

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



446th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 25 September 1953,
at 2.45 p.m.

New York

CONTENTS

	Page
General debate [continued]	161
Speeches by Mr. Kiselyov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Helmy Bahgat Badawi (Egypt), Mr. de Pimentel Brandao (Brazil), Mr. Urrutia (Colombia), U Myint Thein (Burma) and Mr. Trejos Flores (Costa Rica)	

President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (India).

General debate [continued]

SPEECHES BY MR. KISELYOV (BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC), MR. HELMY BAHGAT BADAWI (EGYPT), MR. DE PIMENTEL BRANDAO (BRAZIL), MR. URRUTIA (COLOMBIA), U MYINT THEIN (BURMA) AND MR. TREJOS FLORES (COSTA RICA)

1. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like other delegations, attaches great significance to the eighth session of the General Assembly, which has met at a time when all countries can see before them real prospects of friendly co-operation, of achieving a settlement of controversial international issues. Ordinary people throughout the world are impatiently awaiting a further relaxation of international tension and the removal of the threat of a world war. Because of the particular responsibility it owes to these ordinary people, the United Nations must set to work most earnestly and attentively to study and solve the problems before it, so as to prevent any further increase of tension in international relations.

2. The question naturally arises: what has the United Nations done in its eight years of existence, how has it acquitted itself of its tasks?

3. As one who took part in the San Francisco Conference and who has attended all the subsequent sessions of the General Assembly, I must say bluntly that the United Nations has not fulfilled its promises, and has not accomplished the tasks imposed upon it by the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world and for the strengthening of international co-operation, although it certainly could and should have done so.

4. It must be recognized that at the present time the United Nations finds itself in an impasse because proper solutions have not yet been found for fundamental international problems. Unfortunately, the United Nations is still not an all-embracing international organization, since many countries are not yet represented in it. Nor can it be regarded as normal that, for almost four years now, representatives of the 500 million Chinese people, representatives of that great

Asian Power, the Chinese People's Republic, have not been admitted to the United Nations. Such a state of affairs not only undermines the authority of this great Organization but also prevents it from solving successfully the most important international problems, especially those questions which concern Asia and the Far East. There can be no serious talk of a settlement of many international problems without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

5. From the very outset of our Organization's practical activity it became clear that the United States representatives did not intend to observe those articles of the Charter which were designed to defend and strengthen peace and security throughout the world. Utilizing a mechanical majority, the United States delegation brought about the failure of a number of most important proposals designed to strengthen peace, and even endeavoured to cloak the destructive, aggressive war against the peaceful population of Korea under the flag of the United Nations. That is why the United Nations has been unable to solve such grave problems as disarmament, the prohibition of the atomic weapon and other types of weapons of mass destruction, and so on. All too often, despite proposals put forward by the Soviet Union delegation and other delegations, the United Nations engaged in sterile debates on questions which had no connexion at all with the maintenance and preservation of peace.

6. If we glance at the history of the United Nations, we see that literally on the day after the signing of the Charter attacks began to be made upon the rule of unanimity among the five great Powers in the Security Council, the so-called "veto", and these attacks are still continuing. The story of this struggle is known to all and I shall therefore not dwell on it.

7. A fresh campaign to undermine the foundations of the United Nations Charter—the principle of unanimity, one of the most important principles of the United Nations—was launched by Mr. Dulles in his speech before the General Assembly on 17 September [434th meeting]. Mr. Dulles tried to persuade us that the Security Council was unable to function because, as he put it, of "an excessive award of power to the permanent members of the Security Council". United States diplomacy is now openly raising the question of revising the Charter of the United Nations. This is being done because, as long as the principle of the unanimity of the five great Powers exists, the Security Council cannot be transformed into a political instrument to be used by some Powers against others. Those who attack that principle are trying to get a free hand in order to turn the United Nations into an instrument of war. It is obvious that unless there is unity among the five great Powers which are called on to bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, normal international rela-

tions cannot be restored, and that their lack of unity cannot fail to bring about a further aggravation of relations among all countries of the world. History shows that the real reason for the unsatisfactory work of the United Nations is not the principle of the unanimity of the great Powers, but the endeavour of some States, and primarily the United States, to circumvent the clear and explicit provisions of the Charter. That is why the attempts made by certain States to revise the Charter, to shake its very foundations and to undermine the principle of unanimity, are weakening the United Nations, thereby impeding it in the fulfilment of its basic tasks with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, and preventing the Organization from settling these problems successfully and in a manner worthy of the United Nations.

8. It is well known that the Security Council has already been relegated to the position of a secondary organ and has become inactive; witness the meagre report [A/2437] it has submitted to the General Assembly for study. But it is inadmissible that the Security Council should remain inactive. It is essential to create all the conditions necessary for it to become an organ capable of ensuring the peaceful settlement of disputes and dangerous situations of every kind; it must be made capable of eliminating everything that impedes the strengthening of friendly relations among States, the attainment of peace and the removal of the threat of a breach of the peace. As is well known, the Security Council has been used to cloak foreign intervention with a mantle of legality and to falsify history. It acted shamefully in branding as the aggressor a country which had been the victim of aggression.

