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General debate [continued]

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1. Mr. FRANCO Y FRANCO (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): At the close of the seventh session of the General Assembly, all the peoples devoted to international order, freedom and prosperity felt a deep satisfaction based on the heartfelt hope that, with the signing of the armistice at Panmunjom and the tangible results achieved there, there had been ensured not only the final cessation of hostilities in the martyred land of Korea but also the initiation and success of negotiations that would lead to the speedy restoration of peace in that country, which had suffered premeditated aggression at the hands of governments whose goal was world domination by violence and hatred, in full accordance with the baneful purposes of international communism.

2. For the vast majority of the member States of the international community, and especially for the small countries like the Dominican Republic, the success of the action undertaken and sustained by the initiative and under the auspices of the United Nations in defence of right and justice has shown, at the cost of indescribable suffering and sacrifice, the urgent need for organizing and putting into effect a powerful system of defence of the international community, based on the requirements of collective security.

3. If it is possible to single out, among the essential purposes of the United Nations Charter, one that can be considered as most important, it is that which requires that the moral force of justice should be constantly strengthened by the categorical and effective warning that the days when might was right have gone forever. Thus the United Nations is based on the outright condemnation of aggression and violence, and on due submission to the principles and rules under which the life of the international community is organized and developed. The Charter is, in short, the triumphant proclamation of the values of the spirit as against the schemings of force and materialism which bring in their train destruction, poverty, suffering and death.

4. It is, then, in no way surprising that the whole of that memorable international instrument, the Charter signed at San Francisco, which was destined to mark the birth of an era of security, well-being and dignity for individuals and for nations, is plainly based on the paramount principle of good faith which must govern human relations in all their aspects and which, as was taught by a jurist of ancient Rome, imperiously reminds us of our essential obligation, based on law, to keep our word and our promises.

5. Unfortunately, certain governments, dominated by the communist ideology, do not respect the purposes and principles of the Charter as they should, and this has frequently led them to resort to subversion, violence and aggression as means of realizing their expansionist designs and their desire for the domination of peoples and States.

6. The case of Korea is but one more cruel example added to the painful series with which we are all familiar. Those guilty of that unjustifiable aggression have been unmistakably identified by the appropriate organs of the United Nations and by international public opinion. The case has been irrevocably judged.

7. Ever unwavering in its pursuit of justice and peace, the General Assembly, in its resolution [711 (VII)] of 28 August 1953, fully in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, made specific recommendations concerning the convening of the political conference on Korea. Never have the determination to restore violated rights and the noblest feelings of humanity and practical wisdom been so intimately and constantly associated as in the work of the United Nations.

8. Now that aggression has been repelled as a result of the United Nations memorable initiative and of the military action undertaken and victoriously carried out under its auspices, the United Nations sole object in this sad affair is the unification and rehabilitation of Korea; that country must be assured a free, democratic and prosperous existence through the restoration of a true and lasting peace.

9. The delegation of the Dominican Republic has expressed its most fervent hope, and expresses it again today, that these aims, which are as noble as they are urgent, may be speedily and fully attained for the good of the Korean people and the strengthening of justice and law in the world.

10. Notwithstanding the eminent wisdom and extreme urgency of the decisions taken at the seventh session of the General Assembly, we are already witnessing delaying manoeuvres and unexpected complications plotted behind the scenes, in accordance with familiar communist tactics. That was, beyond doubt, the purpose of the cablegram sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 13 September 1953 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China [A/2469] calling upon the General Assembly

to undo the results of its long and arduous work at the end of its seventh session and to change the composition of the political conference in accordance with the desires expressed by that Government.

11. When the delegation of the Dominican Republic, whilst explicitly and rightly paying tribute to the distinguished position in international life of India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma, voted categorically against that attempt, it acted in complete accordance with the view it had previously expressed, namely, that General Assembly resolution 711 (VII) of 28 August was completely consistent with the letter and the spirit of the Armistice Agreement, and that the participation of the Soviet Union in the political conference, in accordance with the wish of the communist side, was amply justified by the position taken by that country's government in connexion with the initiation and development of hostilities in Korea.

12. That was not the sole object, however, of the astonishing cablegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of communist China, since it also proposed, contrary to decisions taken by the Assembly at its seventh session [430th meeting], that an invitation should be extended to the governments of his country and North Korea to send representatives to the present session to institute joint negotiations. That demand was tantamount to claiming rewards and honours for aggression and the establishment of identical treatment for the victim and the perpetrators of aggression. Happily, the General Assembly has already answered those demands with dignity and in appropriate language.

13. Again in Asia, far from Korea but in countries bordering on communist China, the governments which planned and put into effect the invasion of the Republic of Korea have for many years carried on war, with all its attendant horrors. In Indo-China, France year after year sees thousands of its noblest sons falling side by side with the gallant soldiers of the Associated States, on which it has bestowed the precious gifts of its civilization and to which it now promises the establishment of independent national governments. There, too, communism is carrying out its terrible mission of disruption and disorder; thus the vision of the Apocalypse advances on the world, bringing nearer the moment when, as the great statesman to whom my people owes its welfare and progress stated some months ago, the United Nations will have to take fully into account the heroic effort which the great French nation is still making in defence of the principles on which our civilization rests.

14. Another of the noble ends to which the free peoples of the world ardently aspire is disarmament, the achievement of which is essential to the very life of mankind. In this vital matter, in view of the practical impossibility of immediately achieving complete disarmament, the General Assembly, after full consideration and discussion at previous sessions, decided that, after appropriate control organs had been established and effectively put into operation, steps should be taken towards the limitation and balanced and progressive reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, without exception.

15. However, here again, unfortunately, the draft resolution [A/2485/Rev.1] which the USSR delegation recently submitted to the General Assembly demands that we should undo the progress so laboriously achieved, which ensured a prudent and effective, if

not ideal, solution to this grave question. In this draft resolution, the USSR delegation merely repeats, at any rate in general outline, proposals it has previously submitted and which could not be accepted because their sole object, like the present proposal, was to maintain the advantage of the Soviet Union in conventional forces and armaments, while eliminating the lead which other Powers had gained over the Soviet Union in weapons of mass destruction.

16. The array of grave problems menacing the very existence of mankind increases daily in complexity, bringing the nations steadily closer to a dreadful abyss from whose depths there is no return. It is essential that no time should be lost in the search for acceptable solutions based on wisdom and good faith. In the face of this supreme obligation, mere words and delaying tactics would be a sinister and unimaginable farce that could but lead to suffering and suicide.

17. For that reason we fervently hope that the courageous, frank and clear statement made before this Assembly, on 17 September [434th meeting] by the Secretary of State of the United States produce in the minds of the advocates of violence and aggression the good results that ought to proceed from the wisdom, firmness and conciliatory tone of that great statesman's speech.

18. The work for the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter already accomplished by the United Nations justifies this expression of our fervent hope for co-operation and mutual understanding. The results achieved by the United Nations are in fact worthy of the highest praise; they have been attained, as any fair review of its work must acknowledge, despite extremely serious compromises which had to be agreed to at San Francisco, when the Charter was being drawn up, in order to meet urgent political necessities.

19. Mankind has an immense, permanent debt of gratitude towards the United Nations, and it is the duty of the nations devoted to peace and justice to do their utmost to eliminate from the Charter provisions which have the effect of paralysing action by the United Nations and thus gravely imperil the Organization's strength, vigour and survival.

20. The greatest of these dangers to the survival and proper development of the United Nations is presented by Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter, a completely undemocratic provision which is contrary to the principle of the equality of States before the law, and which the great majority of delegations accepted at San Francisco only on the understanding that reasonable use would be made of the veto and that the veto would not be a permanent institution.

21. In view of the intolerable abuse of the veto by the Soviet Union, and in view of the fact that we are approaching the date agreed upon in 1945 for a review of the Charter, the Dominican Republic is in fullest sympathy with the proposals submitted by Argentina [A/2415 and Add.1] and the Netherlands [A/2442] and will welcome any other proposal that may be put forward with a view to the revision of the Charter under Article 109. For my country, it has always been, and will always be, a point of honour faithfully to fulfil the obligations it assumed under the Charter; we cannot do otherwise than wholeheartedly associate ourselves with any effort to eliminate from the Charter the germs of paralysis and death.

22. My Government is deeply concerned about the grave problem of prisoners of war captured during the late world war, and especially the position of Spanish prisoners detained in Soviet territory notwithstanding the cessation of hostilities. Because of the Dominican people's particularly close ties with Spain, our high humanitarian ideals and our respect for the essential concepts of justice, the Dominican Republic will raise this important matter at this session in due course.

23. It is also a matter of the greatest concern to the Government of the Dominican Republic that Spain and Italy should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. Spain, the glorious mother of so many American nations, whose fruitful heroism has filled the pages of history, and Italy, the cradle of Christian civilization and Western culture, are both peace-loving countries and play an important part in international life; they therefore have every right to be included, if they so desire, among the States Members of the United Nations.

