

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

441st
PLENARY MEETINGWednesday, 23 September 1953,
at 10.30 a.m.

New York

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General debate [continued]

SPEECHES BY MR. PEARSON (CANADA), MR. NASZKOWSKI (POLAND) AND MR. NÚÑEZ PORTUONDO (CUBA)

1. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): May I, in the first place, offer you, Madam President, my sincere congratulations and those of my delegation on your election as President of the Assembly, an honour well deserved by the services that you and your country have given to the United Nations. As the President of the preceding Assembly, and for two long hours and six minutes the presiding officer of this one, I can assure you that my congratulations and good wishes are not coloured, even faintly, by envy.
2. The eighth session of the Assembly takes place at a time when many think that the successful negotiation of some of the outstanding differences between the two major power groupings may be possible. If there is any such happy possibility, it would be due, I think, not only to the armistice in Korea or to changes on the other side of the Iron Curtain, but even more to the fact that in recent years a large part of the free and democratic world has learned to cooperate in purpose, policy and action for the defence of peace. Gradually, and not without difficulty—because we are speaking now of free and independent States—a unity and strength is developing which is based on more than economic and military power. It is based also on a common belief in freedom and a determination to defend it against any reactionary and subversive forces which may threaten it.
3. Our co-operation is not synthetic; our unity is not imposed, nor is it of that monolithic type that Mr. Vyshinsky proudly ascribed the other day [438th meeting] to Soviet society. Honest differences openly expressed are bound to exist within and between free governments. Not only do we acknowledge them; at times we seem almost gratuitously to advertise them. But anyone who seeks to divide us in the United Nations or elsewhere by misinterpreting or exploiting these differences will soon find that the things that hold us together are far stronger and more enduring than those which at times seem to divide us.
4. If there are opportunities now for easing in some degree international tension, I hope that this eighth

session of the General Assembly will use them to the full. We may not be able to change the facts of international life by resolutions in our Assembly. But by omission or commission, by what we say or do not say, we can lighten or darken the international atmosphere in which our problems must be solved.

5. The spirit of reason and conciliation, which has for long animated the free peoples in approaching these problems, was given eloquent and sincere expression in this Assembly on 17 September [434th meeting] by the Secretary of State of the United States. He reaffirmed our will to peace, which is deep and abiding. On our side, that will to peace exists, but does it coexist?
6. The Soviet bloc deny that our policies make for peace. They claim that our coalitions and our associations, particularly what they call the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, are a menace to their security and are designed for aggressive war. Nothing could be more remote from reality than that charge. It may be that their fear on this score is manufactured by propaganda as a cloak for plans and policies of their own, which in turn rouse deep and anxious fear in us. But even if the communist fear were genuine, it is unfounded. The peoples of our free coalition are passionately pacific, and its leader, the United States, as Canadians have special reason to know and appreciate, is one of the least imperialistically minded Powers that ever had world leadership and responsibility thrust upon it.
7. But even if anyone were tempted to believe these untrue communist charges of American war-mongering imperialism, does anyone really think that the United States could decree aggressive or provocative collective action by, say, the North Atlantic, the Inter-American or the ANZUS [Australia, New Zealand and United States] groups? Furthermore, this friendly association of other countries with the United States, some of which have had as tragic an experience of the miseries and destructions of war as the Soviet Union itself, should be a reassuring rather than a disturbing factor to all those who seek peace. As Mr. Dulles put it on 17 September:

"The Soviet leaders ... should know, and probably they do know, that community arrangements are the least likely to be aggressive. Military force which is within a single nation can be used offensively at the dictation of one government alone, sometimes of one man alone. Military force which is distributed throughout several countries cannot be used effectively unless all of the countries concerned are in agreement."

Then Mr. Dulles added, and his words, I assure the Assembly, apply to my country:

"Such agreement would be totally unattainable except for operations responsive to the clear menace of aggression."

8. We of the free democratic countries, then, must not and will not adopt any policy or take any action which could give any other State valid reason to fear for its security or for its legitimate national interests. Such interests, however, do not include as making for peace—and here I quote with complete agreement from Mr. Vyshinsky's speech of 21 September [438th meeting]—"a policy directed at destroying the social and political structure of any other country".

9. But communist doctrine, in our eyes, professes just that, and that is one reason why we feel a deep, genuine fear, not one as Mr. Vyshinsky put it, artificially stimulated by the Pentagon, but a fear which flows from the loss of freedom in Eastern Europe, from the Berlin blockade, from aggression in Korea, from the awful dangers of totalitarian tyranny, and from the 175 Soviet divisions, if that is the figure, ready to march.

10. Mr. Spaak, the then Foreign Minister of Belgium, put our feelings as eloquently and succinctly as they have ever been put when he said to the General Assembly in 1948:

"The Soviet delegation need not look for complicated explanations of our policy. I will tell him what is the basis of our policy—in terms which are perhaps slightly cruel, but which only the representative of a small nation could use. Do you know what is the basis of our policy? It is fear of you, fear of your Government, fear of your policy."

Then Mr. Spaak went on to say:

"Do you [the delegation of the Soviet Union] know why we [the Western European countries] are afraid? We are afraid because you often speak of imperialism.

"What is the definition and current notion of imperialism? It is usually the idea of a nation, generally a great Power, that makes conquests and increases its influence throughout the world.

"What is the historic truth that has emerged from recent years? It is that one great country alone has emerged from the war having conquered other territories—and that great country is the Soviet Union . . .

"The empire of the Soviet Union stretches from the Far East to the Baltic Sea and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and is now also felt on the banks of the Rhine . . . and then the Soviet Union wonders why the other nations feel anxious."¹

11. The echo of those words of Mr. Spaak, spoken five years ago, has not faded from our minds. With these fears still haunting us, and with the sure knowledge that weakness in this world is a provocation and not a protection, we intend to become strong and remain strong until security can rest on a better and more lasting foundation even than strength.

12. I am aware, of course, that fear on one side often results in action which causes new fear on the other side; and that this provokes counteraction, which, in its turn, brings about even greater fear. And so a vicious circle is begun, which goes on and on until it is either cut through in the right way, by sincere negotiation and wise political decisions, or in

the wrong way, by war, which now means atomic annihilation. If these are, then, the alternatives, and if by our policies we should make the latter choice inevitable, then George Bernard Shaw was certainly right when he said: "If the other planets are inhabited, the earth is their lunatic asylum."

13. Yet it is all too apparent that the tide of world affairs for the past seven years has been flowing in one direction, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, but always, unhappily, in the direction of an eventual catastrophe that might leave in the rubble little worth salvaging from what we are still able to call civilization.