9. The question of the forthcoming political conference on Korea continues to preoccupy the peoples of the world. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the proposals of Mr. Chou En-lai, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China [A/2469] and Mr. Li Don Gen, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea [A/2476] concerning the nature and composition of the forthcoming political conference on Korea, and considers that it is necessary to rectify the mistaken decision adopted by the General Assembly on 28 August 1953. The political conference should be organized as a round-table conference, but any decisions taken by the conference should have the agreement of both belligerent parties in Korea. All the States which fought in Korea on either side, including the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and South Korea, should take part in the conference, and the following States should also be invited: the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma. Any discussion of this question without the participation of the Governments of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China is unthinkable.

10. Some delegations have claimed that these countries had no connexion with the Korean question and have tried to persuade us that their participation in the political conference would still further complicate the problem. But is it possible to achieve a firm and lasting settlement of the Korean problem and other controversial Far Eastern questions without taking into account the views of such Asian countries as India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma? Surely these coun-

tries are no less interested in the successful solution of the Korean problem than, say, Colombia or Australia, Turkey or Greece? There is no doubt that for a speedy and successful settlement of the Korean problem, the participation of India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma in the work of the political conference is essential.

11. There is a great deal of talk in the American Press concerning the prospects for the work of the political conference on Korea. Special publicity is given to the utterances of Mr. Syngman Rhee who, according to Press reports, is again threatening to resume the war in Korea if the political conference does not succeed in uniting "his country". He has declared that he would use the armistice to prepare for an offensive whenever that might be necessary, and that if foreign Powers were not ready to help the South Koreans, they would march to the North alone. There is every justification for asking why this puppet has let himself go to the point of giving open provocation for a new world war. Why, Mr. Dulles, do you allow this gentleman to poison the air with his provocative speeches on the eve of the political conference on Korea? The blunt answer must be that those responsible for Syngman Rhee's provocative statements are the reactionary and aggressive forces in the United States, which are endeavouring to poison the international atmosphere and are resorting to intimidation in an attempt to impose their will in connexion with the settlement of the Korean problem at the forthcoming political conference.

12. A few words about Mr. Dulles' speeches will not come amiss. I imagine that all who are present in this hall will have read, for example, Mr. Dulles' speech at the American Legion Convention on 2 September 1953. The essential portion of that speech was in the nature of a threat to the Government of the People's Republic of China of what would happen if it dared to support the just proposals of North Korea at the forthcoming political conference. Mr. Dulles deemed it necessary to state that if the Government of North Korea attempted to violate the armistice terms—although it is well known that it is Syngman Rhee who is preparing to violate those terms—then the United States Government and its fifteen allies would not only resume the war in Korea but would extend that war beyond the frontiers of Korea and commence direct attacks on Manchuria. After such a statement, it is no wonder that the American Legion Convention adopted a resolution calling for the resumption of the war against North Korea and the employment of weapons of every kind, including atomic bombs, if the forthcoming conference with ultimatums, in order to end in failure.

13. It is no wonder, then, that Mr. Syngman Rhee allows his tongue such licence. The United States Senator, Mr. Knowland,—who is now travelling in Asia, made a similar statement before the so-called National Assembly of South Korea in Seoul. Obviously such statements, made even before the conference is convened, can hardly create an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful solution of the Korean problem; on the contrary, they encourage Syngman Rhee to present the forthcoming conference with ultimatums, in order to wreck its work.

14. The General Assembly, if it wishes to carry out the will of the peoples who have sent their representatives here, should declare that the utterances of the

so-called South Korean President constitute political blackmail and incitement to a new war, and should condemn his actions. We must remember that the armistice in Korea is only the first step along the difficult road to the final settlement of the Korean problem.

15. In his speech on 17 September, Mr. Dulles tried to shift the whole blame for the delay in calling the conference on Korea on to the Governments of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. It is well known, however, that the real responsibility for the delay in convening the political conference rests with the United States which, the provisions of the Armistice Agreement notwithstanding, proposed that the conference should be convened merely on a bilateral basis, without the admission to it of the representatives of the neutral States I mentioned earlier.

16. Like the rest of mankind, which wants peace, the Byelorussian people welcomed with joy and satisfaction the signing of the armistice in Korea, and regard that armistice as a great victory for the heroic Korean people and the valiant Chinese volunteers. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will co-operate in every way to ensure that the temporary armistice may be followed by a permanent agreement for a lasting and stable peace in Korea. This will enable the Korean people to return to peaceful work and by its own efforts to solve the questions relating to the unification and internal structure of the Korean State.

17. The report of the Disarmament Commission [DC/32] has also been submitted to the General Assembly for consideration. It indicates that the Commission has not held a single meeting since the General Assembly adopted its resolution on the matter [resolution 704 (VII)] on 8 April 1953. True enough, the hope is expressed in the report that the latest international events will create a more favourable atmosphere for a fresh study of the question of disarmament, the immense importance of which, as of other questions relating to the maintenance of peace, is recognized by all. The report has nothing to say concerning the reasons for the Commission's inactivity. Its Chairman, Mr. Kyrrou, of Greece, prefers to pass the matter over in silence.

