and most beneficent co-operation must form the warp and woof of this new pattern. We must learn to tolerate and respect even what we may be disposed to regard as the other person's prejudices. For he may be as passionately devoted to them as we are to what we believe in as our ideals.

30. The affirmation of faith in the equal rights of nations, large and small, in the Preamble of the Charter, is interpreted in the purposes of the United Nations as development of "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Here is the explicit recognition and acceptance of the fundamental truth that friendly relations among nations can be established and developed only on the basis of respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

31. Every contravention of this fundamental principle in practice, even when attempts are made to cover it up by loud verbal affirmations of it, gives rise to internal strife and conflict and soon develops into an active threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. In fact, the very notion of political domination and subordination is inconsistent with fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. It is also subversive of peace and friendship among nations. The relationship is destructive of the higher moral values both in those who exercise the domination and in those who are subjected to it. This is no longer denied even by those who vehemently resist the application of the principle of self-determination where their own interests may be deemed to be involved. The resistance takes the form of evasions, misinterpretations, subterfuges and equivocations.

32. A common and somewhat naïve device is to invite the rest of us to believe that those exercising domination appreciate and can judge of the true interests of the dominated peoples better than those peoples themselves. It is not a matter for surprise that such devices fail to achieve their purpose, at least with those of us who have, through personal experience, been familiar with what this relationship means to the dominated. Too often does it spell an ascending crescendo of disappointments, frustrations, mortifications and martyrdom of the body and, what is even more insupportable, of the spirit.

33. Another weapon which it is sought to press into service for the purpose of bolstering up this outmoded and immoral system, is some provision in a treaty or convention directly imposing or indirectly introducing the relationship of domination and dependence.

34. In every instance of the kind that has so far come to our notice the treaty or convention was the result of the use of aggressive force or was secured by coercion or in circumstances which left the other party little choice in the matter. Most treaties and arrangements of this type are also vitiated by the consideration that they purport to have been entered into on behalf of the dominated people by some ruler or functionary who

was compelled or persuaded to barter away the birth-right of the people in return for some benefit, exemption, indulgence, or consideration—substantial or illusory, granted or promised—for himself or his family.

35. Such a treaty or convention, however solemnly expressed, can claim no validity whatsoever. It merely attests to a breach of trust on the part of the ruler or functionary who purported to enter into it and a procurement and abetment of such a breach on the part of the dominant Power in whose favour it was executed. As submitted by me last year, "no arrangement can, in our view, claim moral validity, which is not arrived at between the representatives of a free people occupying a position of equality *vis-à-vis* their opposite numbers and subject to no pressure or coercion of any description".²

36. The truth is that political domination of one people by another is today an anachronism and a destructive one. Unfortunately it is not possible to get rid of it at one stroke. The process of self-determination must, however, be accelerated. Expression is sometimes given to the apprehension that this might start conflicts and lead to disruption and disintegration. The exact reverse is the truth.

37. It must be recognized, clearly and finally, that the system is utterly inconsistent with, and repugnant to, the pattern that we are all seeking to set up. It must be completely liquidated as early as possible. This is the only course that will obviate conflict and lay the foundations of friendly co-operation between free, self-respecting and independent peoples. The adjustment has been successfully carried out over part of the field but is overdue in the rest. If undertaken immediately and pursued vigorously and in good faith without mental reservations, it can become the most potent instrument for eliminating conflicts and inequalities and ushering in an era of healthy and fruitful co-operation in pursuit of the ideal of a fuller, richer and happier life for all the peoples of the earth.

38. There is no reason whatever why the adjustment should not be carried out in complete friendliness between the parties primarily concerned in each case. The only obstacle in the way of such a consummation being achieved at an early date is a short-sighted view, entertained by a section of the dominating people, of what they choose to consider their political and economic interests. This view disregards the inevitability of the issue of the conflict and ignores the glaring lessons to be learned and the inescapable conclusions to be drawn from recent political and constitutional developments. The only alternative is conflict, sharp and bitter, involving large sections of mankind and progressively destructive of friendliness and co-operation.

39. We earnestly and passionately hope and pray that the needed and inevitable adjustment will be speedily achieved through friendly co-operation in a manner that would promote and foster the well-being and prosperity both of those who are today in a position of domination and of those who are dominated, rather than through the fiery and consuming process of conflict and bitterness. We shall continue, sincerely and earnestly, to devote our efforts and endeavours towards

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 343rd meeting, para. 79.

the speediest achievement of this ideal through peaceful means.

40. It is most gratifying to have been authoritatively informed this morning from this rostrum that an agreement in this field has been arrived at between the Egyptian Government and all Sudanese political parties affirming the right of the Sudanese to complete self-determination. This agreement has been incorporated into certain articles, three of which were quoted to the General Assembly this morning. We attach the highest importance to the fact that such a difficult problem, which was holding up both progress towards the securing of international peace in that and in wider regions and a settlement between certain governments vitally interested in this question, should have been reached. We shall look forward to the speedy implementation of this agreement in a peaceful manner by all the parties concerned.

41. I now venture to submit a few observations on the subject of the maintenance of international peace and security.

42. The United Nations has not succeeded in establishing a record, in this respect, in which we may take legitimate pride. Its failures to resolve disputes and conflicts are, alas, only too conspicuous. It is true that the credit side of the balance sheet is not altogether blank, but the entries on that side are too few and insignificant as compared with those on the debit side. It may be conceded that the main responsibility for this state of affairs must rest heavily upon the individual Member States concerned. But the Organization cannot be exonerated in this respect either. Its principal default has been that it has, too often, not only tolerated but, through its complacency and dilatory methods, in many instances encouraged wide divergence between its declared and accepted purposes and principles and the action and behaviour of intransigent Member States. At times it has seemed to us that there has been a desire to promote and prolong, rather than to arrest the progress of and resolve, disputes and conflicts.