14. The growing unity and strength of the Western democracies, however, and the confidence that is beginning to come from this, the events of the last few months and, in particular, the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, may give us now a chance to move away from possible co-destruction and towards a coexistence which will be more than a word. I do not mean to suggest, of course, that an era of sweetness and light is just around the corner. Nor will it be ushered in merely by changes of tactics or paper promises of peace. But it does seem that there is at least more hope now for progress towards real peace than there was when the seventh session of the General Assembly opened almost a year ago. Whether this is wishful thinking or not, such progress is the fundamental purpose to which our United Nations is dedicated, and we are, in all conscience, bound to keep everlastingly trying to bring about a better state of international relations; for if we fail in this we fail, sooner or later, in everything.

15. Faced with this task, then, we should ask ourselves, among other things, if our present methods of diplomacy, inside or outside the United Nations, are adequate and effective enough for the purpose of negotiating differences when the opportunity for such negotiation presents itself.

16. The United Nations is a place where we can meet either to settle problems or to make settlement more difficult. It is a place where we can try to find collective solutions, or one which we can use to get support and publicity for purely national solutions. It is a place where we can talk to each other with a view to securing general agreement, or to television and radio audiences in order to explain that disagreement is the fault of somebody else. In any event, whatever face the United Nations now presents to the public is enlarged to alarming proportions by all the media of information which now carry our words, our attitudes, even our appearances, to the ends of the earth.

17. I know of course, as the Assembly knows, that without the active participation of world agencies of communication and information this experiment in world organization could not succeed because it would not be able to secure popular support. But the United Nations has, or it should have, a private as well as a public face. There should be opportunities here for other than public appearances. A television panel discussion can be instructive, and at times entertaining, but it is surely no substitute for direct consultation or for that old-fashioned diplomacy which is becoming more respectable by comparison with some of its gaudier successors.

18. It is, of course, essential that all free peoples should know and understand the great issues of policy which may mean life or death to them. But it is not

¹ This quotation is taken from the original verbatim record. For the printed record, in summary form, see *Official Records of the Third Session of the General Assembly, Part I, Plenary Meetings*, 147th meeting, pp. 280 and 281.

essential, as I see it—indeed it is often harmful—for the negotiation of policy always to be conducted in glass houses which are often too tempting a target for brickbats. It is all too easy to strike attitudes in public, only to find later that we are “stuck” with them. Open diplomacy now tends to become frozen diplomacy.

19. I am sure that we can all think of subjects that have come before us in recent sessions of the Assembly that could have been more constructively discussed and more easily settled if there had previously been quiet and confidential discussion of them between delegations and governments, especially between those which were in disagreement over the matters in question. It is my feeling that the opportunity for consultation of this kind at United Nations meetings is, or seems to be, diminishing, and that a kind of “bloc” or “group” discussion is, on the other hand, increasing, the results, in one form or another, often being made public almost before the discussion itself has taken place. If we are not careful, therefore, these “publicly confidential” discussions, useful and perhaps essential as they often are, may cause the United Nations to lose prestige as a place where opposing views can be constructively considered and where their reconciliation can at least be attempted in an efficient and businesslike way.

20. But whatever methods we adopt, the fear and tension which now grips the whole world will not be reduced until some of the current international issues which divide us are successfully resolved, either by the United Nations or by those States—acting, if necessary, outside the United Nations—which have the main share of responsibility for international peace and security.

21. In his penetrating address on 17 September, Mr. Dulles pointed to certain of these problems. If concrete progress, and not mere talk about peaceful intentions, can be achieved in solving some of them, here in the United Nations or elsewhere, we will then, but only then, have some real ground for hope; for only then will our words have been confirmed by actions.

22. The two principal issues which will test the reality behind all our talk are, of course, Germany and Korea. The latter issue, which is before us, has now narrowed down to the political conference to be held under paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement.

23. The countries which fought in Korea on the United Nations side sent their troops there for no other purpose than to help repel aggression, declared such by United Nations decision.

24. So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, we will not support any military action in Korea that is not United Nations action, and we would, of course, be opposed to any attempt to interpret existing United Nations objectives as including, for instance, the unification of Korea by force. On the other hand, we are aware that the signing of an armistice does not discharge us from obligations we have already undertaken in Korea as a Member of the United Nations.

25. To convert this armistice into peace, the political conference must meet. There is no other way. Less than a month ago, the seventh session of the Assembly, it will be remembered, made provision [*resolution 711 (VII)*] for the United Nations side of this meeting. It is quite true that this was done in a way which did not meet the full wishes of certain delegations,

including my own. But the decision was made, and made after long and exhaustive debate, and the composition of the conference on the United Nations side was decided—decided in a way which, if not perfect, should be satisfactory for the purpose we have in mind, namely, making peace in Korea. Surely it would be wrong at once to reopen the whole matter and to try to reverse our decision after such a short interval merely because the communist governments of Peking and North Korea demand it.

26. Insistence, for instance, by the communist side—and this is mentioned in their notes [*A/2469 and A/2476 and Corr.1*]*—that the Korean conference cannot convene unless the United Nations agrees that the USSR should be present as a “neutral” member, would throw serious doubt on their desire to have the conference convene at all. So we have the right, I think, to expect that the communist governments concerned, to which our resolutions have been forwarded, should now without delay designate their own representatives, and express their views regarding the time and place. Once the conference meets, there will be ample opportunity to iron out other difficulties which may arise. But are these of sufficient consequence to justify the other side in boycotting this necessary first step in peace-making, not only in Korea but perhaps over a broader area?*

27. For it is surely not too much to hope that if we are successful in negotiating on a specific and defined range of questions we may succeed also in strengthening the prospects of the settlement of wider Asian issues, although not necessarily through the same mechanism which we have recommended for the Korea Conference. But for this wider objective to be achieved, or even approached, we must first succeed in making peace in Korea. If—and I recognize that this is a big “if”—there is good faith and good will on both sides, a settlement here should be possible.

28. I suggest that any such settlement must provide for a free and united Korea, with a government resting on the will of the Korean people, freely expressed through an election held under United Nations supervision. All foreign forces should, of course, be withdrawn, and Korea’s security might be provided for under an international and supervised guarantee.

29. The Korean problem is certainly not an insoluble one. If a fair and lasting solution is desired, it can be found. It certainly is desired by the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations, I am sure. If the communist side, or anyone else, by obstruction and inadmissible demands, makes a peaceful solution impossible, then the responsibility for failure will be clear, and the United Nations, at least, will have done its duty.

30. Korea, in short, will provide an acid test for the hope and claim that successful negotiations can and must be conducted now, not only on the future of Korea, but also on European and cold-war problems generally, in order to bring about an easing of fear and tension, and a peace that will be something better than cold war.