18. I think that the main reason for the Commission's inactivity has been the United States delegation's unwillingness to take part in—I might even say, opposition to—any discussion of the concrete proposals submitted by the USSR delegation on the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the reduction of armaments, proposals designed to avert the threat of a new world war and to strengthen peace and friendship among nations. The United States delegation continue to insist on the now long obsolete Baruch plan, the plan for the collection of information on armaments in other countries, with the object of delaying the adoption of concrete and effective decisions on the reduction of armaments, and, in the final analysis, to submerge the issue in endless talk. By asserting that its plan will lead to a satisfactory solution of the question of the reduction of armaments and even of the prohibition of atomic weapons, the United States seeks to camouflage its rearmament programme and its preparations for a new world war. This is confirmed by a resolution adopted by the United States Senate on 27 July 1953 and communicated to all Members of

the United Nations. You have read this resolution. Its purpose is to try to convince us that the United States is in favour of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the atomic weapon. It is also designed to counter the growing dissatisfaction with the present United States foreign policy, which is aimed at unleashing a new world war, a dissatisfaction which is perceptible among the peoples of Europe and even among a section of the ruling circles in the countries of Western Europe.

19. It is no accident, therefore, that Mr. Attlee, the leader of the British Labour Party, stated on 19 September 1953 that the foreign policy of the United States was the cause of the steady deterioration of the international situation and was very dangerous. Those were Mr. Attlee's words.

20. At the present time, the United States is indulging in a frenzied attempt to manufacture more atomic weapons than anybody else. The American Press reports that a \$9,000 million atomic industry has been built up in the United States. The United States budget for 1953-1954 contains an appropriation of \$2,700 million for the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs. All these facts are evidence of the atomic armaments race in the United States with which American ruling circles are endeavouring to intimidate the peace-loving nations.

21. The progress achieved in research in the field of atomic and hydrogen weapons should strengthen our conviction of the need to put a stop to the armaments race and to prohibit these weapons forthwith. The General Assembly should declare the unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and of all other types of weapons of mass destruction, and should instruct the Security Council to take immediate steps to prepare and implement an international agreement which would ensure the establishment of strict international control of the observance of that prohibition.

22. In the countries of the North Atlantic bloc the dangerous armaments race is continuing at an ever-increasing rate, undermining the economic structure of these countries, hampering the progress of humanity and increasing the threat of a new world war. Let you think these are mere words, let me cite some figures.

23. According to the *New York Times* of 21 May 1953, General Ridgway declared that the European army would consist of 132 divisions, of which 60 were to be raised by the end of the current year and 72 by the end of 1954; while by the end of 1954 the air forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would have 9,500 aircraft available. The United States Government has promised the Adenauer Government to arm and equip the twelve divisions now being constituted in West Germany. Amongst other types of heavy equipment, 2,360 tanks are to be delivered to Western Germany. Today's issue of the *New York Herald-Tribune* reports that NATO is bringing one airfield into operation a week. It reports further that by the end of the year 120 airfields will be in operation as compared with the 60 NATO airfields available at the beginning of the year, and that, when that programme is completed, the construction of airfields will be continued. Here are some concrete figures. In the United States, military expenditures have increased from 43 per cent of the budget in 1947 to 73 per cent

of the budget for 1954. According to the *New York Times* of 4 August 1953, the monthly output of military production now amounts in value to \$4,000 million, as against \$300 million in 1950-1951.

24. The armaments race which is going on in the United States and the other countries which belong to the North Atlantic bloc is not only increasing international tension but is becoming an ever-growing menace to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. The widespread network of military, air and naval bases which is being set up by the United States throughout the world constitutes a serious threat to peace and to the national independence of many States. The establishment of these bases increases the threat of a new world war, undermines the national sovereignty and independence of States. For example, the American periodical, *U. S. News and World Report*, of 27 February 1953, featured an article under the typical heading: "U.S. sinks billions in bases". It is evident from the information given in this article concerning United States military bases scattered throughout the world, that this network of bases represents a threat to the peoples of the world, and that their existence is incompatible with the strengthening peace. The General Assembly must put an end to such a situation.

25. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR warmly supports the draft resolution of the Soviet Union [A/2485/Rev. I] which states that the General Assembly should recommend to the five permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China, which bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, that they reduce their armed forces by one-third within one year, and, with a view to the alleviation of the burden of military expenditure, should recommend to the Security Council that it call as soon as possible an international conference for the carrying out by all States of the reduction of armaments. The General Assembly should recommend to the Security Council that it take steps to ensure the elimination of military bases in the territories of other States, considering this a matter of vital importance for the establishment of a stable peace and of international security.

26. Recent international events bear witness to the fact that very large masses of the population in all parts of the world are convinced that it is both possible and necessary to settle international disputes and controversial questions by peaceful means.