43. In Paris we sounded a note of warning that the Organization was tending to become an arena of power politics. We are constrained to submit that that tendency has been intensified during the year that has since elapsed. Only too often approach towards grave problems, in some instances of tragic import, is determined by "who says this" rather than by the merits of what is said, suggested or proposed. In too many instances, actions and proposals are dictated by the desire to manoeuvre for position or the effort to build up prestige rather than by the just requirements of the problem to be resolved.

44. Of the conflicts that, at the present moment, constitute threats to the maintenance of international peace and security, it may be expected that I should make specific mention of Korea and Kashmir. The latter is again under discussion before the Security Council. Out of deference to that organ of the United Nations, which is seized of the problem, and to avoid causing it embarrassment in its handling of it, I would refrain from commenting upon it here beyond stressing the obvious consideration that the dispute has now been pending before the Security Council for close upon

five years and that the failure of the Council to resolve the deadlock that has, for over three years and a half, blocked all progress towards the holding of the agreed fair and impartial plebiscite, has not served to strengthen the authority or to enhance the prestige of the United Nations.

45. Korea is also under discussion in the First Committee. We shall, in due course, submit our views on the subject to the Committee. This much, however, may at this stage be observed. We are intensely anxious that this blatant breach of international peace shall be speedily remedied and healed. We have followed the course of the debate in the Committee with care. It does not seem to us that there are any insuperable difficulties in the way of bringing the conflict in Korea to a close on a basis which should be just, humane, and honourable for all concerned. We hope that a settlement of that description may be reached during the course of this session of the General Assembly. We shall be ready to do our share in and make our due contribution towards converting that hope into a reality.

46. If this hope is realized, the way may be opened for adjusting the other factors in what has come to be known as the East-West tension. We are persuaded that the main elements in this tension are fears of each other's designs and suspicions of each other's motives. We should be loath and most unhappy to believe that the economic and political systems espoused and sponsored by the major protagonists are so exclusive, contradictory and destructive of each other that all possibility of friendly and even beneficent co-operation between the two sides must finally be ruled out.

47. We believe that there is still room for hope that understanding and mutual adjustment may be reached. The first essential, however, is that the fears on each side must be stated, appreciated, faced and met in a spirit of understanding inspired by a desire to seek and arrive at accommodation and accord rather than to secure the triumph of one side or the other.

48. The process may be difficult. It is bound to involve adjustments that may appear unwelcome and sacrifices that may seem bitter. But it may well turn out that the adjustments are but the fulfilment of needs on both sides and that the sacrifice affects only prejudices and taboos. Even if more should be involved, are both sides so certain and convinced of the absolute rightness of their stand that all attempt at adjustment and accommodation must be abandoned before it is seriously entered upon? That would spell a calamity the like of which mankind has not been called up to face before and which it may not be capable of surviving, at least with any reasonable chance of being able to remake and rebuild a happy world for any section of it.

49. We earnestly pray that that calamity may be averted and that we shall learn to co-operate together to the end that all our effort and endeavour shall be directed towards securing for the average man, woman and child, a rich, joyous and fruitful life on earth. May God grant us the vision, the wisdom and the strength needed to enable us to set in motion the processes that should culminate in the achievement of that joyous consummation. Amen. (*Interpreted from Arabic*): Our last observation is "All praise is due to God, the Creator and Sustainer of all the universes".

50. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers it necessary to express its views on the results of the work of the United Nations during the past year. As representatives are well aware, ordinary people in every country are deeply disturbed at the present strained international situation, and the peoples of the world want a firm and lasting peace. The question naturally arises as to what the United Nations has done to relieve the international tension, and how it has coped with the tasks incumbent upon it under the Charter.

51. It must be said outright that the United Nations has not fulfilled the tasks assigned to it, although it could and should have fulfilled those which concerned the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international co-operation.

52. In his speech yesterday [393rd meeting], Mr. Eden, dealing with the problem of international co-operation, enumerated a series of questions which are on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly. He drew attention to the questions on which agreement has not been reached, or with the consideration of which no progress at all has been made. He sought, but with no good reasons, to represent the situation in such a way that responsibility for the failure to settle these questions so far would seem to rest with the Soviet Union. When these matters are considered, it can be shown without difficulty that responsibility for this rests with the Anglo-American block itself, which has done a great deal to prevent the settlement of such questions as that of Germany, Austria and others, thereby flagrantly violating the relevant international agreements, to which the United Kingdom has appended its signature.

53. Mr. Eden dealt with the Korean question, but here again he adopted the same course—that of attempting to shift responsibility for the situation from the wolf to the sheep.

54. It must be observed that instead of repeating the slanderous, vulgar fabrications about the "iron curtain" and such like malicious untruths about the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, it would have been better if the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom had found it possible to deal more seriously in his speech with the afore-mentioned questions. Instead, he preferred to dispose of them in a few superficial phrases in which, moreover, he gave a distorted picture of the real situation.

55. The war that has already been going on in Korea for more than two years is, as everybody knows, profoundly disturbing to the peoples of the whole world. The peoples demand that this war, which has given rise to a dangerous tension in international relations, should immediately be brought to an end. The course of events, however, shows that the Korean armistice negotiations which have been proceeding at Panmunjom for fifteen months have not yielded any positive results owing to the provocative behaviour of the United States.

56. North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war are still being shot and tortured. The terrible annihilation

of the Korean people is continuing, Korean towns and villages are being systematically destroyed, and the most inhuman means of destruction, such as bacterial weapons, poison gases and napalm bombs, are being used against children, women and old people. In two months alone—from 28 January to 31 March 1952—the United States Air Force made 700 raids, using bacterial bombs and various objects infected with deadly microbes (cholera, plague, typhus, etc.), at 400 different points in North Korea and in the territory of the People's Republic of China. These facts have already been established by authoritative international commissions, and the peoples of the world are well aware by what methods and procedures the American interventionists are conducting the war in Korea.