31. There is one other respect in which Korea is an acid test—the assistance we give the Korean people to restore and rehabilitate their country, ravaged and devastated by war. I am certain that this Assembly will agree with the Secretary-General that it is of high importance that this collective responsibility for

reconstruction and rehabilitation in Korea—and I quote from Mr. Hammarskjöld's report—"should be carried out honourably, vigourously and generously by the United Nations and with the widest possible participation of its Members [A/2404, p. xiii]".

32. In referring to Korea as a supreme test, I am well aware that the obstacles to agreement, like the present divisions of our world, may seem great. Yet we can remind ourselves, as has been said, the longest journey must begin with a single step. It is the belief of the country which I represent, and I am sure of the overwhelming majority of the countries represented here, that, if this all-important first step—to co-operate in bringing peace to Korea—is taken by those who speak in the name of the world community in this Assembly, the long journey towards a wider peace will have begun.

33. This is a general debate, but I do not propose to comment on other issues, many of them very important, which will come before us. There will be time enough for that in the weeks ahead. This eighth session, like its predecessors, now faces a long and complex programme of work. The problems before it, in the formal enumeration of our official agenda, reflect the basic conflicts and high tensions of our divided world. Ultimate judgments on the utility or the futility of this Organization will be based on the extent to which we make these items on our agenda the signposts to action and practical achievement.

34. The Canadian delegation will do its best to make a worthwhile contribution to this essential result, and thereby serve the high purposes of peace that bring us together here.

35. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): For the eighth time in the history of the United Nations, the General Assembly is meeting in order to discuss and take decisions on many important international questions. World public opinion is following the General Assembly's debates with keen interest. This proves that, in spite of the disappointments its work has caused so far, the peoples still hope that the United Nations will follow the path of international co-operation. These hopes are now greater than ever. Some signs of a relaxation of international tension have appeared. In the period immediately preceding this session, steps were taken by the countries which pursue a policy of peace, particularly the Soviet Union, to improve relations between countries and settle controversial questions by agreement. A certain decrease in international tension may be observed, which provides the opportunity for wider co-operation in the settlement of all controversial problems on the basis of negotiation between the parties concerned.

36. The most important element in this relaxation of tension is undoubtedly the conclusion of an armistice in Korea. Such a step puts an end to bloodshed in the Korean peninsula and to the war which has caused so much destruction and so much suffering to the Korean people. The end of hostilities in Korea, after three years and thirty-three days of heroic resistance to foreign invasion by the small Korean nation and by the Chinese volunteers, is a great victory for the cause of peace. The armistice in Korea has eliminated the immediate danger of the extension of the Korean conflict which is stubbornly sought by those whose policy is based on plans of war and conquest. The armistice in Korea has led the peoples to hope that

the way is opening towards the peaceful settlement of other controversial problems by negotiation.

37. However, the United Nations has not so far taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the signing of the armistice in Korea. Instead of following the policy duly laid down in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement, and instead of convening a broad political conference to decide upon the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and to create conditions favourable to the unification and reconstruction of Korea and to settlement of the problems threatening international peace in the Far East, the General Assembly has attempted to impose upon the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea a bilateral conference composed solely of the belligerent parties. The discussions during the second series of resumed meetings at the seventh session of the General Assembly show that this was done in spite of the fact that the majority of Members of the United Nations realized perfectly well that the problems to be discussed far exceeded the competence of a bilateral conference, since it would be faced with international problems of such importance that only a broad and representative conference, organized on a high level, would be able to settle them. Even the invitation to the Soviet Union to participate in this conference was extended in such a way as to place that country in the absurd position of a belligerent State in Korea.

38. The position of the United States delegation and of those who supported it directly infringed the rights of a number of Asian States vitally concerned in a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and whose opinions should not be ignored. The Government of the People's Republic of China, which, together with the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, has shown so much good will and has tried so hard to reach an agreement, has not relaxed its efforts to bring about a political conference designed to settle the Korean questions and other controversial Far Eastern problems by negotiation and agreement.

39. The communication dated 13 September 1953 [A/2469] from Mr. Chou En-lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, and the communication dated 14 September 1953 [A/2476 and *Corr.1*] from the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea represent a new contribution by those governments towards the efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. Such a contribution gave the United Nations the opportunity of returning to the only just path and presented our Organization with the duty of re-examining the question of the political conference as the USSR delegation had proposed. Such a duty is dictated not only by legal and formal considerations, but above all by an appraisal of the actual political situation. The General Assembly's decision [440th meeting] not to include the item submitted by the USSR delegation in its agenda was wrong and has not contributed to a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

40. The changes which have taken place in the international situation, and which I stressed at the beginning of my statement, have been brought about mainly by the policy of the USSR, the People's Republic of China and the peoples' democracies. This policy is based on a willingness to co-operate with all countries and is inspired by the profound truth that there is no controversial question in international relations which

cannot be settled by negotiation. Thanks to this policy, peoples look to the future with greater hope that international co-operation will continue to develop. The peoples of the world have more and more confidence in the policy of peace which is based on the unshakable attitude of one-third of the world's population. They see in this policy the directing force of the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of countries, whatever their political systems.

41. This policy is meeting with increasing understanding even in some of the ruling circles of Western Europe, which are seeking to remedy the situation in which their countries have been placed by United States cold war policy and its war preparations. Even the Australian representative [436th meeting] who, for reasons best known to himself, felt it necessary to pay his anti-communist tribute in out-moded formulae based on the alleged danger of communism, and who took the liberty moreover of inventing quotations from the great Lenin that were both false and libellous, was obliged to recognize that the peaceful efforts of the USSR constituted an important element which must be taken into account. The peoples of all continents, including the American people, realize more and more clearly that war is not inevitable and that peace can be safeguarded. These peoples are demanding that their governments should exploit every opportunity for peaceful understanding in order to stifle the smouldering fires of international conflict.

42. The legend, cut out of whole cloth by the ruling circles of the United States, that the peoples are threatened by the Soviet Union, has hung fire. Peoples more and more clearly see where they must look for the real war-mongers. The peoples hate war; they take their stand against war; they reject the theory that the war potential or the economic potential of a country gives it the right to practise a policy of *Diktat* or of blackmail in international relations.

43. These feelings become more and more obvious to those who really wish to take them into account. Mr. Ernest Weir, President of the Board of the National Steel Corporation, stated recently, after a tour of Europe, that the Europeans did not believe that the danger of war was imminent, and they were convinced that the time had come to approach peace in a positive way. Mr. Weir drew the logical conclusion that the United States should attempt to reach agreement by undertaking negotiations in the international field with an open mind and should be prepared to negotiate for peace on an equitable and honourable basis.