27. The policy of strength which is now being pursued and the trend to war connected with it, the armaments race and the resulting militarization of the economy, the artificial severing of profitable trade relations between East and West, have brought some States, especially in Western Europe, to an impasse. It is no wonder that, even in the countries of the North Atlantic bloc, the peoples are demanding that their governments should change their policy and bring it into harmony with the national interests of those countries, and that this movement has gained greatly in strength. The peoples are refusing to have confidence in governments which want to pursue their irresponsible policy of aggravating the international situation. The peoples of the whole world ardently desire the relaxation of international tension, the clearing of the international atmosphere, and the removal of the threat of a world war. The peoples of the Western countries,

which have been drawn into the cold war, have grown weary of high taxes, of eternal anxiety for the morrow. The peace-loving peoples in all countries are demanding the peaceful settlement of outstanding controversial questions by negotiation among the great Powers.

28. In this connexion, it must be noted that reactionary circles often use the word "negotiations" to mask their real designs. They attach to their proposals for "negotiations" conditions clearly calculated to make the proposed negotiations impossible in practice, or else, when the negotiations are already under way, they stipulate conditions which will nullify the results. Examples of this are their attitude in regard to the forthcoming political conference on Korea, or their demand, before opening any negotiations on Germany, for an agreement on the revival of German militarism. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the General Assembly must above all things insist on the peaceful settlement of controversial issues, and call upon the States concerned to conclude agreements which will help to bring about a relaxation of international tension.

29. Speaking in the General Assembly on 18 September [436th meeting], the representative of Australia unblushingly slandered the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. In his desire to denigrate the foreign policy of the USSR, he spoke of everything, from the mythical Iron Curtain down to "the great thaw . . . in the Ice Age of Soviet politics". Such idle verbiage about the non-existent aggressive intentions of the USSR is aimed at hiding the truth about who is really to blame for the present international tension. It is mendacious to allege that the Soviet peace proposals are merely a strategem, and that the post-war history of the USSR is evidence of its aggressive intentions. Mr. Malenkov, the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, has said the following:

"For the Soviet Government, for all of us Soviet people, the strengthening of international peace and security is not a matter of strategems and diplomatic manoeuvring. It is our guiding principle in the field of foreign policy."

30. The whole world knows that the aggressive aspirations of reactionary circles in the United States and in certain other countries are the cause of the present international tension. The representatives who have spoken here are well aware of this, but they still try to justify United States foreign policy to world public opinion, and to discredit Soviet foreign policy, the policy of peace and friendship among nations.

31. A serious threat to peace and to the peaceful settlement of international questions is the campaign of propaganda for a new world war which is being conducted in a number of countries. Its constituent elements are war hysteria and malicious slander directed against the Soviet Union and the democratic camp, even to the point of open appeals to overthrow the existing governments of the countries in that camp. In some countries, and particularly in the United States, the provisions of the General Assembly resolution [110 (II)] of 3 November 1947, containing a condemnation of propaganda "which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression", are being rudely trampled under foot. Statements de-

signed to intensify the war hysteria are being made by prominent political leaders in the United States, such as Senator Wiley, Senator Bridges, and others. Blackmail based on the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb has received especially wide publicity. On 19 June 1953, the British periodical, the *Spectator*, stated the following:

"The pressure on the State Department to indulge in diplomacy by atomic threats or, as it is more politely known, in 'preventive diplomacy', is very strong."

32. Statements of this kind are arousing the just indignation of world public opinion. The common people throughout the world are demanding that the governments of a number of countries should take decisive steps to put a stop to the propaganda which is being conducted in those countries with the aim of inciting enmity and hatred among nations and preparing a new world war. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR entirely and unreservedly endorses these legitimate, timely and just demands.

33. I should like now to touch on the work of the Economic and Social Council during this period. As is well known, the Council has been dealing with questions of international trade. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe convened a special conference of experts on questions of trade between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe; the fourteenth congress of the International Chamber of Commerce was held in Vienna, and other conferences have been held.

34. What have these conferences shown? They have shown that the present trade situation is extremely detrimental to many countries of Western Europe, since, under pressure from the United States, they have been compelled to interrupt their trade with the USSR, the peoples' democracies and the People's Republic of China. It should be pointed out that, prior to the Second World War, approximately one-third of the total trade of the countries of Western Europe was carried on with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, from which they imported foodstuffs and raw materials and to which they exported their industrial products.

35. According to figures quoted in the *Economic Bulletin for Europe*¹ which appeared in July 1953, exports from Eastern Europe to Western Europe in 1952 were approximately one-quarter of what they had been in 1938. The destruction of the traditional trade relations between the West and the East is disorganizing the economies of a number of Western European countries, particularly the United Kingdom, France and Italy, and the foreign trade deficits of those countries have never been as high as they are now.