24. It would be unfitting to conclude this statement without saying once again that the Government of the Dominican Republic has co-operated, and will continue to co-operate enthusiastically and fully, in the various aspects of the all-embracing work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

25. The Dominican Republic, which was the first to raise its voice, at the Evian Conference in 1938, on behalf of the Jewish people, who at that time were being subjected to the vilest persecutions in Hitlerite Germany, and which granted brotherly asylum to many persecuted refugees, was a member of the International Refugee Organization until that body was disbanded, and continues to interest itself deeply, and to the fullest possible extent, in the grave problems with which that body was concerned.

26. The Dominican Republic's work as a member of the Trusteeship Council and, within the framework of that body, on the Committee on Italian Somaliland in 1950, over which it had the honour to preside, has at all times been marked by a sincere spirit of co-operation and an ardent desire to render the most useful services it can to the international community in these highly important fields.

27. In the same way, my country maintains the closest relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, an admirable and useful institution with whose valuable assistance extremely interesting seminars on the promotion of literacy were held this year at Ciudad Trujillo.

28. Continuing without break the intense progress initiated in 1930 with the abandonment of sterile political methods of unhappy memory, the Dominican Republic has justly won a place for itself in the vanguard of the Latin American countries in the movement for economic and social advancement. In all the aspects of social life, which are so important to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, my country has reason to be deeply gratified at the level already achieved and the steady progress that is being maintained.

29. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The prolonged period of increasing tension in international relations, deliberately brought about over the last few years by aggressive forces in the world, has given way in recent months to a definite

relaxation, which world public opinion has greeted with deep relief and renewed hope. This *détente* has been made possible by the efforts of peace-loving forces throughout the world, and particularly of the Soviet Union, which from the very first days of its existence has consistently followed a policy of strengthening international peace and security, and which is making every effort to ensure that contentious questions are settled by peaceful negotiation.

30. The principal events among those which have led to this easing of international tension are the cease-fire in Korea and the signing of the Armistice Agreement. The armistice in Korea is the outcome of the collapse of the unjust war of intervention and of the great victory of the Korean and Chinese peoples and of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

31. For over three years, the Korean people, with the help of the valiant Chinese people's volunteers, successfully defended the independence and freedom of their homeland, displaying unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. The aggressors in Korea mobilized huge armed forces in order to defeat the heroic North Koreans; but events have shown once again that a people who have freed themselves from foreign oppression and are fighting for their independence and autonomy are invincible. After three years of war, the picked troops of the greatest industrial Power of the capitalist world are left just where they were when they started their aggression.

32. There is not the slightest doubt that the lesson of the Korean people's war of independence will sustain the peoples of all colonial and semi-colonial countries in their rightful determination to achieve complete independence, democracy, freedom and peace. That is an immense contribution to the defence of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

33. The Armistice Agreement faces the United Nations with the problem of consolidating the armistice in Korea by ensuring the strict observance of the armistice terms, preventing any resumption of the war of aggression and furthering the convening and success of the political conference, in order that additional progress may be made towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

34. The Czechoslovak delegation was among those which, at the seventh session of the General Assembly, strongly supported the principle of round-table negotiations and the participation of other States, particular of Asian States which are Members of the United Nations, in the political conference. The Czechoslovak delegation had insisted even earlier that the great Asian peoples, whose vital interests are bound up with the region in question, could not be excluded from participation in a political conference which was to take decisions on Asian problems.

35. Those who, headed by the United States, are seeking by the shameful method of dictation to prevent the great Asian peoples from participating in the conference, are thereby manifesting a completely unjustifiable arrogance in regard to those glorious peoples and a desire to decide their fate without consulting them.

36. The fact that the General Assembly has refused at this session to give priority to the consideration of the proposals of the North Korean and Chinese side on the political conference cannot be conducive to satisfactory progress in settling the problem of Korea.

37. There are still further difficulties in the way of progress towards a relaxation of international tension. Forces avid for war are organizing large-scale acts of provocation against peace-loving countries. They are doing everything they can to prevent the armistice in Korea from being followed by a lasting peace and the unification of Korea by democratic means. On the contrary, they would like to see military operations resumed and even extended.

38. In these circumstances, a heavy responsibility rests upon the United Nations. The peoples of the whole world rightly expect the Organization to do its part to secure an easing of international tension and thus to become an effective instrument for the preservation and strengthening of international peace and security.

39. World public opinion has long been aware that, during the past few years, the United Nations has been suffering a serious crisis; a crisis arising from the fact that a certain group of States has been attempting to impose its will upon other Member States. That policy has had a harmful influence on the work of the United Nations; that is why it has been impossible as yet to settle major issues of vital importance for the strengthening of international peace and security. Instead of consistently ensuring observance of the Charter and preventing its violation, the United Nations has been involved in the plans of the group of States referred to. We have to place on record the fact that the name of the United Nations has been grossly misused to cover up an act of aggression launched by aggressive forces against the Korean and Chinese peoples. Under the banner of the United Nations, blood was shed for three years in Korea before the forces of peace succeeded in putting a stop to that act of aggression.

40. It is essential that the United Nations should renew and strengthen its authority as a centre for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and as a bulwark of international peace and security.

41. To achieve that end the first essential is to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations. The anomalous situation in which the Government of the People's Republic of China is obstinately debarred from exercising its legal right to participate in the work of United Nations organs must be ended immediately. It is an insult to the great people of China, 500 million strong, that the United Nations should allow the seat of the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to be usurped by the representative of a bankrupt gang of adventurers of whom the Chinese people have rid themselves forever, and who have now sunk to the level of insolent pirates whose occupation is to plunder merchant cargoes. Manifestly, the absence of the legal representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations, and particularly from its principal organs, makes any normal work by the Organization impossible. There is not a single Far Eastern problem, nor any important world political problem, that can be settled without the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China, the greatest Power in Asia.

42. In his speech of 17 September before the General Assembly [434th meeting], the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, made untruthful statements about the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.

The only aim and purpose of those slanders was to absolve the United States of responsibility for the existing international tension and to justify, chiefly for the benefit of the American people and world public opinion, the adamant application by the United States of the so-called policy of strength, which is threatening world peace.

43. Let us review the recent past. Immediately after the Second World War, the United States openly abandoned the policy of peaceful co-operation agreed among the allied Powers during the war against German and Japanese aggression. On 27 October 1945, only three days after the United Nations Charter had entered into force, President Truman, in a policy speech delivered on Navy Day, proclaimed military strength to be the basis of United States foreign policy. In his Message to Congress on 14 January 1946, he reiterated this official United States policy of strength in the following words:

"The power which the United States demonstrated during the war is the fact that underlies every phase of our relations with other countries."

44. It is also common knowledge that aggressive circles in the United States based that policy chiefly on their possession of atomic weapons. Their political and military strategy was founded on the assumption that the United States had—and would have for a long time to come—an exclusive monopoly of atomic weapons, and that this privileged position would give it unlimited power to impose its terms upon other countries. This dictatorial policy of strength in international relations has been and remains the cause of international tension and of the crisis through which the United Nations has been passing for some years. The failure of that policy, a policy contrary to the interests of peace, is now admitted. It is becoming increasingly plain that nations are less and less prepared to have the will of others forced on them. That became clear, for instance, at the seventh session of the General Assembly, during the discussion on the composition of the political conference on Korea, particularly when certain delegations, led by the United States, resorted to shameful means to debar India from participation in the conference. Such action cannot, of course, lead to success; on the contrary, the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea showed that negotiation is the best method of settling contentious issues.

45. The Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries have on many occasions given practical proof that they are ready and willing to strengthen friendship and co-operation among peoples. On the other hand, world public opinion is still waiting in vain for a single action by the United States to prove that the United States Government has any serious intention to make a real and effective contribution to the reduction of international tension, the strengthening of friendly co-operation among peoples and the peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation—in other words, by peaceful means. World public opinion cannot regard the unilateral dictation of unacceptable terms as constituting a real effort to ease international tension; for it is patent that that method has been chosen deliberately in order to render negotiations impossible from the outset and prevent any improvement in international relations.

46. In the statement he made here, Mr. Dulles asked himself a question. "It may be asked", he said, "Why

do we fear?" He went on to say: "I could speak of that at length"—but he preferred to be brief. The Canadian representative, Mr. Pearson, who is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada and a prominent representative on NATO, considered himself more competent to explain at length the fears entertained by the North Atlantic Treaty countries [441st meeting].

47. We also could speak at length on that subject. It is an indisputable fact that the ruling circles of the United States and the other countries parties to the North Atlantic Treaty vainly attempt to justify the expenditure entailed by the implementation of their huge military programmes on the pretext that it is essential to resist the threat of aggression by the Soviet Union. But even those who first initiated the ruinous policy of the armaments race do not believe that myth.

48. The real reasons for the simulated fear to which Mr. Dulles referred may readily be gathered from the following quotation from the American magazine, *U. S. News and World Report* of as long ago as 5 August 1949:

"War scare is having to be drummed up again to excite interest in a gift of arms to other nations. War talk is artificial, phony, but it is regarded as necessary to get Congress stirred up enough to produce a favourable vote."