44. Some signs of decreasing tension appear also in the field of international economic co-operation. In spite of the obstacles put in their way by United States ruling circles, commercial exchanges between the capitalist countries, on the one hand and the USSR, the People's Republic of China and the peoples' democracies, on the other, are developing. The last session of the Economic Commission for Europe, the Consultation of trade experts to consider possibilities of expanding East-West trade, held at Geneva, and the Regional Conference on trade promotion, held at Manila, have enabled direct contact to be made between representatives of the various countries, which thus reached common conclusions on the need for extending exchanges between States, whatever their economic systems. New trade agreements have been concluded, such as that between the Soviet Union and

France and several other countries. These agreements are profitable for both parties and to a certain extent reduce the consequences of the artificial restrictions which weigh heavily on the countries whose governments have submitted to the United States policy of economic discrimination.

45. The signs of a decrease in international tension prove the weakness of the policy of force and *Diktat* in international relations. Indeed, the Korean war has shown not only that a people struggling for their freedom are invincible, not only the heroism of the Korean people and the Chinese volunteers who, defending the freedom of Korea, have won the gratitude of the Asian peoples and of all peace-loving men and women, but also that the policy of force does not pay and that eventually it always turns against its exponents. This truth is obvious in spite of all the attempts which have been made, and are still being made by certain delegations from this rostrum, to camouflage United States intervention in Korea as a peaceful action of the United Nations. The policy of force is going through an acute crisis because its advocates lack the support of their own people and still more that of the other peoples they are attempting to subordinate to their *Diktat* under the pretext of defending them against a non-existent danger from the Soviet Union. This failure of the Atlantic policy of force is apparent to any serious observer of the attitude of United States governing circles. I shall not quote the many statements on this subject which derive from various sources close to the ruling circles of United States foreign policy. I shall confine myself to quoting from a statement published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, to the effect that the peoples of the world, both the former enemies and the former allies, can no longer be prevented from acting in conformity with their interests, and that the United States can no longer hope to compel them by threats and corruption to act as if this were not the case.

46. The Polish people, after the terrible destruction inflicted on their country by the fascist aggressors, are now experiencing a period of expanding economic, social and cultural life. The Polish people, who are making every effort to improve their social welfare and raise their cultural standards, are following the development of international events closely. They confidently support any plan designed to strengthen peace. For the Polish people, peace means the opportunity to continue their work of establishing solid bases for the well-being of present and future generations in the People's Republic of Poland.

47. However, the profound satisfaction which the Polish people experience at each sign of decreasing international tension, cannot blind them to the fact that areas of tension still exist and that attempts are still being made to poison relationships between nations, while the constant efforts of peace-loving peoples are directed towards the settlement of controversial questions. Their attention cannot be diverted from the fact that the Atlantic pact of aggression still exists and constitutes the main threat to international peace and security. For that reason, in speaking of the prospects of easing tension, I feel it essential at the same time to stress here that we must not close our eyes to the fact that those who are adept in the policy of force are not only avoiding negotiation, but are also seeking by every possible means to increase tension and to poison relations between the nations.

48. Foremost among the manoeuvres of the forces of aggression which seek to maintain international tension are the attempts, of which I have already spoken, to sabotage the armistice and to prolong the war in Korea. The advocates of the policy of aggression are also trying to create new centres of international conflict in Europe. In the first place, we must mention the well-known provocation which occurred in Berlin on 17 June 1953, and which was obviously designed to create a centre of conflict in the heart of Europe. The complete failure of this escapade, organized by the imitators of Syngman Rhee and their protectors, has not led to any decrease in attempts at provocation.

49. In the history of international relations, there is no example of diversionist activities on so large a scale as those now carried out by the forces of imperialist aggression. The United States ruling circles have included this policy of diversion and provocation against other countries in their national programme and funds have been officially appropriated for this purpose in their budget. With this money they hope to buy the dregs of society and enrol them in the struggle against their own peoples. By means of terror and blackmail, attempts are being made to induce weak and hesitating individuals to betray their homeland. Also as part of this scheme devised by the United States Government, a campaign is being organized through the broadcasts of the Voice of America and of so-called free Europe, a campaign of perfidious lies, incitements to riot, completely unfounded stories of so-called revolts and so on.

50. In these circumstances, what value is there in the words spoken by Mr. Dulles from this rostrum [434th meeting], claiming that the United States does not wish to export revolution? It is obviously difficult to suspect the United States of wishing to export revolution, but it is obvious that it is exporting counter-revolution, terror, sabotage and other means of pressure against the peoples who have rid themselves once and for all of capitalism. These circles dream of destroying the internal unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. These are vain hopes, however. Peoples who have won their freedom will not allow it to be snatched from them. Vain also are the hopes of the enemies of peace that dissensions will arise among the countries which are on the side of peace. The friendship of peoples pursuing the same objective is based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and disinterested mutual aid and it is unshakable.

51. The Polish people are carefully watching those who are scheming against peace. They must attach particular importance to the fact that in Western Germany the same forces which so recently were sowing destruction and death in Poland and other European countries are raising their heads again with ever greater audacity. These same forces, which only recently organized the bloody war against Poland and the other peoples of Europe, have now been promoted to a directing role in the new conspiracy against the peoples, disguised under the name of European Defence Community. Former SS generals are preparing to play a prominent part in the so-called European army and one of them, Gilles, has stated, according to *Le Monde*, that the *Wehrmacht* and the *Waffen SS* are the real precursors of European defence.

52. In his statement, the United States representative attempted in vain to reassure his Western European

allies, who are the western neighbours of Germany, about the consequences of the revival of German militarism. The peoples of Europe, who struggled against the Hitlerian hordes during the Second World War, now watch with increasing concern the maintenance of the division of Germany and the support given to German militarism, which is openly developing into a programme of conquest and annexation in Eastern and Western Europe up to and beyond the frontiers of Hitler's great *Reich*. How can we accept as being in good faith Mr. Dulles' statement that the United States Government desires the unification of Germany when he clearly interfered in that country's domestic affairs on the eve of the West German elections and announced his support for Mr. Adenauer, the advocate of the forces of militarism and revenge? In exchange for this support, Mr. Adenauer made a statement, after the elections, favouring a policy which would lead to the aggravation of international tension. He spoke in favour of the concept of what he calls the "liberation of other nations", which in reality is nothing more than the old Hitlerian policy of conquest and revenge. He also spoke against the peaceful unification of Germany.

53. The Polish people, who have a common frontier of peace with the German people along the Oder-Neisse line, are keenly interested in the unification and peaceful development of Germany. Poland, which is united by friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic, wishes to live in peace with the entire German people. It recognizes the legal right of the German people to a united, sovereign and democratic State. The unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis, as defined in the Potsdam decisions by the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, is the only path to be followed for the settlement of the German problem in accordance with the interests of the European peoples, including the German people themselves. This is the path indicated by the USSR Government's proposal for the reconstruction of a united, peaceful and democratic Germany. The conversations held recently between the USSR Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic prove the realism of the Soviet proposals and show that the USSR Government is ready immediately to undertake the steps essential to the signing of a peace treaty with Germany.