36. The militarization of the economy and the difficult international trade position are leading to increased unemployment, a higher cost of living, heavier direct and indirect taxation, and inflation, with a consequent drop in the standard of living of the masses. According to figures given by the Economic Commission for Europe, which are based on Official sources only, the cost of living is soaring in the countries of Western Europe. In September 1952, for example, the subsistence minimum had increased by 45 per cent in France as compared with September 1949, by 35 per cent in Norway, 28 per cent in Sweden, 27 per

cent in Greece, 22 per cent in the United Kingdom and 21 per cent in the Netherlands. These figures show that the standard of living of the masses is falling, while at the same time the burden of taxation, the full weight of which is borne by them, is being increased. The Economic and Social Council has not taken all the necessary measures to promote—and I stress the word "promote"—international economic and social co-operation based on the principle of equality of rights.

37. The General Assembly must help to restore normal international trade. As regards trade with the People's Republic of China, it is the United States that is attempting to prevent such trade. This attempt is doomed to failure. In the present state of international relations, any calculations based on the possibility of isolating the People's Republic of China in some way are merely reactionary utopian ideas entertained by people who have divorced themselves from life and lost all sense of reality. Life itself is more and more insistently raising the question of a return to a peace economy and this is possible only if peaceful relations between States are developed. The task of the United Nations is to do everything possible to bring about a return to a peace economy and to promote international co-operation and the establishment of friendly relations among States.

38. The Soviet Union has repeatedly introduced in the United Nations a series of proposals designed to strengthen international peace and security, friendship among nations and international co-operation. The draft resolution [A/2485/Rev. 1] submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union under the heading "Measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations" aims at creating even more favourable conditions for further action to avert the threat of a new world war. The Soviet Union, anxious for the development of peaceful co-operation between States, attaches great importance to the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations with all States. On 9 March 1953, Mr. Molotov, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, made the following statement:

"Our foreign policy has no aggressive aims and for its part does not admit of intervention in the affairs of other States. Our foreign policy is known throughout the world as a pacific foreign policy; its unchanging aims are to defend, to maintain and to strengthen international peace, and to combat preparations for war and the unleashing of a new war; it is a policy which aims at international co-operation and the development of business relations with all countries which are themselves striving for the same end. Such a foreign policy is in the vital interests of the Soviet people and, at the same time, of all other peace-loving peoples."

That is the Soviet Government's general line on question of foreign policy.

39. The concept of the struggle for peace is close to the hearts of and easily understood by all peoples and all progressive men and women, who are vitally interested in the maintenance of peace throughout the world. The present stage in the development of international relations is especially important and imposes special responsibilities. We all well know that the peoples ardently desire peace and profoundly detest war. It is our duty to assist in the settlement of controversial

¹ First Quarter, 1953, p. 27.

international questions and to prevent the improvement now detected in the international atmosphere from giving place to a fresh intensification of tension. We must see to it that the United Nations fulfils its duty and returns to the path laid down for it in the Charter, that is, the path of promoting the pacific settlement of all international disputes on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of all nations.

40. The United Nations must take note that, side by side with the peace-loving forces in the world, there are forces which are pursuing the path of war and carrying out an aggressive policy. These reactionary circles are carrying out the policy of the cold war and are engaging in international acts of provocation of all kinds.

41. The Byelorussian people, like all other peace-loving peoples, is vitally interested in averting a further aggravation of international tension. The Byelorussian people, who endured directly the onslaught of Hitler's armies, does not want mankind to be plunged again into the maelstrom of a new world war.

42. The United Nations must do everything necessary to achieve a satisfactory solution of such fundamental problems as the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of the atomic and hydrogen weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction, and of other important questions designed to strengthen international peace and security. The peoples of the whole world expect the United Nations to take effective and constructive action to strengthen international peace and security. Hundreds of millions of people live in faith and hope that there will be a further reduction of international tension. It is our duty to justify these generous hopes of the peoples.

43. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR warmly supports the proposals of the USSR delegation and calls upon representatives at the eighth session of the General Assembly to support them also. These proposals are aimed entirely and exclusively at reducing international tension and strengthening peace throughout the world. By adopting these proposals, the General Assembly will fulfil its duty in the matter of averting the threat of a new world war and reducing tension in international relations.

44. Mr. Helmy Bahgat BADAWI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Whereas recent sessions of the United Nations General Assembly have been held in an atmosphere of agitation, division and dispute, this eighth session starts work in an atmosphere of *détente* and conciliation. The Korean armistice has at last been signed. After three years of terrible carnage and suffering, the trial by force of arms has ended in that part of the world, and the leaders of the great Powers have indicated their intention of meeting in order to reach an understanding and, let us hope, to co-operate.

45. The armistice must not be regarded as a victory for one side or the other, but as a victory for the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. Egypt rejoices greatly in that victory and applauds every effort made to achieve the armistice. It shares the hope that international relations may soon be restored on the bases of mutual friendship, understanding and co-operation. It believes that agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council, co-operation among the Members of the United Nations, good faith in carrying out the resolutions of its various organs, respect for

the rights of nations great and small, and the rule of law and justice, are the essential elements for a lasting peace and the stable maintenance of the individual or collective security of States.