49. Mr. Dulles also referred in his statement to the peoples' democracies. He said that he was not in favour of revolution or incitement to violence. The Czechoslovak delegation heard that statement with astonishment; Mr. Dulles' words were in such flagrant contradiction with facts that they were self-refuting. There is no one here who is not fully aware that the United States has for many years been organizing large-scale subversive operations against the countries of Central and Eastern Europe under the slogan of the so-called policy of "liberation"; indeed, the Mutual Security Act, adopted in the United States in 1951, raises subversive activity directed towards the violent overthrow of the legal governments of Member States of the United Nations to the level of national policy. The Czechoslovak people and the peoples of all the peoples' democracies are well aware of the results of that hostile policy. Recently, aggressive circles in the United States have still further intensified that policy and restored to even more brazen methods of subversion and diversion, such as the large-scale use of *agents provocateurs* and the instigation of ventures such as the Berlin act of provocation. The Czechoslovak delegation has protested several times in the General Assembly against that policy of provocation and violence, and the Czechoslovak people has resolutely opposed it.

50. In this connexion, let me merely draw the Assembly's attention to part of an article on Mr. Dulles' statement published in *Le Monde* of 19 September 1953. *Le Monde* writes as follows:

"Mr. Dulles is still convinced that right and God are on his side. Such an attitude is to say the least unrealistic . . . Mr. Dulles emphasized that the liberation of the peoples of Eastern Europe must be effected by peaceful means; but at the same time Mr. Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, said that it was essential to support 'revolution from within'. Whom are we really to believe, Senator Wiley speaking to the American industrial-

ists, or the Secretary of State speaking before the United Nations?"

51. No peace-loving person could be misled, much less convinced, by the propagandistic and hypocritical statements on the North Atlantic Treaty made from time to time by the official representatives of the NATO countries. It must be obvious to everyone that the reasons which prompted the Western Powers to conclude the North Atlantic Treaty have no connexion with the defence of peace and the harmonious coexistence of nations. In reality, the North Atlantic Treaty is the principal danger to peace. Its authors are building up a psychosis of war tension and fear in their own countries, scaring their people with the bogey of "Soviet aggression", inciting them to the fight against communism and threatening a crusade against peace-loving States.

52. In his statement of 17 September, Mr. Dulles did not lose the opportunity of extolling the North Atlantic Treaty. He described it as "the enlightened way" and said that "by that way the goals of our Charter are advanced by means which none has cause to fear". That statement, however, was in direct conflict with what Mr. Dulles himself had earlier said about the North Atlantic Treaty. Not so long ago, Mr. Dulles himself took precisely the opposite view. In *Foreign Policy Briefs* No. 2, of 15 August 1952, published by the United States Department of State, Mr. Dulles wrote that when he had spoken before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in connexion with the proposed North Atlantic Treaty, he called attention to the fact that there was a threat that such a regional agreement might be interpreted as by-passing the United Nations. He wrote further that he had shown in his reports to the Republican Party that negotiations taking place within the framework of regional arrangements might undermine the United Nations, and that he still held that opinion. To a certain extent, he added, what he had predicted had already occurred, and he thought an attempt should be made to check that trend.

53. It is perfectly obvious that Mr. Dulles' two statements on the subject of the North Atlantic Treaty are palpably and irreconcilably contradictory. The fact is that the forging of military pacts such as the North Atlantic Treaty serves to aggravate international tension, undermines the foundations of the United Nations and constitutes a serious threat to world peace.

54. The Czechoslovak people, as is quite natural, are following the course of events in Western Germany, their immediate neighbour, with the greatest interest.

55. I need hardly emphasize how tremendously important it is for the preservation of world peace that there should be a unified, independent, peace-loving and democratic Germany, which would take its place among the nations on a footing of equality, instead of a Germany in which the reactionary and warmongering forces are triumphant, forces whose aim is to use a militaristic and fascist Western Germany as a focus of tension and a military threat.

56. The Czechoslovak people has in the past had its own bitter experience of German aggressive expansion, and, in particular, of Hitlerite fascism. It therefore fully appreciates the significance of the fact that no peace treaty has so far been concluded with Germany, and that in consequence the prerequisites for a peaceful and democratic solution of the German question, which would be the best guarantee of peace in Europe and

throughout the world, have not yet been established. It therefore also realizes that the continued application of the dangerous policy of keeping Germany divided into two parts and the intensified militarization of Western Germany constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. To put off the conclusion of an equitable peace treaty with Germany, a treaty which would be a safeguard against any rebirth of German aggressive militarism, is to deny the German people the right to peaceful co-operation with other nations on the basis of equal rights.

57. Czechoslovakia accordingly associates itself with the peace-loving and progressive forces which remain faithful to the fundamental international agreements concluded in Yalta and Potsdam and which are striving to secure an equitable solution of the German question. For that reason, Czechoslovakia is also strengthening its friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic, the best representative of the peace-loving forces of Germany.

58. The Czechoslovak Government warmly welcomed the renewed contribution to peace and the settlement of the German question embodied in the practical proposals made by the Soviet Union in its note to the Western Powers of 15 August 1953.

59. Recalling that this month marks the fifteenth anniversary of the Munich betrayal, the Czechoslovak people notes with the gravest concern that the Western Powers are striving to shipwreck the peaceful settlement of the German question. In order to attain this end the aggressive circles in the United States required the victory of the Adenauer clique, which represents the worst elements of reaction, revenge and militarism, and which is prepared to sacrifice the vital interests of the German people for the benefit of its American patrons. With the aid of a handful of representatives of the German war industry, these people are aiming at measures which threaten not only peace in Europe, but the very existence of Germany as a nation.

60. The aggressive Adenauer régime, relying on the direct support of the United States occupation authorities, quite recently revealed its true character in the shameful provocation in Berlin. Although the peace-loving forces frustrated this attempt, the purpose of which was to aggravate international tension in the interests of the American cold-war strategists, the victory of the Adenauer clique in the elections and the intensified efforts of the United States ruling circles to make use of Western Germany as a centre and instrument of a new war in Europe are nevertheless causing a further deterioration in the international situation. Not a day passes but the aggressive Adenauer régime threatens the German Democratic Republic and other neighbouring countries with its "liberation" plans. With unprecedented effrontery, Adenauer prates of the establishment of a condominium in Poland—that is, a protectorate on the fascist model—advances territorial claims against Czechoslovakia and colonial claims in Africa, and unfolds other extravagant expansionist plans directly inherited from Hitlerite fascist ideology.

61. The German question is now entering a stage which will be decisive for the fate of the German people and for the preservation of world peace. The Western Powers intend to continue to pursue a policy aimed not at uniting Germany into a single, independent and democratic State, but on the contrary at resurrecting

German militarism and securing the incorporation of the German armed forces in the so-called "European army". It is the West German divisions, under the leadership of former Nazi generals, which are to form the nucleus of this army. That is why, instead of concluding a peace treaty, the Western Powers have concluded the Bonn and Paris agreements with the Adenauer Government, agreements which will bind Germany to the aggressive plans of the North Atlantic Treaty for half a century.

62. The threat of renewed German expansion is arousing the opposition of all the European peoples, particularly those who are Germany's neighbours and who suffered under Nazi occupation. In a letter to the United States Congress, 200 deputies of the French Parliament expressed their opposition to the treaty on the European Defence Community, on the grounds that it would make Germany the dominant Power in Europe.

63. The Czechoslovak people, which is utterly devoted to the cause of peace, desires to live on the same friendly and good-neighbourly terms with the people of Germany as a whole as characterize its relations with the people of the German Democratic Republic. Our desire is to live in peace with all peoples. We realize that it is only under conditions of peace that we can continue successfully to develop our country's economy. The success of our work of construction is evidenced not only by the rise in industrial output and the expansion of the other branches of the national economy, but also by the continuous improvement in the standard of living of the Czechoslovak workers, which has made possible both a steady increase in consumption and the satisfaction of all the social, cultural and health needs of the people. This shows that the motive force behind our construction work is concern for man, and for the cultural progress and well-being of the people as a whole. It is our profound desire that other peoples also should be able to undertake the task of national development and to strengthen their friendly relations with other nations under conditions of peace.

64. The Czechoslovak Government, scrupulous in the fulfilment of its obligations under the United Nations Charter, is therefore wholly in favour of the widest possible development of peaceful co-operation among nations. The essential conditions for the practical realization of such co-operation are observance of the principle of equality among interested parties, consistent adherence to the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, the development of trade on the basis of mutual advantage, and the provision of assistance to the under-developed countries without political conditions which could endanger their independence.

65. Convincing evidence of the success of a genuine policy of strengthening friendship among nations are the new relations between the Soviet Union and the other nations of the democratic camp, relations unparalleled in world history. These relations are founded on the inviolable principles of mutual respect for State independence and sovereignty, on mutual understanding and the disinterested provision of fraternal aid. The Government of the Soviet Union is not only providing the peoples' democracies and the Chinese People's Republic with first-class technical assistance on an extensive scale, but is also contributing to the

all-round development of their economies by deliveries of raw materials and other commodities. Thanks to this fraternal aid, the countries of the democratic camp have made vast strides in building up and developing their economies.