54. I would emphasize that it was in the same spirit that the Polish Government, in agreement with the Soviet Union, recently renounced, as from 1 January 1954, the share of reparations still due to Poland. The Polish Government has made its contribution to the settlement of the German problem by developing genuinely peaceful and friendly political, commercial and cultural relations with the German Democratic Republic. The Polish Government is willing to go on contributing to a peaceful settlement of the German problem based on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the establishment of a united, peaceful and democratic Germany.

55. One of the chief causes of anxiety and international tension is still the policy of an unrestrained armaments race pursued by the United States and, under pressure from that country, by the other countries of the Atlantic bloc. One feature of that policy is the development of military bases for use against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, bases which the United States has supplied with weapons

of mass destruction, including, according to recent Press reports, atomic artillery. In 1953, the militarization of the economy of the Atlantic bloc countries has continued and military expenditure has increased, causing economic difficulties. Real expenditure on armaments in the United States in 1952 amounted to over \$43,000 million. The expenditure of the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization rose from \$5,800 million in 1940-1950 to over \$11,000 million for the financial year 1952-1953. The budget of the Atlantic bloc provides for large sums for military expenditure, to the detriment of social investments, housing, education and culture. In the name of a policy of strength, the peoples are crushed beneath the burden of armaments. The interests of hundreds of millions of human beings, of whole peoples, are sacrificed to the interests of a small group of monopolies which derive enormous profits from armaments.

56. For example, the data published last July in the *Economic Bulletin for Europe*² show that the level of consumption in the countries of Western Europe in the first quarter of 1953 was lower than in the first quarter of 1949. The indices of industrial production for the same period are also lower in some of the Western European countries than the corresponding indices for the same period in 1952.

57. The situation in the under-developed countries is particularly hard. The fall in the prices of their raw materials has caused a marked decrease in their ability to import and thus has hampered their economic development. The imperialist Powers exploit these countries to the hilt in order to make the greatest possible profits.

58. The armaments race organized by United States government circles—defended by Mr. Pearson, the Canadian representative, who portrayed them as angels of peace and leaders of the camp of harmony—is arousing increasing resistance among the peoples of the world. It is even meeting with resistance from the governments of certain countries which have been drawn into the policy of rearmament. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the policy of the armaments race has no connexion with national security and that the war psychosis is being provoked by forces which are attempting to replace a policy of international co-operation by a policy of *Diktat*.

59. Politicians and journalists in the United Kingdom are becoming more and more convinced of the necessity of opposing American pressure on the peoples of Western Europe to adopt a programme of preparation for war and to shoulder an immense military burden which will only increase their dependence on the United States and result in a continual fall in their economic potential. Statements made recently in the House of Commons in London furnish proof of that fact, as do certain resolutions adopted by the British Trades Union Congress.

60. Large sectors of the French people are calling for an end to the policy which is placing France at the mercy of German militarism, undermining its political independence and destroying its national economy. For instance, Mr. Debré, a right-wing senator, published an article in the newspaper *L'Information*, in which he stated that he was opposed to the ratification of the agreements on the European army and stressed that the existence of that army would

place France in an impossible and tragic situation. He asked what would be the purpose of the European army, which would in fact be a Foreign Legion, predominantly German and under American command, and replied that its purpose would be the conquest of the territories of the East. His conclusion was that that was a real nightmare.

61. The appearance of these tendencies in Europe can no longer be ignored, even by such American politicians such as Mr. John McCloy, the former High Commissioner in Germany, who writes in his book, *The Challenge to American Foreign Policy*, that the growth of anti-American feelings in Europe has reached dangerous proportions and that one meets with these feelings among the masses as well as among the intellectuals. In another passage, Mr. McCloy writes that Europe, which is exhausted and which has suffered so much, cannot countenance the idea of a war and is afraid that the United States does countenance this idea.

62. The desire for peace is becoming more and more widespread among the American people. We remember with what hopes they greeted the end of hostilities in Korea. One reason for the present difficulties of the United States Government in its foreign policy is the desire for a lessening of international tension which is manifest in American society, more and more hard hit by the consequences of the war policy.

63. In these circumstances, when on the one hand there seems to be some prospect of returning to normal international relations and on the other there are constant endeavours to hamper co-operation and maintain tension, the USSR draft resolution [A/2485/Rev.1] offers the United Nations new opportunities. It deals with all the essential problems of the present international situation and offers a practical and realistic solution which would sweep away all the obstacles to normal, peaceful co-operation. By continuing to press for a reduction of armed forces and the prohibition of atomic weapons, the hydrogen weapon and all other weapons of mass destruction, the Soviet delegation is once again proving the sincerity of its intentions and its great interest in the development of peaceful relations among nations. Today, when it is common knowledge that the United States has no monopoly of, or even superiority in, atomic and hydrogen weapons, the USSR still calls for the prohibition of those weapons and the enforcement of that prohibition, for the reason that it threatens no one and has no intention of attacking anyone.

64. This attitude of the Soviet Union is the direct opposite of the United States position, outlined once again in the United States representative's speech on 17 September [434th meeting]. Instead of specific proposals, we heard once more the old refrain about the need for endless studies and technical preparations. In practice, however, the governing circles in the United States continue the armaments race, threaten the world with weapons of mass destruction and wage a campaign of war propaganda for the purpose of sowing hatred among the nations. That is not what the peoples want. All mankind is demanding disarmament, the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and co-operation among the great Powers. By adopting the Soviet proposals that all weapons of mass destruction should immediately be prohibited and that the prohibition should be enforced, that the great Powers should reduce their armed forces by 0

² First quarter, 1953, Vol. V, No. 2, table 4.

third, that the Security Council should convene an international conference on disarmament and on measures to abolish military bases on foreign soil, and that war propaganda should be condemned, the General Assembly could open a new era for the United Nations and lay the foundations of a permanent peace in order "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", in the words of the Charter.

65. The Polish Government attaches great importance to the United Nations as an essential factor for the maintenance of peace. To achieve peace, however, the Organization must get out of the impasse in which certain States have placed it and return to the path laid down by the Charter. Only then can it play an active part in the development of international relations.

66. In order to do so, the United Nations must finally put an end to the ridiculous situation created by the fact that there is no representative of the great Chinese people among us. The fact that the People's Republic of China is not represented here is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the undeniable rights of the Chinese people. Moreover, it creates further obstacles to the settlement of the important problems of world policy, in which the Chinese people play a leading role. The Prime Minister of India, in his speech of 17 September, said that it could not really be maintained that China was represented in the United Nations and the Security Council so long as it was represented by an envoy who could not speak on behalf of the Chinese people and had no influence in China.