46. The armistice is only one step towards the peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict. It marks the first success of the United Nations after a series of setbacks. For, in recent years, our Organization has been unable to fulfil its proper mission. The cold war was declared almost immediately after the end of the Second World War. Peace treaties with Germany and Austria have still not been signed. Disagreement among the permanent members of the Security Council has replaced the cordial and sincere co-operation which ensured their victory over the former forces of aggression. Most of the Members of the United Nations are divided between these two blocs.

47. This state of affairs has had the most unfortunate effects. As a result of the controversy and differences among its permanent members, the Security Council has failed repeatedly to ensure the pacific settlement of international disputes in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, and it has also failed, in a large number of disputes, to take the necessary measures to maintain or restore international peace and security, in compliance with Chapter VII.

48. Moreover, in the absence of mutual confidence, the great Powers are still far from agreement either on the principles that would make possible the regulation and balanced reduction of conventional armaments or on the prohibition of the use of weapons of mass destruction. Consequently, their armaments race, far from relaxing, gains speed from day to day, and so helps to aggravate political tension and the world economic crisis.

49. To all this must be added the disagreement on the interpretation of Article 4 of the Charter concerning the admission of new Members, the result being that over the last six years a large number of States have been prevented from joining our Organization, whose strength resides in its universality.

50. Finally, is it necessary to dwell on the need to respect and support the national aspirations of peoples oppressed and enslaved by the policy of imperialism, which has just taken a new lease of life? Is it necessary to show that the only effect of that policy is to create for the world in general and for the United Nations in particular disputes no less serious than those created by disagreement among the permanent members of the Security Council?

51. In this atmosphere of dissension and discord, Egypt has continued to put its trust in the Principles of the Charter, which it signed and ratified in good faith. It firmly believes in the value of international co-operation based on the principles of law and justice and respect for the rights and liberty of peoples. In its zeal for the maintenance of international peace and security, it steadily upholds the principle of the equality of peoples and their right of self-determination. It seeks to co-operate with all members of the General Assembly with a view to solving all international problems, whether economic, social, intellectual or humanitarian. It has faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person. It seeks to promote the development of democratic political institutions.

52. What I have just said is not a mere declaration of principles on our part; this is amply proved by

Egypt's deeds under the healthy, honest and regenerative régime which the Egyptian people installed on 23 July 1952.

53. That was the object which my Government had in view when, in a note dated November 1952, it informed the United Kingdom of its desire to settle the dispute concerning the Sudan. That note did but reflect the desires and aspirations of all the Sudanese political parties, expressed in agreements reached between the Egyptian Government and the Sudanese political parties. Subsequently there were negotiations between the representatives of Egypt and the United Kingdom. The negotiations were long and laborious. But let me point out that, at every stage in them, Egypt was only defending the aspirations and interests of the Sudanese as expressed by all their political parties. At no time did Egypt depart from that policy, and I am happy to inform you that on 12 February 1953 agreement was reached between Egypt and the United Kingdom over the Sudan. Under that agreement, the Sudan will have its own government, its own parliament and its own political institutions. Three commissions, international in character, were formed to supervise and carry out the various clauses of the agreement: the first, to supervise the powers of the Governor-General; the second, to conduct and supervise elections; and the third, to complete the transference of the administration to the Sudanese.

54. After a short transitional period, which must not exceed three years, the Sudan will have to elect a constituent assembly to determine the country's future. The election will be international in character and is to be held in an atmosphere of neutrality and complete impartiality. The Sudan is to be administered by the Sudanese. The armed forces of Egypt and the United Kingdom are to evacuate the Sudan before the election of the assembly. Once elected, the constituent assembly will take up the task of drafting a new constitution and of choosing between two alternatives: either to link the Sudan to Egypt, in a form still to be decided, or to proclaim the independence of the Sudan.

55. I take this opportunity to congratulate our brethren, the Sudanese, and I am only expressing the desire of the whole Egyptian people when I send our brothers in the South our sincere wishes for their future development in all fields: political, social and economic. Egypt is determined to carry out the Sudan agreement in good faith; it firmly intends to see that it is respected both in the letter and the spirit. My delegation has no need to say that any breach of any of the provisions of that agreement, or any interference with the application *in toto* of its clauses would have the most serious consequences.

56. It is in this same spirit of conciliation that Egypt has begun talks to solve the Anglo-Egyptian dispute concerning the question of the Suez Canal. The presence of British forces of occupation is opposed by the unanimous will of the Egyptian people. This occupation of territory belonging to a Member State of the United Nations remains completely unjustified, and the United Kingdom itself is hard put to it to find a legitimate basis for the presence of its 80,000 soldiers in the Canal zone. The Egyptian people are determined to free themselves completely and to put an end to the illegal occupation of their territory. We must point out that any delay in the settlement of this dispute, which has created a constant state of tension,

may at any time give rise to very serious incidents such as might threaten international peace and security in a particularly susceptible part of the world.

57. In 1950, Egypt and the other Arab League States concluded a treaty of joint defence and economic co-operation which has just been put into effect. The Permanent Military Commission, the Joint Defence Council and the Economic Council, which are standing bodies of the regional system, have already begun work. The Arab States, which seek only peace, have set up this system within the framework of the Charter, for the purpose of ensuring their collective defence and economic co-operation.