66. The Czechoslovak people is deeply conscious of the immense importance of the vast help it is receiving from the Soviet Union, and realizes that in the Soviet Union it has its best and truest friend. It therefore rebuts with sorrow and disgust the various attempts made by certain statesmen of the Western Powers—occasionally, alas, even in organs of the United Nations—to depict the relations between the USSR and the peoples' democracies in a false, mendacious and tendentious light. The friendship and alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union represent a long-awaited historical victory for the Czechoslovak people. The Czechoslovak people will defend its alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the democratic camp against all threats. Accordingly the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, whose people feel deep sympathy for the heroic Korean people in their hour of need, has decided to assist in the rehabilitation of their country, the victim of a war of intervention.

67. The relations between the countries of the peace camp testify to the results which can be achieved through economic co-operation among peace-loving States. Instead of greed for profits, the destruction and economic and political enslavement of the weaker, we have genuine co-operation and mutual aid, which enhance the power and strengthen the economies of all the partners and offer their peoples a higher standard of living and a happier life free of wars, crises or exploitation. The help given by the USSR to the countries of the peace camp is an example of such co-operation.

68. As a result of this help, Czechoslovakia has succeeded in doubling its industrial output and is continuing to increase its industrial potential thereby—thanks to the wide range and high quality of the products offered—making it possible to expand and develop a mutually advantageous trade with all the countries of the world. The expansion of Czech industry can thus contribute to the resumption of normal trade relations among States. Czechoslovak industrial deliveries will stimulate the economic development of the under-developed countries, in accordance with a long-established tradition.

69. The Czechoslovak delegation regards the provision of essential technical assistance as a major contribution to the economic development of the under-developed countries. At meetings of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, the Czechoslovak delegation, like a number of other delegations, has supported proposals for the appropriation of funds under the United Nations budget for this purpose. In this connexion, however, we have frequently pointed out that the primary purpose of technical assistance to the under-developed countries must be to mobilize the internal resources of those countries, to promote the development of their national industry and agriculture, to assist in raising the cultural and material standards of their peoples and thus to contribute to their economic independence.

70. The Czechoslovak delegation takes this opportunity to announce that the Czechoslovak Government

has decided to contribute the sum of 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1954. This decision reflects the Czechoslovak Government's desire to continue to assist in the development and consolidation of economic co-operation among the nations, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

71. The signing of the armistice in Korea holds out the prospect and hope of a settlement of other contentious and still outstanding questions. The settlement of such important problems as the unconditional prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction, disarmament, the elimination of military bases in foreign territories, and the adoption of measures to end the propaganda of hostility and hatred among peoples which is carried on in certain countries, would greatly contribute to the attainment of a lasting peace and international security. These questions have been on the General Assembly's agenda since its very first session. Owing to the negative position taken by the Western Powers, headed by the United States, which have made the settlement of these problems contingent on the fulfilment of a number of preliminary conditions, no real progress has so far been made in these matters. The old formula, "first mutual confidence and then disarmament", which led to the failure of disarmament between the first and second world wars, has reappeared in the United Nations, in the form of a demand for the fulfilment of a variety of preliminary conditions; it is the argument which the opponents of a genuine settlement of the problem of disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction have attempted to use to justify their position. It has become obvious over the years that the artificial obstacles which they have deliberately erected to prevent the adoption of effective measures for the reduction of armaments have not only not been removed but have on the contrary been growing even more numerous.

72. I need hardly emphasize that the proposals put forward by the United States at a previous [434th] meeting cannot offer a basis for the consideration and settlement of the problem of armaments reduction. This was clearly demonstrated at the last session of the General Assembly. The fact that the practical Soviet proposals were rejected and the unacceptable Baruch plan for the control of atomic energy was approved and subsequently endorsed on several occasions by the majority of the members of the General Assembly, is one more proof of the harm done when sheer pressure is used to settle questions of such vital importance to world peace, questions whose satisfactory settlement all lovers of peace are awaiting from the United Nations.

73. Mr. Dulles confined himself in his statement to giving the Assembly an apocalyptic picture of all the horrors which could be precipitated by those in possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs. He failed to mention, however, that the Baruch plan was quite unacceptable to the peoples of the world, since it consigns the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons to a remote and, indeed, indefinite future and seeks to establish a super-monopoly which could be used to secure world domination. In any case, the Baruch plan, like the hopes which the United States Government placed in it, has long since been outstripped by events. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Soviet Union has ended the monopoly of atomic and

hydrogen weapons. The Soviet Government has at the same time announced that it will continue to press for the immediate adoption of a ban on those weapons and for the institution of strict international control to ensure observance of that ban.

74. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that, in order to ensure a further easing of international tension and the restoration of trust among the nations, effective measures must be taken without delay to bring about a general regulation and reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. An early solution to this problem must be found in the interests of the peace-loving nations and of mankind as a whole, for the ever-mounting expenditure on armaments and the threats to use atomic and other weapons of mass destruction are universally regarded as a danger to world peace. In addition, armaments expenditure constitutes a heavy burden which is having disastrous effects on the standards of living of the population in the capitalist countries.

75. In regard to the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and of other weapons of mass destruction, the Czechoslovak delegation entirely supports the position outlined here [438th meeting] by Mr. Vyshinsky, the chairman of the Soviet delegation. That position reflects a genuine desire to preserve mankind from the appalling consequences of the use of such weapons in the event of an armed conflict. The Czechoslovak delegation fully concurs in the view that the Security Council should be called upon to take immediate steps to draw up and implement an international agreement which would ensure strict control of the observance of the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction.

76. The construction of a network of military, naval and air bases in the territories of other States in all parts of the world represents a serious danger to peace and a violation of State sovereignty. The General Assembly must therefore recommend that the Security Council should take steps to eliminate military bases on foreign territory.

77. The propaganda of hatred and enmity among peoples, which is carried on in certain countries, and which is incompatible with the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations, must also be put to a stop. Such propaganda serves only to aggravate international tension and helps to create an atmosphere of fear and distrust among nations.

78. The Soviet draft resolution [A/2485/Rev.1] is right in pointing out that the primary responsibility for bringing about a reduction of armaments rests with the five permanent members of the Security Council. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that the reduction of armed forces by one-third within one year and the convening of an international conference on disarmament questions would be highly desirable and useful measures.

79. The USSR proposals are an important contribution to the cause of peace and security. The Czechoslovak delegation gives these proposals its full support, since they point out the course the United Nations must follow if it is to become an effective instrument for strengthening peace and security throughout the world. In addition, these proposals express the wishes of the Czechoslovak people and of peace-loving people throughout the world. By adopting the USSR pro-

posals, the General Assembly would help to reduce international tension and to secure a happy and peaceful future for mankind. The Czechoslovak delegation will do its utmost to give the General Assembly every support in the execution of these important tasks.

80. Mr. THORS (Iceland): I am particularly happy to congratulate Mrs. Pandit on her election to her high office, and I want to take this opportunity to wish her every success in her great and difficult task.

81. Representatives may well wonder why my country wants to participate in this general debate. As with many of the discussions in the United Nations, the general debate, at the commencement of each session, is primarily and most conspicuously dominated by the big Powers. It has become a routine kind of first round in the regrettable battle of words which has characterized every session in the past seven years and which has led to no fruitful results for a world suffering from fear and the heavy burdens imposed by armaments and defensive measures.

82. This Organization, whose high-sounding name of United Nations has today become somewhat ironical, is, however, supposed to be based upon and built up by the participation of all nations, large and small. Although the principle of universality is far from being practised as long as at least nineteen nations—and among them such important countries, culturally and historically, as Italy—are kept out, nevertheless we still have sixty nations which are Members of the United Nations. Some of them are great and powerful and hold a dominating influence in the world in general and inside the United Nations. They also possess the enormous means of destroying mankind, through weapons which can extinguish life on this planet. Other nations, to a different extent, hold influence and authority inside the United Nations according to their strength in arms, or according to their alliances with blocs inside the United Nations, or merely because of their service to the big Powers or numerous blocs.

83. Despite all this, despite all these weaknesses inside the United Nations, despite all pressure and political wrangling, every nation represented here—even the smallest one—has its responsibility and its duty to endeavour to enhance and serve the ideals and aims of the Charter. Each Member State has the solemn obligation to weigh its words and its vote, and to employ both, according to its best conscience, in the service of peace and progress, and in no other service or purpose.

84. There are inside the United Nations many disturbing elements, and it is at times difficult for a small nation like mine, unwilling to belong to any voting bloc and fully aware of its small influence and almost powerless position in a gravely split world, to mark and follow its own course. But naturally, being one of the Western democracies, our course most frequently runs parallel to that of other democratic countries by reason of common ideals, a common inheritance, similar ways of thought, the similar desires and aspirations of our peoples, a similar outlook on life, and the same love for freedom.

85. When I speak of my country as a small nation, I do so without any excuse. It requires much more individual and collective effort, much more sacrifice and much more work for a nation of few to build up and maintain a society of culture, progress, high

education and a fair standard of living in the modern world, with all its demands, than for nations of many millions or tens or hundreds of millions. We in Iceland are building on a civilization more than a thousand years old, having been an independent republic at the dawn of our history and for three subsequent centuries, and having preserved our thousand-year-old Parliament, which was of decisive importance in our struggle to regain our full sovereignty and re-establish our old republic.