67. The United Nations must also settle the question of the admission of new Members, some of which have been awaiting admission since 1946. The United Nations cannot be universal in the sense intended in the Charter, it cannot perform its duties and achieve its ends, unless, as the Secretary-General pointed out in his report [A/2404], it abandons all discriminatory practices and admits to membership all States which fulfil the requirements for admission.

68. The Organization's work should be guided by respect for the provisions of the Charter. The cause of peace is not advanced by attacks on the Charter and attempts to revise it; they can only undermine the authority of the United Nations and the confidence it inspires.

69. One of the Organization's principal tasks is to contribute to the development of international trade and the abolition of discriminatory barriers. The United Nations can make a practical contribution to the stabilization of international trade. Moreover, it should develop the economies and the cultural value of the under-developed countries. The purpose of that endeavour should be to strengthen the political and economic independence of those countries, not to mask the selfish political ends of some States. At the sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council [729th meeting], the Polish Government announced what financial contribution it was prepared to make to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance; it is convinced that co-operation among nations in that respect can be an important factor in the progress and development of international economic co-operation.

70. It is also the Organization's duty to encourage the aspirations of the dependent peoples who want their freedom, and to oppose any attempt to strengthen

the colonial régime. In the name of the principle of respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination, which is enshrined in the Charter, the General Assembly should denounce all practices likely to maintain colonial oppression; it should help the oppressed peoples in their righteous struggle for independence. The Polish people, who fought for their freedom for over a hundred years and have now attained it, sympathize with the dependent or semi-dependent peoples in their struggle for national liberation and offer them its warm support.

71. I have devoted much of my speech to the principles of peaceful international co-operation because they constitute the foundation of the Polish Government's foreign policy. By their creative and peaceful labour, the Polish people give constant evidence of their unalterable wish that peace should be maintained. Engrossed in our peaceful work, we are building and starting new industries and manufacturing products that we did not make before the war, such as merchant ships, tractors, motor-cars, machine-tools, power plants and synthetic fibres. We are building workers' dwellings, schools for all children of school age, day nurseries, infant schools, hospitals, sanatoria and rest homes. By the combined effort of the whole people, we are rebuilding Warsaw, our beautiful capital, and other towns that were badly damaged during the last war. We are increasing the number of higher schools, which are attended by four times as many students as before the war. The budget of the People's Republic of Poland is one of construction and peaceful development. Fifty-one per cent of the budget is devoted to developing the national economy and about 25 per cent to financing the social and cultural services. Our Government's chief concern is the well-being of the workers.

72. Poland's participation in international trade—which it is ready to go on increasing—helps to stabilize international relations. We are building and developing our country, not for the purpose of destruction but to live in peace. Our people remember the horrors of two world wars. The young people, beginning life with their hearts full of hope, and the mothers, who dread to see the happy smiles vanish from their children's faces, are devoting all their creative energies to peaceful construction.

73. The Polish Government's foreign policy proves its unshakable attachment to the cause of peace. We have supported all efforts within the United Nations to reach a peaceful solution of controversial questions. We have submitted proposals designed to dispel the threat of war. I refer in particular to the Polish draft resolution [A/2229] submitted during the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. We agreed to take part in two neutral commissions in Korea, convinced that in this way we could help to solve the Korean conflict. Poland is also taking part in the work of reconstruction in Korea and the repairing of the ruins resulting from the war. The Polish Government will continue to support any action which might lead to a relaxation of international tension.

74. In the Polish delegation's view, the change which has come about in the international atmosphere during the past year gives the General Assembly the opportunity to make a great contribution to the cause of international peace and security at the present session. During the eighth session, therefore, it will be our duty to neglect no opportunity of adopting measures

likely to alleviate tension and to create conditions favourable to peaceful international co-operation. The Polish delegation, for its part, will spare no effort to contribute to that end during the present session of the General Assembly.

75. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): This general debate in the Assembly has been accepted as the appropriate occasion for the various delegations to state their views on the great problems facing mankind, to lay down general policy, and to put forward ideas that may facilitate the taking of decisions favouring the maintenance of international peace, while ensuring absolute respect for the sovereignty of peoples and States.

76. To the delegation of Cuba the pre-eminent problem today is that of the maintenance of peace. It is with no wish to figure as a Cassandra or to show exaggerated pessimism that I observe that the immediate prospects offer little hope that the principal aim of the United Nations will be achieved.

77. For more than three years, the United Nations has fought a bloody war in the defence of a small State which was the object of the most treacherous and unjustified aggression. South Korea has been utterly destroyed and, although aggression has been repelled and the noble and valiant South Korean people saved from the subjugation which has overtaken so many others, it cannot be denied that so far there does not seem to be any possibility whatsoever of attaining the desired goal, the unification of Korea under a government freely elected by its citizens, as was long ago decided by our General Assembly [resolution 376 (V)].

78. The picture presented by the world does not justify optimism. Germany continues divided despite its people's protests. East Germany is under the domination of the Soviet Union. We have observed with grief and indignation the extreme cruelty used to suppress the German people's protests against the communist régime which has been thrust upon them, which not only enslaves them and strips them of the barest civil and political rights but also condemns them to hunger, poverty and despair. Communist aggression continues in Indo-China. War is being waged without quarter, inspired and directed beyond any doubt by the Soviet Union which, as in Korea, does not send into battle a single one of its own soldiers but instead uses as cannon-fodder its fanatical supporters from other countries. The same applies in Malaya, the Philippines and many parts of the world where bloody civil wars are being waged, provoked and supported in every case by national and international communists. This means that, at the direction of the Moscow Government, wars have been unleashed on an extraordinary scale, making it impossible to preserve any illusions of an immediate future of peace and respect for the sovereignty of peoples and their lawful governments.

79. The fact that it has not been possible to sign the peace treaty with Austria—a nation which in reality was never at war since, as everyone knows, it was under the occupation of Hitler Germany, and the thousands upon thousands of German, Italian, Japanese and Spanish prisoners whom the Soviet Union, in violation of the basic rules of international law, has failed to return, confirm our view that it would be rash folly to think in terms of an imminent state of

lasting peace. To accept the idea that the danger of aggression is over, and to proceed with unilateral disarmament as the Soviet Union and its more or less overt supporters advocate, would pave their way to world domination, the old ambition which Russia has maintained without interruption since czarist times.

80. While this spectacle faces the peoples and governments of the world, the USSR Government has launched what has come to be called, in our opinion unjustifiably, a peace offensive. But what kind of peace does the Soviet Union offer? The only kind of which it admits the possibility: that of absolute submission to its own aspirations. It wants all the democratic peoples of the world to become its satellites in the same way as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania and North Korea. In this forum, the truth must be stated with all the frankness the circumstances demand. There can be no talk of permanent peace while these unjustified aggressions continue. None can believe the Moscow Government's promises until it calls a halt to the wars it inspires and maintains, for we are convinced that the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union alone, has for its own ends made itself the source and centre of that world disorder which prevents the peoples from living together in peace.