57. With affected indignation, Mr. Acheson, and after him Mr. Eden, denied that the United States had used bacterial weapons in Korea. This unsupported denial, however, is refuted by numerous facts and documents. The ruling circles of the United States have long been preparing for bacterial warfare. Mr. Vyshinsky, Chairman of the USSR delegation, spoke convincingly about numerous facts connected with this preparation in his speech at the [383rd] plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 18 October last. To supplement the facts that have already been mentioned, I shall refer only to the following.

58. On 29 July 1952, the American periodical *Look* pointed out that at least five United States Government institutions were engaged in the preparation of bacterial weapons: the United States Army's Chemical Service, the Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture and the Army and Navy medical services. The periodical writes that the preparation of these weapons is being conducted at three levels: the production of more virulent bacteria, research on the means of combating the enemy's bacteria, and perfecting the means of spreading new bacteria. The periodical states: "Most of them [the bacteria] exist widely in nature, and do not, after all, cause major epidemics. The trick is to increase their potency—by breeding, by deliberately creating mutations and breeding the more lethal mutations . . . Such synthetic bacteria and viruses will be able to cause real epidemics . . . And it is primarily this work which is going on under cover in such places as Camp Detrick in Maryland, and which is completely secret."

59. This bacterial warfare was prepared in close collaboration with the Japanese war criminals, who had already had experience of such nefarious procedures. In 1946, General MacArthur selected and dispatched eighteen Japanese war criminals for work in bacteriological laboratories in various parts of the United States—Maryland, Mississippi, Utah and so on, so that their criminal experiences could be put to use.

60. It would be possible to adduce many other facts which show that the purpose of bacterial warfare is the widespread dissemination of epidemics aimed at the mass annihilation of people. The United States ruling circles thought they would deal with North Korea in lightning fashion by sending against it large land, air and naval forces, but the heroic Korean people resolutely defended their homeland and decisively repulsed the invaders.

61. The fact that the United States has conducted its war of aggression in Korea in an inhuman fashion has been admitted by General MacArthur. As reported by the issue of *Vital Speeches* of April 1952, General MacArthur, speaking on 22 March 1952 before a joint session of the Mississippi Legislature in the town of Jackson, said: "... we enforced upon the Korean people the dreadful tragedy involved in the exclusive use of their soil as the sole battleground. As a consequence, death has come to hundreds of thousands of defenseless Korean civilians and a nation has been devastated and gutted". I do not think any comment on this statement is needed.

62. In connexion with the war of aggression in Korea, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the annual report [A/2141 and Add. 1] of the United Nations Secretariat to the seventh session of the General Assembly contains attempts to justify the United States aggression in Korea, to defend the anti-popular, degenerate régime of Syngman Rhee and to spread slander and falsehoods about the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China.

63. Speaking in the General Assembly on 17 October last [382nd meeting], Mr. Martin, the representative of Canada, stated that the Canadian Government was in favour of the earliest possible conclusion of an armistice in Korea and the confinement of the war to the Korean peninsula, and that it had intervened in the Korean war in order to resist aggression. We have heard such statements from the Canadian representative on several occasions, but the Canadian representative made no mention of the fact that, having proved unable to break the heroic resistance of the Korean people in open warfare, the forces of the invaders, flagrantly violating the elementary principles and standards of international law, were using against the Korean people such barbarous instruments as napalm bombs, poisonous substances and bacterial weapons. Even the use of such barbarous methods, however, has failed to give the invaders the desired results. All their calculations have proved mistaken and have come to nought. That is why they are slandering the heroic Korean people and bending all their efforts against them.

64. In face of the angry protests of the peace-loving peoples who have condemned the criminal intervention of the United States and its partners in Korea, and with the prospect of the defeat of the invading forces in sight, the ruling circles of the United States were compelled in July 1951 to enter upon negotiations in Korea. These negotiations have now been proceeding for more than a year. By their fifth month, all questions had been resolved in substance, with the exception of one, the question of prisoners of war. The discussion of this last issue has now been going on for ten months, and, as we know, the negotiations have now been broken off indefinitely through the fault of the United States representatives. The United States Government did not at the time publish in the Press the latest proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue submitted by Kim Il Sung and Peng Teh Huai on 8 October 1952, in an attempt to keep them from world public opinion. These proposals were made public only after they had been exposed in the statement by Mr. Vyshinsky, the head of the USSR delegation; I shall therefore not repeat them. One thing is clear, that the United States ruling circles are refusing, without any justification whatever, to accept

the just proposals made by the Korean representatives and are deliberately protracting these negotiations. Under cover of the negotiations, they are endeavouring to conceal from world public opinion their policy of protracting the war in Korea and extending their aggression in Asia. The prolongation of the war in Korea benefits the Wall Street monopolists, since they are thereby increasing war production and making enormous profits, as the Canadian representative is well aware.

65. At the [380th] meeting on 16 October 1952, Mr. Webb, the New Zealand representative, declared that the troops of the countries taking part in the war of aggression against the Korean people would remain in Korea until they had achieved their objective. That objective, he said, was to restore order in Korea. The war in Korea makes it plain that for the invaders this "order" means the mass murder of civilians, the inhuman bombing of peaceful towns and villages and the restoration of the Syngman Rhee police régime, which even the American newspapers describe as not being in the least free or democratic. The "order" to which the New Zealand representative referred is the order of the whip and the noose. The United Nations clearly cannot and must not support such an "order"; on the contrary, it must put an end to it and to the United States aggression which is imposing it.

66. The Byelorussian people ardently desire the cessation of the war in Korea. The Byelorussian delegation, therefore, wholeheartedly supports the proposal [A/2229] made by Mr. Skrzyszewski, the Chairman of the Polish delegation, that the General Assembly, at its seventh session, should recommend to the parties engaged in the war in Korea, first, the immediate cessation of hostilities on land, at sea and in the air; secondly, the return of all prisoners of war to their homeland, in accordance with international standards; thirdly, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign troops, including the Chinese volunteer units, within a period of two to three months, and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

67. We also wholeheartedly support the USSR delegation's proposal [A/C.1/729/Rev.1/Corr.1] for the establishment of a commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, to consist of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and South Korea. The Commission should "take immediate steps for the settlement of the Korean question on the basis of the unification of Korea, to be effected by the Koreans themselves, under the supervision of the commission, such steps to include extending all possible assistance in the repatriation of all prisoners of war by both sides".