86. Through the dark days of our history, when we were under foreign domination, however friendly the rulers wanted to be, Iceland acquired its knowledge and experience of colonialism. It is therefore natural that my people should always have a feeling of sympathy and understanding both for the peoples of the world who still remain oppressed and are exploited in one way or another, and for those who in recent times have lost their freedom.

87. The Icelandic people always desire to stand on the side of humanity and justice. The last session of the United Nations General Assembly was the session on Korea. Let it be known and placed to the credit of the so-often discredited United Nations that, through the deliberations and decisions of the last session of the General Assembly, the Korean Armistice was reached, and we still hope that that armistice may lead to peace, irrespective of threatening clouds.

88. When we now glance at the agenda of this session of the Assembly, we see before us such matters as the Tunisian question and the Moroccan question, which are among the spectacular subjects on the agenda of the First Committee.

89. We also had these questions last year, and, after a debate which the accused party, France, completely ignored by being absent from the meetings when it was discussed, the Committee, and subsequently the General Assembly, passed resolutions [*General Assembly resolutions 611 (VII) and 619 (VII)*] intended to facilitate peaceful solutions by negotiations between the parties concerned. But fruitful results have not been achieved, and, indeed, France had served notice that it would entirely disregard any resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Since then, relations seem to have deteriorated and grave incidents have taken place. The General Assembly can only pass resolutions and recommendations. What, then, can the United Nations do in such cases? Do discussions here help in any way to alleviate such grave situations? Or why are they held?

90. We have other identical cases, where one of the parties concerned objects to a United Nations intervention and openly ignores any recommendation by the United Nations. Two of the items on the agenda of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for this session, which has just started—in fact half of the agenda of that important Committee—consists of questions relating to conditions in the Union of South Africa. The first one concerns the treatment of people of Indian origin there, and the second is the question of race conflict resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

91. The first question, concerning the Indians, has been discussed at six previous sessions, since 1946. Altogether, the United Nations has spent some two months discussing this item alone, involving all the sixty delegations. Many eloquent speeches have been

delivered on the subject indeed, many speeches from every corner of the world. Many resolutions have been passed and commissions have been set up. But, may I ask, of what avail?

92. The second item, concerning *apartheid*, only came up last year. It was then discussed during eight days and a resolution [616 (VII)] was adopted. A commission was established to study the racial situation.

93. The reports of that commission and of the commission set up in connexion with the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa [*resolution 615 (VII)*] can be expected to be negative. Many distinguished representatives have sat on these commissions, anxious to bring about satisfactory solutions. The representative of the Union of South Africa has always warned the Assembly that its intervention is unconstitutional and its resolutions, therefore, null and void. That has been a clear attitude, and a frank warning has been given. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter has been invoked, and we all know that it debars the United Nations from intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

94. It has been useless to remind the parties of Article 56, which, as you know, reads:

"All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievements of the purposes set forth in Article 55."

And, as we know, Article 55, in the interest of stability and well-being, stresses the necessity of "peaceful and friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples," and therefore obliges the United Nations to promote, *inter alia*, higher standards of living and "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". These are solemn obligations undertaken by all the members of the United Nations everywhere. It seems that the General Assembly is at least entitled to remind Member States of these serious undertakings.

95. But experience shows that there is nothing more it can do. It takes two to make an agreement. Discussions year after year have proved of little or no avail, and the time has come when the United Nations should make it clear that repeated discussions and the passing of resolutions are useless in cases where one or both of the parties are unwilling to co-operate and negotiate for the solution among themselves.

96. This has also proved to be the case about some aspects of the Palestine question, which, this year again, is the third item before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. There again, there has been no response from the parties to some of the resolutions adopted in previous years.

97. Thus, all these cases have proved more or less hopeless. It is, indeed, doubtful whether repeated demonstrations of hopelessness and utter inability to settle questions enhances the prestige of the United Nations or increases respect for it or trust in it among the peoples of the world, most of whom would like to see the Organization strong and capable of helping suffering people in their pursuit of justice and equality.

98. The power of the United Nations to settle disputes is supposed to be vested primarily in the Security Coun-

cil, but we all know that, due to the present world situation, the Security Council possesses no real power and offers no effective help. The veto disposes of that. This is no bright picture of the United Nations as it approaches its eighth anniversary.

99. I have mentioned three items on the agenda of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Let us look at the fourth and last question, the admission of new Members.

100. As I mentioned before, there are now at least nineteen countries outside the United Nations that have applied for admission. As we know, the Security Council must recommend the membership of each applicant. Ever since the lowering of the temperature in the cold war, or since 1947, the number of nations kept outside the United Nations has been increasing. The rule, however, according to Article 4 of the Charter, is supposed to be that membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving nations which are able and willing to carry out the obligations set out in the Charter. In spite of this declaration of universality, at least nineteen countries are again and again barred from admission. They are even referred to with the derogatory phrase of "package", and we are told to take it or leave it. There are, however, as I stated, certain minimum requirements and qualifications stipulated. To be peace-loving is one of them. This stipulation explains why it has not been possible yet to admit the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which has been engaged in aggression in Korea, as resolved by the General Assembly in 1950 [resolution 498 (V)].

101. That a government in control of some 500 million people and such vast territory should be kept outside the United Nations indefinitely seems, however, unthinkable and ill-advised. It is to be hoped that the Government of the People's Republic of China will prove itself able and free to demonstrate its willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in achieving peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the removal of threats to the peace and the adjustment and settlement of international disputes. The Peking Government will have an excellent opportunity to prove its willingness and qualifications in that respect at the political conference which, we still hope, will convene late next month. So much about China.

102. But what sensible reason is there to prevent all the other nineteen countries from entering through the unfortunately gloomy gates of the United Nations when they so desire? Why are countries like Italy, Finland, Ireland, Portugal—to mention only a few—kept out? No sensible reasons exist. Yet we all know the veto bars them all. And the matter still seems hopeless. If anyone doubts that assertion, let him look at the report [A/2400] of the Special Committee on admission of new Members. That committee, composed of representatives of nineteen Member States, came to the wise conclusion that it could reach no conclusion. This question therefore comes before this session as hopelessly as ever before—or even more hopelessly.

103. In my previous remarks, I have often referred to controversial articles of our Charter, which have rendered difficult or hindered fruitful or desirable work and results by our Organization. The Charter is now eight years old. It was created under the bright and romantic moon of the San Francisco approach. Those were happy days. But, alas, times have changed. It

seems that many representatives were realistic enough to predict such changes of atmosphere. Therefore Article 109 of the Charter contemplates a conference for reviewing the Charter in 1955, when ten years of experience have been acquired. All man's endeavours are fallible—*errare humanum est*. And experience also tells us that new times demand new measures.

104. A revision of the Charter in 1955 is indeed timely and warranted. But no one should expect any great changes. No revolution is being planned. The wise and far-seeing authors of the Charter created a safeguard against any irresponsible future action. According to Articles 108 and 109, any amendment to the Charter needs two-thirds of the votes in the General Assembly in order to come into force. Moreover, it must be ratified, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Thus there can be no change in the Charter except through unanimity among the big Powers.

105. It is not unlikely that we shall be faced in 1955, as we are today, with two alternatives: either a United Nations principally and practically the same as our present one, or no such organization at all.

106. It is useless and deceiving to talk about any world organization without the membership of all the big Powers on both sides of the Iron Curtain, which barrage, let us hope and pray, will soon melt away in the warm rays of international understanding and the friendly coexistence of various economic systems, or if that does not come true, will have rusted to pieces from age and wear and an unsuitable climate.

107. Furthermore, if the United Nations is to achieve its lofty goal, if the great dreams of San Francisco are ever to become a reality, and if the ideals of the Charter are ever to serve and bless mankind, then the principle of universality must prevail. Let each country decide its own form of government; there must be room for them all under the great dome of the United Nations. The United Nations must never become a mere gathering of hostile voting blocs, where the gates are closed to others and minds are closed. The United Nations must never become a Russian halleluja propaganda society or an exclusive American club.

108. It can be justified, and it is natural, that the big Powers should maintain their veto when military action is contemplated. The burden and sacrifice of fighting would always be theirs to the greatest extent. But the veto is dangerous, unreasonable and frustrating in such questions as the admission of new Members.

109. One of the most important items before us, or, more correctly, the most important question, is disarmament. Again, we must admit that this has been treated in all previous sessions. Or, rather, no treatment has been found possible since 1946, when the ice-cold winds of the cold war began blowing. No result has been reached. Resolutions have, however, been passed—a whole bunch of often high-sounding resolutions. Some of them—those which were naive enough—have even gained unanimity: 60 votes in favor, none against. And speeches and words have flowed year after year. All kinds of words—friendly words, warning words, angry words—have flowed. To no avail. The production of armaments has flowed, too, incessantly and ever increasingly; all kinds of armaments, from small ammunition to the most destructive

weapons—those intended for individual killing, for mass murder, for wholesale slaughter, to the point of the complete destruction and extinction of huge areas of land and human life. All kinds and all sizes of ammunition are available, to suit any place and any congregation of human beings.