81. It is plain that if the Soviet Union's so-called peace offensive prospers, it will precipitate war instead of averting it. It is—and I cannot understand how any of the statesmen governing the democratic States can fail to see it for what it is—a clumsy manoeuvre to separate the United States from its natural allies, from allies which it must have if there is to be a logical balance of power. It is obvious that as soon as the United States was isolated, the Soviet Union would decide on war; and, should it be victorious, no special knowledge of these matters is needed to predict that, in due course, the other nations and peoples which naively believe in the possibility of a neutrality we regard as impossible under present conditions would fall under its sway, one by one or all together.

82. The official announcements of the USSR Government, reported at length in the international Press, on recent atomic and hydrogen bomb tests in that country, and Mr. Malenkov's speech, in which he said that the Soviet Union too had atomic and hydrogen bombs, are all part of what we may call a peace offensive for war. They are intended to frighten the peoples of Western Europe and the rest of the non-communist world. It is an attempt to convince them that their neutrality will save them from destruction, so that later they can be dealt with in the same way as their neighbours, whose fate so plainly foreshadows what would happen if the United States, the world's chief bastion of democracy and liberty, were to be overthrown.

83. In my delegation's view, the world situation is plain. What more could the people and Government of Cuba—a country with a small population, lacking great military potential—desire than the achievement of a state of permanent peace? We would never desist from striving for this ideal, which is indeed the *raison d'être* of the United Nations itself, but we maintain with absolute conviction that the only way to keep the present precarious state of peace is to unite all the free and democratic peoples of the world to convince the Soviet Union of the impossibility of victory, should it unleash its war of aggression. Thus, and

only thus, can the peace be kept. Obviously the ideal solution would be different, but that does not depend on us. Only the Government of the Soviet Union can put it into effect. One significant fact cannot have escaped anyone. The men who control the destinies of the Soviet Union have spoken a few half-friendly phrases; but where are the tangible facts to prove their words sincere? All we can say so far without fear of contradiction is that, on any territory over which their flag of conquest has flown, on any territory they have annexed in defiance of all reason and justice, they have never loosed their hold. East Germany, Austria, the satellite countries, are examples which even the most wilfully blind cannot ignore.

84. The Korean question is another example of the results of the Soviet Union's peace offensive. The General Assembly, exercising its lawful right, nominated [*resolution 711 A (VII)*] the Member States which are to take part, on behalf of the nations which placed armed forces at the disposal of the Unified Command, in response to the appeal of the United Nations, in the political conference that is to seek to achieve a stable peace in that unhappy peninsula. The Soviet Union, as no representative can deny, tried by every means to obstruct agreement in the First Committee and the General Assembly, just as it obstructed the Armistice Agreement which circumstances forced the aggressors to accept.

85. Recently, we read with concern the reply, dated 13 September 1953, of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of communist China [*A/2469*], which repeats, word for word, the arguments used by the Soviet delegation in the First Committee. In Mr. Chou En-lai's reply there are assertions which cannot be read without indignation. Let us look at two of them, which are a bitter mockery of world public opinion. The first is this:

"It must be noted that the Soviet Union is not a belligerent nation, but is a neutral nation outside the two belligerent sides. Moreover, the Soviet Union has consistently been taking initiatives in giving support to, and striving for, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

Further on, Mr. Chou En-lai states:

"The whole world knows that India, like the Soviet Union, is a neutral nation outside of the two belligerent sides in Korea."

86. We have to make a few slight comments on this fantastic assertion by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of communist China. It is our duty to do so because we Latin-American States, Cuba among others, were referred to directly by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, in a recent speech in his country's Parliament. The Indian Prime Minister accused the Latin-American countries of having prevented India, by their votes, from taking part in the political conference, and said that our position was incomprehensible, since we were not really directly concerned in Asian problems.

87. With all due respect, we must pit our view against that of the great Indian statesman. With the same earnestness as India, the Latin-American States long for peace and fulfil the obligation imposed by the Charter on the Member States of the United Nations by voting as our consciences dictate. We consider that peace is indivisible, and consequently that all problems touching peace affect us; and we cannot renounce our rights as Members of the United Nations.

88. With equal firmness we reject the lying assertion of Mr. Chou En-lai that India has been as neutral as the Soviet Union in the Korean conflict. That assertion is an insult to the truth. So far as Cuba is concerned, we can add only that, just as we voted to include the Soviet Union in the political conference because its belligerency on the aggressors' side was plain to be seen, so did we oppose the invitation to India precisely because we were in no doubt as to its neutrality. Indeed, it was because of its neutrality, that India was appointed as presiding member of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. We frankly admit that, had we agreed with Mr. Chou En-lai's statements, we should have voted in favour of the invitation to India on the same grounds as we voted for the invitation to the Soviet Union.

89. The Cuban delegation considers that it is neither prudent nor reasonable to resume discussion at this point on the question of the composition of the political conference, a question on which the aggressor side goes so far as to claim the right to tell us who is to represent us. If the political conference does not take place, international public opinion will be able to fix the responsibility, not on the United Nations, which has proposed a time and place for it and has appointed its representatives, but on the aggressor side, which seeks by every means to obstruct the achievement of an agreement leading to a lasting peace in Korea.

90. Following the procedure adopted by the speakers who have preceded me, both at earlier meetings and today, I shall now make some observations on the chief problems which confront the Assembly of the present session.

91. We consider that item 67 of the agenda, dealing with an initiative of great humanitarian significance taken by our Economic and Social Council, is of primary importance. It is an appeal to the Member and non-member States to ratify or accede to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to take measures designed to ensure the widest possible diffusion of the nature, contents and purposes of the Convention, and to see to it that the Convention is strictly observed.

92. The Government of Cuba has always felt very proud to have submitted, in 1946, together with Panama and India, the draft resolution which served as a basis for the draft convention which was unanimously adopted in 1948 [*resolution 260 A (III)*]. Later, in 1949, the Cuban delegation, together with the delegations of Australia and the Philippines, proposed that Member States should be asked to ratify the Convention as soon as possible and that non-members should be invited to accede to it. We are gratified to note that the peoples and governments have correctly understood the importance of the Convention. Forty-one States, including eleven non-members, have already ratified this most humanitarian of all conventions.

93. The encouraging response of non-member States is evidence of the importance of the Convention on Genocide. We regard the accession of South Korea and Italy as particularly significant. The courageous people of South Korea, men, women and children, suffered heavily from the acts of genocide committed against them during the North Korean occupation; the Government of South Korea acted with prophetic insight when it appealed in 1950 to all governments to

ratify the Convention. We also attach great importance to Italy's accession to the Convention, for we cannot forget that Rome is the cradle of international law. Nevertheless, only half the Member States of the United Nations have ratified the Convention; it is for that reason that the Economic and Social Council appeals to States that have not ratified the Convention to do so.