68. The adoption of these proposals would put an end to the war in Korea, which has created such dangerous international tension. These proposals cannot be rejected by States which are really seeking to settle the most vital international issues by peaceful means. The continuance of the war in Korea will still further increase the tension in the Far East and throughout the world. The General Assembly must prevent any further extension of the war in Korea and must help to bring about an immediate cease-fire in Korea and the conclusion of an armistice and peace.

69. This session has met at a time when the preparations for a new war and the armaments race conducted by the United States ruling circles are now on an unprecedented scale. Only one fact need be cited. According to the *National Guardian* of 5 March 1952, the average contribution of each American to the Government's military expenditure in 1952-1953 will be \$412 as compared with \$8.75 before the Second World War. An idea of the enormous United States military expenditure may also be obtained from the statement by Mr. Lovett, the United States Secretary of Defense which was published in the *New York Journal-American* of 28 March 1952. Mr. Lovett declared that a situation might arise where the United States would spend \$167 million daily for military purposes until 1954. These figures show that the United States is spending approximately three-quarter of its budget on arms and armed forces.

70. The atomic armaments race in the United States has not ceased for a single day since the end of the Second World War. The United States ruling circles are persisting in their policy of thwarting the prohibition of atomic weapons and are endeavouring to increase their stocks of atomic bombs and to create new types of atomic weapons. Under pressure from the United States representatives, the majority of the United Nations Security Council has repeatedly rejected the proposal for the prohibition of atomic weapons. For the last six years, the United States representatives in the Security Council, the Disarmament Commission and the General Assembly have decisively opposed the USSR Government's proposal for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of such prohibition. The United States is doing this because it intends to make use of the atomic bomb in the war which it is preparing. To this end, it is giving every possible encouragement to research work directed towards the creation of new types of atomic weapons in an endeavour to make them as cheap as possible. There is an eloquent statement to this effect on page 35 of the *New York Times Magazine*, the Sunday supplement to *The New York Times* of 9 November 1952, which contains a statement by Mr. Fred Hoyle, a prominent English scientist from Cambridge University. Mr. Hoyle declared: "Within a couple of years it will cost only \$2.80 a head to kill people with atomic weapons instead of the several thousand dollars a head it costs to kill people in war today." In this way Mr. Hoyle has graphically indicated the essence of the atomic policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States and the United Kingdom, which are anxious to find the cheapest way of killing people.

71. These are the monstrous plans of the present pretenders to world domination, against whom an angry protest is being raised by all progressive men and women, whose interests and aspirations are expressed in the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR.

72. As is known, the Soviet Union has fought tirelessly, and is continuing to fight, for the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the weapon for the mass destruction of human beings. The USSR has put forward a concrete programme for the prohibition of the atomic bomb and the establishment of strict international control to ensure such prohibition. The aim of the USSR

Government's programme is to prevent the use of atomic energy for purposes of destruction and mass murder. The Soviet Union wants atomic energy to be used for peaceful purposes, for the continued progress and prosperity of all mankind.

73. The United States Government, on the other hand, is against the prohibition of atomic weapons and is therefore opposing the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world, in the interests of the big American firms which have taken over the production of atomic weapons and are making enormous profits on it. Thus we see that the monopolistic trusts and syndicates which are in control of atomic production in the United States are instigating the atomic armaments race, directing the United States generals to commit mass murder and destroy peaceful populations, dictating to the United States ruling circles their policy of atomic blackmail, military provocation and aggression, fanning the prevailing war psychosis and demanding that the atomic bomb should be used against peace-loving peoples. The United States ruling circles are endeavouring to transform the United Nations into a tool of their aggressive policies, instead of an instrument for peace, which under the Charter it should be.

74. The Soviet Union takes an entirely different view of the United Nations. Mr. Malenkov, Deputy Premier of the USSR, said on 5 October 1952:

"The USSR Government attaches great importance to the United Nations, believing that it can be an important means for maintaining peace. At the present time, however, the United States is turning the United Nations, which, under the Charter, should be an organ of international co-operation, into an organ of its dictatorial war-mongering policy, and is using the Organization to cover up its acts of aggression. Nevertheless, in spite of the great difficulties caused by the voting machine which the United States has instituted in the United Nations, the Soviet Union defends its policy of peace before the United Nations, and strives to ensure the adoption of realistic proposals corresponding to the needs of the present international situation and aimed at curbing the forces of aggression, preventing a new war and bringing about a cessation of hostilities where they already exist."

75. The position taken by the Soviet Union in the Disarmament Commission, in particular, is a striking illustration of Mr. Malenkov's statement. The proposals submitted by the USSR delegation [DC/4/Rev.1 and DC/13/Rev.1], providing for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments and armed forces, are designed solely to relax international tension and to strengthen peace throughout the world. It is common knowledge that the Disarmament Commission failed to accomplish the tasks assigned to it by the sixth session of the General Assembly [resolution 502 (VI)]. If the United States, the United Kingdom and France had accepted the USSR proposals, the armaments race, which has brought about a dangerous tension in international affairs, would have been brought to an end. The discussions which took place in the Disarmament Commission showed that the USSR proposals for peace would not meet the purposes of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The representatives of the countries

of the North Atlantic bloc, with the United States representative at their head, drowned the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments and armed forces in empty hypocritical verbiage about the "usefulness of disarmament" and the collection of information about armaments.

76. The peoples of the world realize that the ruling circles of the United States have chosen not the path of peace, but the path of aggression which leads to a new world war.

77. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the Polish delegation's proposal that the General Assembly should recommend to the Governments of the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom, France and China—in other words, the permanent members of the Security Council—to reduce their armed forces and auxiliary troops by one-third within one year and to submit full information on their armaments.