58. Egypt, which has suffered so much from imperialism, means to defend the cause of freedom wherever it needs to be defended. It is convinced that in doing so it is defending the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. Imperialism, which we thought dead and buried, has just raised its head and is again threatening international peace and security. The liberty of peoples and their right to self-determination were the principal objectives of the Allies and of the United Nations in the First and Second World Wars. They have been enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. I feel I must emphasize that the peoples should not, that they cannot, forever be misled or continue to be subjected, for all subjection is a destructive anachronism incompatible with any society worthy of this century. In other words, independence movements should be supported and assisted and not decapitated or throttled.

59. Since its sixth session, the General Assembly has been concerned with the questions of Tunisia and Morocco, two sovereign States, which have been reduced, under a protectorate, to a status of complete subjection. Faced by the decisions of this Assembly to place these questions on its agenda, the only argument that France could find in support of its unintelligible position was to refuse to participate in the debate on those questions. This attitude of France is incompatible both with the role of the General Assembly and with the international mission of France.

60. But the absence from the debate of the French delegation did not prevent the General Assembly from seeking, by one means or another, a formula whereby it could show that that serious situation required serious attention, while allowing France to emerge from the impasse with dignity. On 17 and 19 December 1952, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions relating to Tunisia [*resolution 611 (VII)*] and Morocco [*resolution 612 (VII)*]. In those resolutions, it expressed its confidence that the Government of France would endeavour to further the effective development of the free institutions of the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples, in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. It then expressed the hope that the negotiations would be continued on an urgent basis and that the parties would refrain from any acts or measures likely to aggravate the existing tension.

61. France thus had every chance to prevent an already alarming situation from deteriorating still further. What was its response to the conviction and hope expressed by the Assembly? Not only did it completely disregard the resolutions, but it took a series of violent steps to repress and stifle the voices of those who were attempting to act on those resolutions, both

in Tunisia and in Morocco. Its action culminated in the deposition and exile of the Sultan of Morocco.

62. In the circumstances it is, in our opinion, imperative for the General Assembly to revise its previous resolutions, and this time to recommend measures more likely to remove the tension existing in Tunisia and Morocco.

63. May we entertain the hope that France will abandon this attitude that is at variance with the Charter and will display a liberal spirit by according the national aspirations of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco the consideration they deserve?

64. The representative of France referred this morning [445th meeting] to two principles that he said were inseparable and constituted the golden rule of French policy in Africa. Those principles were interdependence and democracy, in that order. In connexion with the fact that France had invited the peoples of Europe to sacrifice part of their sovereignty in the interests of the economic, military and political integration of their continent, the representative of France asked the following question: how was it possible, without inconsistency, to ask the continent of Africa to accept division at a time when the continent of Europe was federating and uniting?

65. It is not my intention to enter into a discussion of these particular points today: they will be debated in their proper time and place and will, let us hope, give rise to opposition. I shall confine myself at the present stage to a few remarks. France is perfectly free to base its African policy on whatever principles it likes, but our General Assembly is equally entitled to discuss the consequences and repercussions of that policy when it produces a situation such as that at present existing in Tunisia and Morocco and runs counter to the teaching and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. Consequently, without intending or assuming to correct French policy in Africa, I should like to point out that if these principles are adopted as the basis of a policy, they should at least be applied in the reverse order: democracy and interdependence, not interdependence and democracy. That is the whole thing in a nutshell. If a relationship of interdependence is to be established, it must be freely agreed to, and that agreement must be the democratic expression of a nation's will. To ask a people to give up part of its sovereignty presupposes that it is already enjoying the full, unrestricted and undivided exercise of that sovereignty.

67. The questions concerning Palestine, even those which have already been examined and on which resolutions have been adopted by this Assembly, still remain in abeyance. The sorry plight of the Arab refugees from Palestine holds serious dangers, both social and political, for all the countries of the Middle East. To continue to abandon one million human beings to the unhappy fate that lies in store for all those who suddenly become stateless, and thus to create a favourable environment for subversive activities, is simply to aggravate an already very alarming situation.

68. Article 109 of the Charter makes provision for the inclusion in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly of an item on the convening of a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. This item will be included automatically. The

Egyptian delegation felt that it was making a constructive contribution by requesting this eighth session of the General Assembly [A/2466] to place on its agenda a proposal for setting up a technical committee, consisting of representatives of a sufficient number of Member States to be elected by the General Assembly, to co-ordinate the preparatory work of the conference on revision of the Charter. The main task of this technical committee would be to ascertain the views of the various Member States, and to analyse, classify and assemble them without going into the political aspects of the problem of reviewing the Charter or adopting any definite position on the subject. Thus the Egyptian proposal merely aims at setting up the necessary preparatory machinery for convening the general conference.

69. At its last session, held at Geneva, the Economic and Social Council took certain decisions to deal with the economic difficulties likely to arise out of the armistice in Korea and the discontinuation of armaments programmes. Political, economic and social factors are obviously so closely interwoven that a political decision of any nature, even one relating to the peace or the armistice, automatically affects the economic and social situation.