94. Genocide is a new word, but the thing itself is unfortunately as old as mankind. In this century more than 20 million—let us confess it with shame—more than 20 million human beings have been victims of genocide. How many more millions have still to die before we finally decide to insist upon the full application of the Convention?

95. Cuba's contribution to the development of international law has been substantial despite the fact that we are not and do not claim to be a great Power; it is perhaps for this reason that our aim is always the pacific settlement of disputes through the application of the rules of international law. The Latin-American States will remember that the code of private international law accepted in the great majority of the American countries bears the illustrious name of Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, who was for many years a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is for this reason that Cuba has proposed to the Assembly at the present session that one of Bustamante's most distinguished pupils should be elected as a member of the International Law Commission. We consider that that body, like all United Nations bodies, should be composed in such a way as to permit representatives of all the Member States to contribute to its work in orderly and fair rotation.

96. Cuba wishes in this way to make its contribution to the fulfilment of Article 13 of the Charter, which provides that:

"The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of: "a. Promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification..."

97. The budget estimates of the United Nations and of eight of its specialized agencies for 1954 amount to a total of \$83,953,239, an increase of \$1,380,715 over the estimates for 1953. The increase is due to seven of the specialized agencies, not to the United Nations itself, whose budget estimates for 1954 are \$204,300 less than those for 1953. In addition to the contributions which Member States are bound to make, there are voluntary and extra-budgetary contributions and contributions to other regional organizations, so that it is understandable that some Member States, Cuba among them, should be deeply alarmed by the steady increase in international expenditure, and call, as we have been doing for some years, for a policy of moderation and reduction of the budget to a minimum consistent with the proper functioning of the Organization.

98. With reference to the United Nations in particular, it should be pointed out that, during the period of expansion, in which inflation was a factor, its expenditure was increased annually from an initial figure of approximately \$19 million in 1946, to over \$50 million in 1952. Since then, the ordinary expenditures have been stabilized to some extent and have even tended slightly to fall, as the 1953 budget and

the estimates for 1954 show. Nevertheless, we feel that it is necessary to make bigger economies in the expenditure of the United Nations by examining future programmes of work and reorganizing the administrative services. This was recognized by the General Assembly last year. In this connexion, my Government and the delegation of which I am Chairman repose every confidence in the new Secretary-General, who on various occasions has stated his intention to study the reorganization of the Secretariat from the points of view of efficiency and economy.

99. With regard to economic problems, we note with satisfaction that the agenda of the eighth session includes such important items as the establishment of an international finance corporation and a special fund. In our view, these items are of the highest importance. My delegation has warmly defended the proposals at previous sessions of the Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council, and is therefore gratified that they are included in the agenda of the present session. It was indeed, as will be generally remembered, the Cuban delegation which called at the last session for their inclusion in the agenda of this session, because we believe that the domestic resources available to the under-developed countries are insufficient to permit the successful completion of their economic development programmes.

100. For the Government of President Batista, the past year has not been one of waiting or inaction. On the contrary, the country's technical bodies have been actively engaged in devising ways and means of accelerating our economic development.

101. New bodies, such as the National Executive Commission of Local and Rural Boards, have been set up and are working successfully to expand our network of local roads so that our remotest farming areas can be linked with our centres of consumption. Within the last few weeks, hundreds of kilometres of local roads have been opened in the most isolated parts of the island. In urban works, the State is matching the contributions of individuals and municipalities. In addition, the commission for the improvement of rural housing has carried out a large-scale building and improvement programme ensuring that, at the present rate of progress, a few years will see the most far-reaching change in our history in the living conditions of the Cuban peasant.

102. A new Transport Act, adapted to modern requirements and our development needs, has already been approved and will soon enter into force. As a corollary to this programme for the expansion and mechanization of our transport system, the keystone of our development plans, the Government of President Batista recently bought the Cuban United Railways, which serve half the island, from their British owners, for a sum corresponding to their real value.

103. The Government of Cuba has also recently established the National Finance Corporation, an autonomous credit agency with the special function of promoting economic development by facilitating the financing, in whole or in part, of production works of public interest. The corporation supplements the economic work of the National Bank, the National Economic Council, and the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank. All these measures and many others initiated by the National Development Commission and the Ministry of Public Works, which

I do not think it appropriate to list in detail here, form part of the Government's two-year plan designed to accelerate the industrial and agricultural development of Cuba.

104. The execution of this whole programme for the economic advancement of the neediest elements of the population is greatly assisted by a number of social organizations. Among the most important of the bodies recently set up, I may mention the National Children's Clinics Organization, whose services now cover a large part of the national territory; the emergency board for the assistance of hurricane and storm victims, which was of great service to the inhabitants of the parts of the island damaged by recent storms; the national organization for the rehabilitation of persons crippled from birth, by accident or by poliomyelitis, whose useful, humanitarian work enables crippled persons to take up employment; and, finally, the board for the assistance of children, the aged and the destitute.

105. The Government of Cuba, anticipating the argument frequently used in the Second Committee that the government of each of the under-developed countries must play its part, has not, as can be seen, been idle during the eleven months that have passed since the Assembly last discussed economic affairs. We have worked with a will and we shall not slacken our efforts. But everyone knows, since the situation is the same in all the under-developed countries, that our efforts, great as they are, are insufficient for the development and industrialization of our countries. The steady growth of the population largely cancels out the improvements and advances made. The shortage of domestic capital hampers, retards or restricts our plans

for intensive development. In addition, in the specific case of Cuba, we are carrying out this work at a difficult time when we have been compelled to reduce our sugar production by 2 million tons a year; in other words, when the position of the international sugar market has imposed a loss on our economy of over \$150 million a year, with inevitable repercussions on domestic savings, on the capital available for other enterprises and on the welfare of our working classes.

106. For all these reasons, my country has always favoured the establishment of the bodies for the assistance of under-developed countries referred to in our agenda. These bodies are complementary to our own individual efforts and necessary to our future development and to the present well-being of our working classes. For that reason we look forward to their establishment in the common interest of the under-developed areas and of the highly industrialized countries with the available capital.

107. We have faith in the United Nations. We know the goodwill that animates all the delegations present. We accordingly hope that, by reconciling the interests of all, this Assembly will find ways and means of setting up machinery that can reduce many difficulties and promote the economic development and well-being of the under-developed countries, for economic development and well-being are, in the words of the Charter, necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. Herein lies the interest of all and we appeal to all, so that we may together find a solution that will in the long run benefit all peoples alike.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.