78. The General Assembly must also recommend to the Security Council that it convene as soon as possible an international conference to effect a reduction of armed forces by all States. The General Assembly must call for the immediate adoption of a resolution prescribing the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction and the establishment of strict international control to ensure observance of this resolution by all States.

79. Only by adopting these proposals can we settle this most important question once and for all.

80. The criminal policy of splitting Germany and reviving militarism and fascism in Western Germany constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. The Western Powers are thwarting the fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreements on the demilitarization and denazification of Germany. As a result of the Bonn "general agreement" and the Paris agreement concerning the "European Defence Community", Western Germany has been included in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, in which an essential part is to be played by the army of Western Germany, which longs to take its revenge. According to Press reports, Mr. Blank, an official representative of the Bonn Government, told foreign Press correspondents on 13 June 1952 that it was proposed to expand the Western German army to a total of 500,000 men, including 100,000 former regular officers and non-commissioned officers of the Nazi *Wehrmacht*. The revival of the army is accompanied by the rapid restoration of the industrial potential of Western Germany for military purposes. The *I. G. Farbenindustrie*, the world-famous chemical trust, which played a prominent part in starting the Second World War, has been completely restored and its factories have reached a greater rate of production than in the year preceding the Second World War. The factories of the war-criminals Krupp and Thyssen are also working at full capacity.

81. All this testifies to the fact that a new focus of aggression is being created in the centre of Europe. The tears have not yet dried, the wounds are not yet healed and the ruins of the cities still remain as reminders of the monstrous bombings of the Second World War, but already the American and German imperialists are again seeking to plunge us into a new and even more horrible catastrophe.

82. The peoples of the world, and the Byelorussian people among them, well remember the countless miseries and sufferings caused by the German imperialist aggression. They angrily protest against the criminal policy of encouraging the German militarists. They demand the speediest possible conclusion of a comprehensive peace treaty, which is the only means of reuniting Germany. This is a matter of vital interest to the peoples of the world, including the Byelorussian people, who suffered all the consequences of the treacherous Nazi invasion. That is why the Byelorussian people are firmly resolved to ensure the establishment of a united, peace-loving and democratic Germany, which, instead of helping to prepare another universal slaughter, would help to strengthen friendly relations among nations and the cause of peace throughout the world.

83. The speech which Mr. Eden made yesterday showed that the ruling circles of the United Kingdom are wholeheartedly following the United States ruling circles on the German question, grossly violating the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and sabotaging the achievement of the important task of establishing a single, independent, democratic Germany.

84. The lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China are still absent from the United Nations, because of the opposition of the ruling circles of the United States, although the need to relieve international tension and to increase the authority of the United Nations makes their presence here imperative. As a result of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the group of venal Kuomintang rulers led by Chiang Kai-shek was expelled from China. Although the Kuomintang group now no longer represents anyone and does not enjoy the support of the Chinese people, the Anglo-American bloc is continuing quite illegally to recognize the right of this group to represent China in the United Nations, whereas this right belongs exclusively to the lawful representative of the Chinese people—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

85. The next question on which I wish to dwell is that of trade relations between East and West. We all know that, under Article 55 of the Charter, the United Nations is called upon to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development".

86. Representatives at this session must realize that under present conditions the development of trade between the countries of East and West is a matter of particular importance. The Western States, however, under pressure from the United States Government, which is guided by political rather than by economic considerations, are deprived of the possibility of following this path. The countries of Western Europe are continuing to cut down their trade with the countries of Eastern Europe. Thus, according to the United Nations *Economic Bulletin for Europe* for the second quarter of 1951, British exports to the USSR totalled \$32 million in 1950, but only \$13 million in the first six months of 1951; French exports amounted to \$3 million and \$1 million respectively; the exports of Belgium and Luxembourg totalled \$29 million in 1949 and \$19 million in 1950; Danish exports totalled \$9 million in 1949, \$1 million in 1950, and nothing at all in the first six months of 1951. These figures speak for themselves.

87. The notorious Marshall plan and the bilateral agreements signed in accordance with its terms have given the United States the "right" to forbid the countries of Western Europe to export raw materials and industrial goods to the USSR and the peoples' democracies. Belgium, for example, with warehouses bulging with textile goods, was forbidden to sell manufactured clothing to Bulgaria, on the ground that it was made from cotton received under the Marshall plan. In September 1951, the United States, proceeding towards a further deterioration of relations with the USSR, passed the Battle Bill, placing an embargo on trade with the USSR and the peoples' democracies and breaking the trade agreement of 4 August 1937 between the Soviet Union and the United States. The United States Government is also bringing brutal pressure to bear on other countries in an attempt to make them cease trading with the USSR and the peoples' democracies.

88. It is natural, therefore, that business circles and a number of political leaders in several countries of Western Europe, who do not wish to see their countries finally enslaved by American capital, are calling ever more insistently for an expansion of trade between Western and Eastern Europe. The fact that in 1951 and 1952 a number of trade agreements were concluded between Eastern and Western European countries is an indication of the vitality of trade relations between those countries and demonstrates that there is a vital need for expansion of trade between them. If such trade were developed further, the countries of Western Europe would be able to overcome many of their difficulties both with regard to supplies for their populations and with regard to markets for their goods. It would bring about a better utilization of the economic resources of all countries and would help to increase employment and raise the standard of living of broad masses of the population.

89. The development of international trade on a broad scale will be an important factor in relieving international tension and in promoting fruitful co-operation among States. We must welcome these trends and help to broaden and strengthen them.

90. From its earliest days, the USSR has steadfastly and consistently pursued a policy of peace, has unfailingly defended the cause of peace and has practised a policy of co-operation with all countries.

91. An indication of the USSR Government's peaceful endeavours is the vast Stalin plan, which aims at transforming nature and ensuring rich and regular harvests, and which provides for shelter-belt planting in the steppe and wooded-steppe regions. This is also the purpose of the orders enacted in 1950, providing for the transition to a new system of irrigation designed to make the fullest possible use of irrigated lands and agricultural technology, for the construction of hydro-electric stations in the Kuybyshev, Stalingrad and Kakhovka areas, and for the building of the main Turkmen canal and the South Ukraine and North Crimea canals.