110. And who wants this? The United Nations was founded "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". What has it done to slow or call off the armaments race? Nothing. It has proved to be entirely unable and impotent to do anything in this vital matter. No wonder some people talk about the United Nations as merely a debating club. Why is United Nations unable to do anything to alleviate the tension? And what will happen if armaments production should reach what the distinguished Foreign Minister of Australia called [436th meeting] the saturation point? When the toys pile up, does not the child want to play with them?

111. Yet so many talk about peace, and the people everywhere pray for peace. And the great leaders of the world have spoken. Let me remind you all of the three great speeches of the three most powerful leaders of today, whose decisions and actions will influence our fate and future more than any other human activities.

112. Mr. Eisenhower said in Washington on 16 April 1953:

"First, no people on earth can be held—as a people—to be an enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace and fellowship and justice. Second, no nation's security and well-being can be lastingly achieved in isolation, but only in effective co-operation with fellow-nations. Third, every nation's right to a form of government and an economic system of its own choosing is inalienable. Fourth, any nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible. And fifth, a nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments, but rather upon just relations and honest understanding with all other nations. . . . Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed . . ."

These words are eloquent, noble and clear.

113. Sir Winston Churchill said in the House of Commons on 11 May 1953:

"I must make it plain that, in spite of all the uncertainties and confusion in which world affairs are plunged, I believe that a conference on the highest level should take place between the leading Powers without long delay . . . It certainly would do no harm if, for a while, each side looked about for things to do which would be agreeable instead of being disagreeable to each other . . . It would, I think, be a mistake to assume that nothing can be settled with Soviet Russia unless or until everything is settled."

The last few words were quoted here this morning [443rd meeting] by the representative of the United Kingdom. I continue the quotation from the speech of Sir Winston Churchill:

"A settlement of two or three of our difficulties would be an important gain to every peace-loving

country . . . We all desire that the Russian people should take the high place in world affairs which is their due without feeling anxiety about their own security. I do not believe that the immense problem of reconciling the security of Russia with the freedom and safety of Western Europe is insoluble . . ."

Those are magnanimous words of great vision by Britain's "grand old man".

114. Mr. Malenkov said on 8 August 1953:

"The President of the United States stated on 16 April, in his speech to the American Society of Editors, that there was no controversial problem, big or small, that could not be solved if there was a wish to respect the rights of other countries. This was an important statement. It could only be welcomed. . . . The basic interests of strengthening peace and international security demand that the great Powers make every effort to ensure real progress in reducing armaments, the banning of atomic and other arms of mass destruction. . . . We firmly maintain that at the present moment there is no disputable or outstanding issue that could not be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries concerned. This refers also to those issues under dispute that exist between the United States of America and the USSR. We stood and stand for a peaceful co-existence of two systems. We consider that there is no objective ground for a collision between the United States of America and the USSR. The interests of the security of both countries, as well as international security, the interests of the development of trade between the United States of America and the USSR can be safeguarded on the basis of normal relations between both countries . . ."

These words of the leader of the great Soviet people are clear and outstanding.

115. So when these three leaders give the world such parallel encouraging statements, when they all seem to be seeking to get together, why do they not do so? That the world must know, it demands to know. The time has come to face facts. When we hear, day after day, over the radio and read in newspapers that over eighty leading cities and centres of population here in America are being singled out as targets for atomic attacks, and as we can imagine that such visits would be returned in the visitor's own territory, has not the time arrived for facing facts and for awakening to this deadly outlook? We cannot continue to live in a fool's paradise. But it seems clear that the decision lies with the big leaders, and so does the responsibility.

116. The speeches we have already heard in this general debate by the distinguished and influential leaders of the United States delegation and the Soviet Union delegation have also been in a rather conciliatory vein. And such was the tone of the speech delivered a few hours ago by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom. So the doors seem to be open. At least they are not closed. We are most anxious to see that the doors are approached and that the negotiation chamber be entered. Is it to be the single door for the great leaders, or one of the many doors of our great mansion here, or is it to be the door of the conference room of the political conference on Korea? Any entrance will do, if the negotiators enter in the right mood and in good faith.

117. I have spoken at some unusual length and I regret that I have, in some respects, presented an unpleasant picture, darkened by deep shadows and grave clouds.

118. There are, however, some brighter and more encouraging views that should not be forgotten—some more positive factors about the United Nations.

119. In the political field, while we may not have achieved great affirmative successes, I firmly believe that the United Nations has succeeded in averting great disasters. The first major effort in history at promoting collective security by common action through an international organization has been tried, and has succeeded. In Korea the United Nations fought, not for a military victory, but for the victory of an idea—the idea of collective resistance to prove that aggression does not pay. The aggression has been repelled. We now have an armistice, which we hope will lead to permanent peace. The United Nations action in Korea alone has justified the existence and proved the worth of the United Nations.

120. In the economic and social fields, the United Nations has moreover had great success in many specified fields. I refer to the long-range programmes for mutual help and international co-operation for prosperity and progress.

121. It is gratifying to note that many Member States show interest in the observance and promotion of human rights and have been active in implementing and enhancing some of the principles of our great Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which we adopted in Paris in 1948 [*resolution 217 (III)*]. In many countries, the ideals of this encouraging great declaration still remain remote from practice. However, the trend is progressive.

122. We are hopeful that the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund will be able to continue its noble work to bring relief to hungry, poor and orphaned children in war-torn and impoverished countries. My people have been happy to contribute from the beginning to this worthy cause. We have done so on a comparatively big scale, both officially and by individual collections. We are doing so this year and we hope to be able to continue our contribution.

123. It is also to be hoped that the programme of technical assistance, which has proved of such great value and benefit in all corners of the world, can be continued and increased.

124. Just imagine how much technical assistance the United Nations could have given, how much material progress it could have brought about everywhere, if it had had at its disposal only a little part of the \$80 billion spent on armaments during the last few years. Think of all the social welfare it could have spread. Think of all the needy, ill-clad and ignorant little children it could have provided with the prospect of a brighter and more worthy future. And such saving from armaments would indeed have relieved the adults of the burden of fear and given mankind the light of a life worth living.

125. Just think of this: the total annual expenditure of the United Nations amounts to only approximately what a world war would cost in money for half a day. Certainly, it is a fact that the United Nations is the least expensive effort ever made to save the greatest number of people from the greatest disaster ever imagined.

126. But a much larger share of the funds now being earmarked for armaments is required for economic development all over the world to expand production and trade and increase the standard of living where such improvements are most needed. The increased consumption of the needy means increased trade for the countries with surpluses, and trade is mutual aid. United and working together, we have the resources to remedy most of the ills of men.

127. Some of my remarks may sound too pessimistic. I can only hope and wish that they will be proved to be so. Much of the criticism of the United Nations in every country is based on the unfortunate fact that people do not generally know that the United Nations was founded to maintain the peace, not to create it. The big Powers were supposed, at the conclusion of the Second World War, to present the United Nations with peace at the commencement of its existence. They failed to do so. Therefore the United Nations has become what I might describe as an ambitious young man, from whom too much is expected, but for whom too little is done. But we must have patience and allow the young man to grow in strength, experience and wisdom.

128. One of the tasks of the United Nations is said to be the building up of sound world opinion. But we must realize that it is practically impossible to build up any world opinion in a tragically split world, where half the peoples are free to learn and listen and form their own opinion, whereas the other half is dominated and controlled.

129. In conclusion, let me state that responsible people, in every country and every community, desire and are decided to march onward to peace and progress, happiness and a better life. They demand to know whether they are being led towards this desired goal by the powerful leaders of the world, or whether they are being misled. Are they being led towards a better world, or are we all being driven like a flock of sheep to the slaughterhouse? The answer to this question we must find out for ourselves and act accordingly, boldly and without hesitation. It would be the gravest error and most dangerous irresponsibility merely to acquiesce and deceive ourselves by saying "time alone can tell". We must ourselves, to the extent humanly possible, be masters of our own destiny.

130. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): It is a true pleasure for the delegation of El Salvador to pay a tribute to the great Asian nation so worthily represented here by Mrs. Pandit, and to her personally for her well-deserved election to the presidency of the eighth session of the General Assembly, and to draw special attention to the significant fact that this election, falling to an illustrious woman, represents yet another affirmation of the high purposes and principles of the United Nations, in that it is a positive expression of that equality of rights between men and women which the founders of the Organization wrote into the Preamble and various provisions of the Charter.

131. In spite of the vicissitudes of this Organization, the tremendous obstacles which it has met at every step and, above all, in spite of international tension, which seemed to be appreciably lessening last spring but which in these last weeks we have seen reappearing and increasing, the fact is that the peoples of the world have not lost their faith and hope in the power

of those principles which were proclaimed by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Atlantic Charter on 14 August 1941, and accepted later by a number of countries, in the Declaration by the United Nations signed in Washington on 1 January 1942, a document which someone aptly called the birth-certificate of the United Nations, and subsequently in successive instruments of accession.