92. A vast transformation has also taken place in the Byelorussian SSR. In recent years, 4 million square metres [43,056,000 square feet] of housing units have been built in Byelorussia, plants and factories destroyed by the German occupation troops have been restored and put into operation, 436,000 peasant houses have

been built and more than 2 million persons who formerly lived in huts have been settled in them. The Byelorussian people are draining marshes, especially those in the Polesye plateau, which covers approximately one-quarter of the whole territory of Byelorussia. All our people are engaged on peaceful constructive work. The Byelorussian people, who suffered all the horrors of the Second World War, unanimously approve the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR Government, which is striving tirelessly for peace and in defence of peace.

93. The Byelorussian people unanimously signed the World Peace Council's appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great Powers. The peoples of all countries want the five great Powers, which are responsible for peace throughout the world, to open negotiations and reach agreement as soon as possible. The General Assembly must call on the five great Powers to conclude a peace pact and combine their efforts for the achievement of this great aim. The Byelorussian delegation warmly supports the Polish delegation's proposal for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great Powers directed towards the strengthening of peace among the nations. We are witnesses to the fact that a vast movement in defence of peace has rapidly seized the whole population of the globe and rallied hundreds of millions of people in all countries under the banner of the struggle for peace throughout the world. These anti-war sentiments of the peoples of the world were expressed at the last session of the World Peace Council, which addressed an appeal to the United Nations, urging the General Assembly at its seventh session to adopt concrete proposals for the maintenance of peace and the restoration of international confidence. It is our duty to listen to the voice of hundreds of millions of people demanding that peace be maintained.

94. The Byelorussian delegation supports the proposals made by the Chairman of the Polish delegation at this session of the General Assembly, and calls upon the representatives gathered at the seventh session of the General Assembly to adopt these proposals. They are designed solely to relieve international tension and to strengthen peace throughout the world. By adopting these proposals, the General Assembly will perform its duty of achieving and maintaining international peace and security.

95. Ato AKLILOU (Ethiopia) (*translated from French*): Although it is now a month since the beginning of the General Assembly's seventh session, I should like, as head of the Ethiopian delegation, to express the particular satisfaction with which the election of the Canadian representative as President of the General Assembly was greeted in my country. Ethiopia considers that Canada has always distinguished itself among the Members of this Organization by its objectivity in studying questions brought before the United Nations and by its devotion to the cause of peace—and in particular to the principles of collective security—as evidenced by the Canadian people's contribution of armed forces for the defence of South Korea against aggression. I am pleased to see that our President combines in his person the same qualities that we ascribe to the Canadian people, with a spirit of outstanding impartiality which he has already manifested during the discussions of this session.

96. For those of us who have taken part in the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations since the San Francisco Conference, it is always a matter of interest to study the agenda of each new session, since the lessons which emerge from them provide a clear indication of the progress made in relation to previous sessions of the Assembly.

97. This year, the agenda contains no less than ninety separate topics, classified under seventy-three titles. Of these ninety topics, fifteen are matters of mere routine; fifteen others are purely administrative matters; and forty-seven form the subject of regular reports by the special organs of the United Nations. Of these forty-seven reports, we may reckon that eleven, at the very most, deal with subjects of fundamental importance to our Organization. The remaining thirty-six reports are purely administrative. In short, if we leave aside the fifteen matters of routine, it may be said that about fifty of the seventy-five questions are of a purely administrative character; in other words, two-thirds of the questions with which we are concerned this year are matters not of substance but of administration and routine, such as the questions of pensions for United Nations personnel, the United Nations Postal Administration, etc. Many of the remaining questions, while of considerable importance, none the less do not come under the primary obligation of the United Nations to promote the maintenance of peace. I refer to a number of economic questions, to problems concerning the exchange of information, human rights, women's rights, the question of genocide, etc.

98. The Ethiopian delegation realizes the importance of economic problems and joins with other delegations in support of the suggestions for increasing the scope of United Nations technical and economic assistance to the under-developed countries. We also support the detailed observations of the representatives of Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador and Iraq regarding that assistance and the establishment of an international fund for the purpose of contributing to the execution of that programme of economic aid.

99. These questions should not, however, cause us to lose sight of the primary aim and responsibility of the United Nations, which is to maintain peace. It should be noted, incidentally, that, even in the field of the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, most of the questions have already appeared on the agenda of previous sessions of the General Assembly. Today they appear on the agenda in another form, under a more or less humanitarian aspect. I refer to the Greek question, the Palestine question, and even, to a certain extent, the Korean question. None of these questions has as yet been finally settled by the United Nations.

100. As an example of a somewhat academic question, I would draw the Assembly's attention to the item entitled "Methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter" [item 18]. I wonder whether a rather abstract discussion of this item could be of substantial assistance to us in the solution of certain practical and urgent problems. We must not lose ourselves in endless academic or ideological discussions. Nor must we lose ourselves—as was well said by the Mexican representative in

his opening speech [376 meeting]—in the maze of procedure and commissions. Finally, the United Nations must not give the impression that it is seeking to evade its heavy responsibilities.

101. Many of us have attended every session of the General Assembly since San Francisco. We all know the difficulties, the innumerable obstacles which the United Nations must overcome in order to accomplish its high mission of maintaining peace. Perhaps the Canadian representative put his finger on the origin of these difficulties inherent in our Organization when he so aptly said, some days ago [382nd meeting]: "It is perfectly obvious that the United Nations is not in any sense a world government. The only basis of which we can operate is on the basis of consent." Indeed, nothing can be done without the agreement and mutual consent of the members of the Assembly. The Assembly could not impose its will upon its members. Its will derives from the members themselves and does not exist independently of them. If the members do not wish to adopt a particular solution, the Assembly is completely powerless.