132. It must be frankly admitted that neither the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, nor the Yalta Agreement, nor even the text of the United Nations Charter, approved and signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, completely corresponded to the promising spirit of the principles and objectives set forth in the Atlantic Charter and ratified in the Washington Declaration.

133. Yet the peoples have nonetheless continued to hope that the United Nations will be successful in its efforts, whether those efforts are directed towards the maintenance of international peace and security, or towards the development of friendly relations among nations, international co-operation in matters of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, or co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

134. Anyone who considers, impartially, without prejudice and in a truly objective spirit, the work undertaken and carried out up to the present by the United Nations and the various specialized agencies, is forced to the conclusion that it has been in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields that the greatest and best results have been achieved, while in the whole field of politics and matters directly connected with politics progress has been slow and difficult on account of the frequently insuperable obstacles which the Organization meets in its path.

135. Everyone knows that the Security Council is practically paralysed as a result of the immoderate and arbitrary use of the veto by one of the great Powers. As for the Trusteeship Council, its composition as laid down by the Charter does not allow it to carry out such useful work for the inhabitants of the Trust Territories as would be desirable. The Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies do not labour under the same disadvantage and are therefore able to act more freely. Fortunately, the improvement of economic conditions in various countries, the raising of the standard of living and the improvement in the health conditions and cultural development of their inhabitants, form a basis for the maintenance of peace; everything achieved in these fields must increase the chances for the peaceful coexistence of all States, large, medium or small.

136. My delegation wishes to express its especial appreciation of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and its enthusiastic support of the ideas developed by Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/2404], to the effect that the United Nations programme of technical assistance is assuming more and more the aspect of a truly co-operative enterprise of mutual aid in the sharing of skills in which nations from all parts of the world and in every stage of economic and social development have something to contribute as well as to receive.

137. In order not to make this speech too long, we shall limit ourselves to a few political questions, selecting from the agenda of the eighth session those items

which in our opinion are most general in scope or most closely connected with the work of the United Nations.

138. Thanks to the Armistice Agreement, the armed struggle in Korea has finally ended; as some representatives have said, however, and as is quite obvious, the final conclusion of the conflict depends on the results of the political conference provided for in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement. Together with all the peoples of the free world, El Salvador enthusiastically greeted the signing of the armistice, in which it sees a promise of peace. The case of Korea is a sad one, but, like all evils, it contains a lesson by which we can and must profit.

139. The two imperialist systems of our century, the two modern forms of universal domination, nazi-fascism and communism, though they have so many points of resemblance, are in many respects different. They differ chiefly in their methods. We no longer witness invasions like those of Ethiopia, Albania, Austria and Czechoslovakia, carried out by the regular forces of an imperialist Power. Nowadays we see a Power of that sort, which pledged itself to evacuate the territories which it occupied as a result of the Second World War, setting up and imposing on them régimes which are pompously called popular and democratic. Nowadays we see that when new territories are to be occupied, the populations of peoples' democratic republics are mobilized and thrown into an invasion, after which it is said, for example, that North Korea has been attacked by South Korea, and that the North Korean troops and "Chinese people's volunteers" are heroically maintaining a defensive struggle.

140. Fortunately, the attitude of international organizations has also changed. The Assembly and Council of the League of Nations remained passive in the face of the acts of conquest which took place between 1936 and 1939, but the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations acted effectively and promptly in the case of Korea. This case may not, however, be the only one and, furthermore, it is not yet completely disposed of.

141. The chief lesson to be learnt from the Korean tragedy is that the United Nations must remain constantly on the alert and must continually increase its power and authority to meet the eventualities with which the imperialist policy may confront it. The immediate need is to find a solution for the Korean problem, and that task has been entrusted to the political conference.

142. The Communists, who tried at all costs to avoid agreement on the armistice by persisting in the argument that prisoners of war should be forcibly repatriated, are now trying to obstruct the convening of the conference. To that end, they are arbitrarily interpreting paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement to support their view that the conference should not be composed of representatives "of a higher level of both sides," as the text of the agreement says, but that it should be a round-table conference, in which not only representatives of both sides but also representatives of other countries regarded as neutral should take part.

143. We live in a world full of incongruities, paradoxes and contradictions. The very people who proposed that paragraph 60 should be included—the North Koreans and Chinese now wish to transform the

bilateral conference contemplated in that paragraph into a multilateral, or what is commonly known as a round-table conference. At first sight the matter is not of major importance, first because it has already been agreed by the General Assembly [*resolution 711 B (VII)*] that the Soviet Union shall take part in the conference "provided the other side desires it", a phrase which is to be interpreted as meaning that the Soviet Union will naturally have to take part on the communist side, and, secondly, because the four other countries which would have to be invited in accordance with the wishes of communist China and North Korea are States in whose reliability and good faith the United Nations has complete confidence. We all know, however, that the inclusion of India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan, or of some of those countries, might cause serious difficulties and lead to the failure of the conference.

144. This matter was discussed at length in the First Committee during the seventh session, and my delegation considers that it would be wiser to leave the point to be considered by the political conference itself, as was suggested a few days ago by the representative of the United States; that proposal is the more reasonable inasmuch as if the Asian States referred to were invited as "neutrals", they would naturally play the part of mediators and would not, strictly speaking, be parties to the conference, nor could they be bound by the decisions or agreements it might reach.

145. Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, appeared before the Parliament of his country last August and stated that India had no special interest in attending the political conference and that it would participate only in the main parties concerned wished it to co-operate in the settlement of the Korean question. He appeared again before that legislative body to assert, as a reproach to the Latin-American States which did not agree to its participation in the conference, that those States had opposed the wishes of almost all the countries of Asia and Europe with regard to a matter which was of particular interest to the Asian peoples.

146. As Latin Americans we feel obliged to say a few words about this. Political circumstances have transformed the Korean incident into a world problem. When, on 25 June 1950, the Security Council hurriedly convened [*473rd meeting*] to take note of the reports on the armed attack launched against the Republic of Korea by North Korea, the Council consisted of the five great Powers and Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Norway and Yugoslavia, although the Soviet Union absented itself from the Council's meetings. All the representatives took part in the discussion, with the exception of the Indian representative, who was present, however, since he appears to have voted on the draft resolution whereby the Council called for the immediate cessation of hostilities and appealed to North Korea to withdraw its armed forces to the 38th parallel forthwith.

147. Two days later [*474th meeting*], before the new reports of the United Nations Commission on Korea, of which El Salvador was a member, had been submitted, the Council had to study a new draft resolution. Under that draft, the Council took note of the fact that the North Korean authorities had neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel; furthermore, it took note of the appeal addressed by the Republic of Korea to the United

Nations that effective measures should immediately be adopted to ensure peace and security, and it recommended that Member States should provide the Republic of Korea with whatever assistance might be necessary to repel the armed attack and to re-establish peace and security in that area. The Indian representative did not participate in the discussion or in the vote on that draft resolution, because he had no specific instructions from his Government, but some days later a communication was received in which the Indian Government expressed its approval of the resolution of 27 June.

148. In one form or another, the Latin-American States have taken part and continue to take part in the Korean problem as they are fully entitled and competent to do. One of them even sent troops to be placed at the disposal of the United Nations Unified Command.

149. The regional nature of the Korean conflict, which is now invoked in criticism of the conduct of some Latin-American countries with regard to the membership of the political conference, had not been referred to before, nor is it based on the existence of regional agreements or organizations especially called upon to take action in connexion with the conflict. It is well known that no provision of the Charter is opposed to the existence of regional agreements or organizations designed to deal with matters relating to international peace and security which may require regional action, provided that such agreements and organizations and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

150. This explains the existence of the Organization of American States and an Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The Charter of the Organization of American States provides that all international conflicts arising among them shall be subject to the peaceful procedures specified in the Pact of Bogotá before being submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations. According to the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, any armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered an attack against all the American States, and each of them must assist in countering the attack by exercising the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence which is recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It is therefore difficult for a State of the American community to knock at the wrong door, so to speak, and to bring an international dispute or conflict before an organ of the United Nations, instead of referring it to the Council of the Organization of American States in Washington or adopting other measures also provided for in agreements concluded by some of the countries of the western hemisphere.

151. In the Korean conflict, as in the case of any other problem created by international communism, my Government has adopted an unswerving policy. My country has suffered grievously from evils caused by communism, and we cannot allow this experience to recur. We are fighting against the dissemination of extremist ideas within El Salvador itself, be they leftist or rightist, and we are prepared to assist to the utmost of our ability in any action designed to check the advance of international communism.

152. The Salvadorean delegation, together with the delegations of Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua and some other members of the Latin-American group, has stressed the need to find a solution to the problem

of the admission of new Members, believing that the real difficulty arises from the manner in which the relevant Article 27 of the Charter has so far been applied. We consider it to be of the utmost importance for the purposes of the United Nations that the numerous States which meet the requisite conditions and whose applications have been pending for a long time should be admitted to membership.

153. Admittedly no concrete conclusions were reached in the Special Committee established at the seventh session [*resolution 620 (VII)*], but the discussions of that committee and of the Interim Committee, as all the other discussions on the admission of the new Members, cast considerable light on the problem and should be put to use.