102. This does not mean, however, that the United Nations is incapable of promoting progress in international relations. Many questions on our agenda, in particular those concerning the codification of human rights and international law, open up an enormous field in which our Organization can make a valuable contribution. There is also another field which seems to me to lend itself particularly to useful action by the United Nations, acting, as always, on the basis of the mutual consent of its Members. I refer to the principle of the self-determination of peoples and its corollary, the right of peoples to self-government. As the United States Secretary of State put it very well the other day, this right is inscribed in the Charter itself and all Members of the United Nations are certainly bound to promote its attainment by all peoples. The main point in the connexion is clearly the principle that the peoples concerned must give their consent; it is therefore natural that agreement on these matters among the Members of the United Nations should have a great effect and be of great encouragement to the peoples who are called upon to exercise the right of self-determination in freely accepting one solution rather than another. It seems clear to me that, by basing itself scrupulously upon the desires expressed by the peoples concerned, the United Nations can be of great use in this field.

103. My country has recently co-operated closely in the application of the principle of self-determination to the Eritrean question. The United Nations, guided as always by the provisions of Article 1 of the Charter, and despite the fact that a commission of inquiry of the four great Powers had already studied the question of the wishes of the Eritrean population, arranged to send out a second commission of inquiry to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants before recommending any solution. It was on the basis of that commission's findings that the United Nations, on 2 December 1950, made its recommendation for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia [resolution 390 A (V)]. Here again, however, in conformity with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the resolution provided that the recommendations should not be given effect unless they had been freely accepted by both members of the federation.

104. It was therefore only after the Eritrean people, on the one hand, and Ethiopia, on the other, had formally accepted the recommendations of the United Nations, that the federation came into force on 11 September 1952. It was obviously a slow, patient and, at times, difficult task, which required the constant goodwill and the closest collaboration among all parties concerned, namely, the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, the United Kingdom Administration, the Ethiopian Government and the inhabitants of Eritrea. Thanks to the perseverance and far-sightedness of his Imperial Majesty, my august Sovereign, thanks to the outstanding statesmanship of the United Nations Commissioner, Mr. Anzé Matienzo, and thanks also to the sincere co-operation of the United Kingdom Administration, this work was completed, and the two members of the federation have been able to collaborate freely in the establishment of the régime which will henceforth guide their destinies.

105. Thus it is that, by its recommendation, the United Nations has accomplished a valuable task by enabling the united peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea, through the application of the principle of self-determination, to establish, by their own agreement and their own wishes, this federation which will ensure the personal well-being and mutual progress of all their inhabitants, including foreigners, and without distinction as to nationality, race or religion. Thus settlement of the Eritrean question by agreement between the peoples concerned, on the basis of the principle of self-determination laid down in the Charter, constitutes a signal success on the part of the United Nations in a field where the concurring wishes of the Members of the United Nations can with particular advantage guide the peoples who are called upon to apply this principle.

106. As the United States Secretary of State said, with his customary clarity and precision, in his speech before the General Assembly on 16 October 1952 [380th meeting], "the primary function of the United Nations" is rather, in such cases, "to create an atmosphere favourable to settlements which accord with Charter principles but which should be worked out by the parties directly concerned".

107. The success of the United Nations in this field should lead us to reflect upon similar work which it might profitably undertake in other fields. In this connexion it will be recalled that the reference in the Charter to the principle of self-determination is to be found in Article 1, paragraph 2. Other similar problems are mentioned in that paragraph and in the subsequent paragraph of the same Article. These paragraphs refer, not only to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, but also to equal rights and to international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and to the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex or religion.

108. These provisions, couched in terms full of idealism but perhaps liable to a variety of interpretations, might also offer us other possibilities for useful work, provided, however, that they can at any time be applied to specific cases. An academic, ideological discussion would obviously throw no light on the problems that might be brought before us. If there are any particular infringements of these principles, it is our

duty, of course, to seek to put an end to them. No such steps should be taken, however, in the absence of a really specific dispute endangering the peace.

109. Let us consider the application of these principles a little more closely. Because the Security Council is unable to fulfil its obligations, the primary functions of the United Nations are at present the responsibility of the General Assembly itself. But, under Articles 10 and 11 of the Charter, the General Assembly may make only recommendations, as previous speakers have emphasized. It is nevertheless self-evident that a recommendation, which is not a decision or an order, can impose obligations only on those willing to accept it, and the lack of success of many past resolutions containing recommendations has given a number of delegations food for thought.

110. It was undoubtedly in this spirit that the delegations of Ecuador, New Zealand and Canada particularly stressed the advisability of procedures of arbitration and reference to the International Court of Justice. For reasons which I shall state later, the Ethiopian delegation supports these suggestions. These procedures have two undeniable advantages.

111. In the first place, when the parties involved have recourse to such procedures, they normally undertake in advance to accept the recommendations or the decisions handed down by the arbitral or judicial courts, which is not the case with recommendations of the General Assembly. That is a considerable advantage.

112. Moreover, by virtue of the fact that questions are submitted to arbitration or legal procedures, the parties involved are in a position to determine precisely the nature of the questions submitted for decision or arbitral award. The parties themselves determine the questions to be resolved, whereas in the General Assembly only one party formulates the item which is included in the agenda and the other party takes no part in that preparatory work. In the case of a dispute under Article 35 of the Charter, this situation would inevitably lead to complaints by the other parties concerned about interference in matters pertaining exclusively to their domestic jurisdiction. If, on the other hand, what is involved is not a dispute but a situation which, under the provisions of Article 34 of the Charter, "might lead to international friction", the issues at stake become even more vague and indefinite and the objections about interference even more insistent. It follows that with such a procedure it would be difficult to ask any Member State of the United Nations to accept in advance the solutions recommended by the Assembly, as it would be expected to accept the decision awarded under the procedure of arbitration proposed by a number of delegations. In addition, there would be no guarantee that all the parties concerned would accept such recommendations—quite the contrary.

113. The problem confronting us, therefore, is how to conduct our discussion so as to encourage acceptance of all our recommendations. For this reason, the suggestions of Ecuador, Canada and New Zealand are worthy of consideration, because, as I have just said, reference of questions to procedures of arbitration or judicial settlement clarifies the questions at issue, thereby giving each party advance assurance that no attempt will be made, in any settlement, to intervene

in matters within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of a State contrary to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

114. These suggestions, however, would not cover the many political questions which cannot, as such, be referred to judicial or arbitral proceedings, because political questions are essentially the responsibility of the General Assembly. Therefore, from still another point of view, the Ethiopian delegation supports the recommendation made by Canada, Ecuador and New Zealand for the reference of questions to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinions. We consider that the work of the Assembly would be greatly facilitated if advisory opinions were obtained from the International Court of Justice on such questions as the interpretation of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. This would not involve the submission of an individual case to the Court for its opinion, because that would constitute an attempt by the Assembly to escape its own responsibilities; what is sought instead is a general interpretation of this provision of the Charter so as to facilitate discussion of the various questions raised by Article 1 of the Charter in the Assembly.

115. We consider it appropriate to support suggestions for the more frequent reference of matters to the International Court of Justice, not only in order to obtain decisions on the substance of questions which can be settled by that body, but also in order to obtain advisory opinions. This would create, within the General Assembly, favourable conditions for the consideration of political questions in an atmosphere in which all Members would be disposed to accept, in advance, the appropriate recommendations.

116. In the same spirit, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, I support the suggestions of the representatives of Iraq, Ecuador and New Zealand that the task of amending the Charter should be undertaken immediately.

117. I now turn to another consideration. At the outset of my statement, I observed that most of the difficulties encountered by the United Nations arose from the fact that the United Nations was not a government superimposed on States. The States are merely Members of an Organization which can operate only through its Members on the basis of general agreement. The difficulties of settling disputes between Member States are not so great as the difficulties which must be met in halting overt aggression. If the United Nations were a government superimposed on States, that super-government would merely have to initiate police action. Obviously, that is not the case. The Charter instead adopted the idea of collective security, in which all Members of the United Nations should participate.

118. That is why the United Nations action to stop the aggression in South Korea is of such great and historic significance. The very fact that the only question holding up the conclusion of an armistice is the repatriation of prisoners of war gives eloquent proof that the United Nations has succeeded in putting down the aggression in Korea. It is encouraging for countries like mine, which have suffered from the lack of collective security, to observe the success of our Organization. This is the first time in history that an inter-

national organization has undertaken collective action to stop aggression. It is therefore imperative for us to arrive, during the seventh session of the General Assembly, at an equitable solution of the question of repatriation. Such a solution is urgently needed. That is why the Ethiopian delegation has joined with other delegations in submitting a draft resolution [A/C.1/725] on the question of repatriation. Naturally we are also prepared to support any other resolution conceived on the same basis and in the same spirit.

119. There is reason to be concerned, as other delegations have already shown, about the small number of States which have supported the very humanitarian and realistic action in Korea by direct contributions. As the representative of New Zealand rightly said [380th meeting]: The military and economic burdens of collective action must be borne by the majority of States supporting the action, rather than by a willing majority . . . In such an action, it is incumbent upon all Members to assist the United Nations primarily by the provision of military elements or, if that is impossible, at least by the contribution of some other forms of assistance."

120. That is why Ethiopia, despite the ordeals of the last war, despite the urgent necessity of rehabilitating its people and its economy, and despite its ever-increasing responsibilities in East Africa, decided to contribute with its resources and especially with its armed forces to the common action in Korea. We consider that no country, particularly no small country which is a Member of the United Nations, could do otherwise. Our entire future depends on the adoption and defence of this principle by all Members of the Organization; all Members must participate automatically by making a contribution to the defence against aggression. The history of Ethiopia and its conduct during the aggression in Korea entitle it to support New Zealand's appeal in all sincerity. There should be no speculation as to the identity or the number of Members which would lend their support to halt any future aggression. Only through the unanimous and loyal participation of all Members of the United Nations can the principle of collective security become a reality and an effective method of preventing future aggression.

121. For this same reason—the universality of the Organization—Ethiopia wholeheartedly supports the statements of other delegations in favour of the admission of many States which have vainly, and so long, been knocking on the door of the United Nations. It is our duty to make the United Nations an increasingly universal membership, an organization of all the countries devoted to justice and peace.

122. In speaking of Korea, I said just now that it was a success for the United Nations to have been able to halt aggression. Moreover, through slow and patient work over a period of several months, it has been possible to reach agreement on most of the questions involved in an armistice. Only one question, that of prisoners of war, remains. If the desire to bring this war to an end is mutually and sincerely shared, it would be inconceivable that we should be unable to find a solution to the problem of the repatriation of prisoners of war. The tragic times through which we are living and the anxiety we feel at the prospect of a new catastrophe impose a sacred obligation on all of

us. World opinion would not understand a failure by the United Nations in this matter. Let us strive to find a solution to the problem in order to restore peace to the troubled land of Korea and thus to open the way to world peace and co-operation.

123. The PRESIDENT: There are no names on my list of speakers for this afternoon, but eight representatives have indicated their desire to speak in the general debate tomorrow. These eight, in the order in which they have been given to me, are China, the Dominican Republic, Syria, the Ukrainian SSR, Lebanon, Colombia, Israel and the Union of South Africa. I would once again urge delegations which have not indicated their intention to speak to do so at the earliest possible moment.

124. After the list of speakers who will participate in the general debate for the first time has been exhausted

—and I hope that this will be done tomorrow—two delegations have indicated a desire to make second statements which, of course, they have the right to do, since rule 73 of our rules of procedure has not been applied. But may I express the hope that not too many representatives will wish to speak a second time and that any second speeches will be short, so that we may bring the general debate to an end?

125. Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to propose that, since the general debate has now been going on for some time, the list of speakers should be closed at 5 p.m. today. Since there is no objection to that proposal, the list will be closed at 5 p.m. today.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.