154. This is not the time to refer to our point of view and to recall the position of the Government of El Salvador. We only wish to place on record that it seems to us that a solution cannot be postponed. There is no need to refer to the advantages which the United Nations would derive from a substantial increase in its membership and from the co-operation of new elements desirous of participating in its work.

155. My delegation cordially supports the proposals of the Netherlands [*A/2442*] and Egypt [*A/2466 and Add.1*] for a preparatory study on the possible convening of a general conference of the Members of the United Nations with a view to revising the Charter, in accordance with Article 109, and for the establishment of a technical committee to study such revision on the basis of the proposals submitted by Member States. There is no doubt that both proposals are opportune and necessary, and we do not feel that the opposition of the Soviet Union to such preparatory work can doom them to failure.

156. Article 109, paragraph 3, of the Charter provides that the proposal to convene such a conference must appear on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly, and that the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. The Charter, the instrument which established the United Nations, must be revised not only as regards the unanimity rule, or rather the right of veto, but also in regard to many other of its aspects.

157. Nothing is so useful as experience in improving human institutions. The experience of several years of hazardous existence will enable the United Nations to make noteworthy progress in dealing with fundamental problems which were not foreseen at San Francisco or for which inadequate provision was made. The delegations of Egypt and the Netherlands have rendered the General Assembly a great service by proposing that the preparatory work for revising the Charter should be initiated immediately, for that would avoid improvisation on such a serious and important undertaking, which by its very nature demands extremely careful study.

158. The Argentine delegation also deserves our gratitude for its suggestion [*A/2415 and Add.1*] regarding the publication of documents on the drafting and implementation of the Charter. That initiative is certainly not directly connected with the problem of revision, but such material will help to increase our knowledge of the historical background of the Charter and of the ways in which it has been implemented; it will thus be of assistance in any possible revision.

159. The signing of the armistice in Korea was like a flash of light shining over the dark horizon of the world. Men of good will are joining their voices in thanks to the Creator for keeping the flame of hope alive in them.

160. May the United Nations succeed in preventing the striking and absurd tragedy of man's using for his own destruction what he has achieved by his brilliant mind!

161. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): Among the resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its sixteenth session, held recently in Geneva, was resolution 482 A (XVI). In part II of that resolution, the Council recommends that the General Assembly should consider, at its eighth session, a draft text whereby Member States would declare themselves prepared to ask their peoples, "when sufficient progress has been made in internationally supervised worldwide disarmament, to devote a portion of the savings achieved through such disarmament to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in under-developed countries".

162. At the time the resolution was adopted, a justifiable feeling of optimism was reigning in Geneva and in the world at large, arising from the recent signing of the Korean armistice. Later developments, however, are tending to change the hopeful atmosphere which then prevailed and are giving grounds for apprehension that the brief relaxation of international tension which appeared to be setting in last July may be coming to an end. It would be a pity if this eighth session of the Assembly should have to complete its deliberations in the same atmosphere that has hung over the United Nations since 1950.

163. These developments are related to the new conditions which the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the authorities of North Korea are putting to the United Nations and which threaten to delay once again the settlement of this question which is so fraught with dangers for world peace. It is the under-developed countries which would suffer most directly from such a postponement, for it would be a direct blow to the countries needing assistance from abroad, among which, first and foremost, are the peoples of Asia and Africa. The industrially developed States, seeing their security imperilled, feel that, in view of the magnitude of the threat, any precaution they may take is justified.

164. It has been clearly established in the reports of the Disarmament Commission that the prerequisite for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments lies in the relaxation of international tension. We know where the focal points of international tension are and we are well aware that the most immediate danger lies in Korea. If, then, we delay action for the simultaneous settlement of all the points at issue which form what the Secretary-General calls in his memorandum "the East-West conflict", we shall be at the mercy of vague general formulas which, though they may appear adequate at first glance, will be open to perpetual differences of interpretation.

165. Moreover, as the great majority of the Member States noted in the recent debates at the end of the seventh session, one of the most constructive results of the Korean armistice and one that was most in keep-

ing with the Charter was that it could not be inferred from the text of the agreement that either side was the victor or the vanquished.

166. The United Nations, which represents the sum total of the different political trends in the modern world, had only one aim in view: to impede the progress of violence as a means of attaining advantages. Notwithstanding this, the other side appears to be prompted by the determination to claim a victory, not only over those countries which contributed with their forces to the action in Korea, but also over the fifty-one Member States which qualified the attack on the Republic of Korea as an act of aggression and, what is worse, over the Charter itself. To accept conditions inspired by this claim would be tantamount to permitting an inadmissible revision of the Charter, for it would imply that the Charter could be set aside every time an aggressor demanded, as the price of peace, that the principles laid down in this collective treaty should be disregarded.

167. My delegation recognizes the vital needs that these circumstances have created for the more highly industrialized countries. The inherent right of self-defence is sanctioned in one of the basic provisions of our Charter, Article 51. The dilemma with which this Assembly is faced is delicate and dangerous, for the means of defence would always be inadequate if, in addition to our present problems, new problems were to arise as a result of the interruption or impairment of the pacific measures which have been employed to prevent possible sources of discontent and violence from being used and exploited by international subversive agitation. First and foremost among the potential sources of discontent is poverty, due to backward methods of production, and particularly the catastrophic disproportion between the rates of increase of population and of food production. This problem, of supreme importance for international peace and security, formed, as it were, the heart of the discussions of the fifteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, when the world economic situation was under review. At its next session, that vital organ of the United Nations dealt more concretely with the various aspects of the problem. Its honest and painstaking work resulted in the adoption of resolution 482 (XVI), to which I have already referred, concerning the economic development of under-developed countries, resolution 483 (XVI), on full employment, resolution 486 (XVI), concerning international tax problems, and resolution 496 (XVI), outlining a concerted programme of practical action in the social field for the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

168. In resolution 482 A (XVI), the Council stresses the need for the establishment of a special fund to assist development and reconstruction in underdeveloped countries. Technical assistance could produce no effective results if nations which train experts to organize their development were to lack the funds necessary to carry out their plans.

169. It will be equally difficult for these areas to prosper if they are not assured of an active role in the operation of the machinery of world economy. The resolutions on full employment and on international tax problems were adopted with this end in view.

170. In the last paragraph of resolution 483 D (XVI) on full employment, the Council "Calls upon all governments, with a view to increasing trade, employment

and standards of living, to take all practicable steps to reduce obstacles to the development of normal and mutually beneficial trade between countries, availing themselves, *inter alia*, of any opportunities which may arise as a consequence of improved balance of payments or monetary reserve positions, the maturing of newly-developed industries or an easing of international tensions".

171. With regard to international tax problems, it is true that the Economic and Social Council could not arrive at any definite recommendation concerning the disadvantages of double taxation. On this matter it confined itself to asking the Fiscal Commission in its resolution 486 B (XVI), to continue its studies, and to recommending that "... the highly developed countries, acting unilaterally or when concluding tax agreements, should give special consideration to the feasibility of taking action to ensure that such income is taxable only or primarily in the country in which the income was produced".

172. The delegations of the under-developed countries were all in agreement in pointing out that low taxes would not stimulate the investment of foreign capital if the capital-exporting countries imposed a tax on such capital that was equivalent to the difference between what would have been paid on the income it would have produced in those countries and what was paid in the country where it was invested.

173. Rarely, perhaps, has it been so necessary for the United Nations to focus its utmost attention upon these problems as at the present time, when the fomenters of international tension never fail to exploit grounds of dissatisfaction in order to foster sentiments hostile to the majority of the Members of the United Nations and particularly to the industrially developed Western Powers.

174. Side by side with these problems of an economic and social character, there are others which can bring about a difficult situation if the process of evolution which began at San Francisco is interrupted. I refer to the destiny of the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories.

175. The traditional attitude of Venezuela to this question is well known. My Government considers that Chapter XI of the Charter, concerning the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of these territories, should be implemented without undue haste or intransigence. On the contrary, we consider that gradual evolution is the best way of ensuring that full self-government, instead of creating new needs or new problems for the territories, will lead to the greater well-being of all the inhabitants.

176. My delegation is also particularly interested in the proposals put forward by the Netherlands and Egypt which, together with the earlier proposal by Argentina, form a basis on which to begin the preparatory or preliminary work required for a rational and constructive revision of the Charter when the time comes. While the system by which the United Nations is governed cannot be considered in the main imperfect, it nevertheless contains provisions which could well be revised. The observations made by many delegations at San Francisco have since been reinforced by those of jurists and thinkers who favour reform. My delegation considers that if the preparatory work which has been recommended is put in hand forthwith,

the experience we have gained since the establishment of the Organization will enable us to assemble sufficient material to draw up an instrument which will embody one of the most sacred principles of international law—the juridical equality of States, a principle which, although proclaimed in the Charter, has been distorted by the rule of unanimity.

177. In congratulating the President on her election to her high office, my delegation cherishes the well-founded hope that under her direction the Assembly will not neglect these vital and important problems during its eighth session.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.