70. This brings us to consider what the United Nations, under the Charter, has done in these fields. The principles of economic co-operation have resulted in the establishment of our two financial and monetary organs, and of certain practical programmes, such as the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

71. There is no denying, unfortunately, that these ventures are simply a tentative beginning, in view of the lack of sufficient financial resources to deal with the great economic and social problems confronting mankind. We must remember, however, that political relationships have at times given rise to economic co-operation which has passed beyond the stage of mutual profit and assumed the form of generous assistance and unilateral gifts. Yet everyone is aware that this great transfer of capital has not been sufficient in itself to enable certain advanced economies to achieve stability or to solve the international problem of the balance of payments deficit.

72. Referring to the big economic problems of the present time, the Secretary-General, in his last report, and also the representatives of the States members of the Economic and Social Council, alike expressed the view that the economic development of under-developed countries was the only effective way of enabling the international economy to move towards equilibrium and to increase in prosperity.

73. Allow me to show how completely the under-developed economies have been left to their fate, while suffering the consequences of disruptive influences from abroad. I need not stress the disastrous effects of the Korean crisis on the under-developed countries' frail economic structure. It is true that those countries were able to enlarge their reserves of foreign currency as a result of the increase in the volume of their exports in 1950 and 1951. But, following the sharp fall in the prices of their products, since the middle of 1951, the temporary boom has been succeeded by a serious slump that is affecting the balance of payments and the already excessively low standard of living.

74. My own country, more than many others, has suffered the disastrous economic consequences of the

Korean crisis. It has had to struggle to achieve economic and social development in the unfavourable atmosphere created for it by the hostile trade policy of certain Powers. Fortunately for Egypt, the intrigues of those Powers, alarming as they were at the outset, failed utterly, owing to the vitality of the Egyptian economy, which recovered, thus eluding the pressures those Powers had tried to bring to bear upon it. Since its awakening in 1952—a salutary one from every point of view—Egypt has not only coped with the difficulties in which it was involved by the Korean crisis and the political egotism of certain Powers, but has managed to reorganize its economy, stabilize its balance of payments and balance its budget, at the same time laying the foundations of large-scale reforms in the political, administrative, economic and social fields.

75. Agrarian reform is one of the most outstanding examples of the way in which our liberal and egalitarian philosophy has been successfully applied. This structural reform has not been confined to controlling agricultural property by creating a new class of landowners while safeguarding the legitimate interests of the former owners, but has also been directed towards establishing a system of tenant-farming under which the farmer is provided with the means of working the land and receives a fair share of the return from it, so that he and his family can live decently. The fixing of minimum wages for farm labour, the organization of farm unions and the establishment of farm production co-operatives are the principal elements together with the control of agricultural property, of this important reform, which represents a very considerable advance in the history of Egypt in particular, and of democracy in general.

76. To promote the rational development of the economy, my Government has established an independent organ with a comparatively large budget. Conscious of the important role of national and foreign capital in economic development, we have instituted a number of reforms in our legislation governing capital investment and the transfer of capital. Recent legislation exempts capital invested in industry from profits tax for seven years. Other laws deal with the need for foreign capital, by guaranteeing it the necessary security and protection and allowing for its future repayment on very generous terms.

77. Our social policy is no less progressive than our economic policy. We no longer consider human beings as a mere factor in production or consumption; we regard their welfare as the final objective of all our economic and social activity. That philosophy is demonstrated by the proportion of the Egyptian budget given over to public services, health and housing. The forthcoming establishment of the Social Council will, moreover enable us to co-ordinate still further our action in the social field and to make it more effective in dealing with our great social problems.

78. All these vital reforms, whether economic or social, are prompted by democratic concepts and egalitarian rationalism, the dual basis of our movement of 1952. The contrasts in Egypt under the old régime frequently gave rise to acute antagonisms; now, the country has recovered its strength, not only to carry out the most sweeping reforms in many different fields, but to consolidate and improve its political system and democratic institutions. The commission which was set up in Egypt for the purpose of drafting a constitution

to be submitted to a popular vote is working unremittently. Its function is certainly not to transplant a few spurious principles to the banks of the Nile, but to establish a true democracy on a sound, realistic basis, a democracy which will no longer be confined to the organization of political institutions and the proclamation of individual freedoms, but will be extended to encompass economic, social and cultural rights and institutions.

79. Western democratic institutions transplanted hastily to the East have often been distorted and have even led to the exploitation of the people for the benefit of the privileged few. Our movement, conscious of the democratic heritage of the Egyptian people and imbued with a real sense of parliamentary democracy, is resolved to establish a sound democracy which will ensure complete individual freedom and equality before the law, and under which those rights can be exercised without anyone hampering them.

80. Before concluding, I should like to congratulate Mrs. Pandit, upon her election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. This duty is all the more pleasant because I am merely expressing the unanimous feeling of Egypt, which has the highest respect for Mrs. Pandit. I know that she does not like any reference to the fact that she is a woman. I am not referring to that fact as a recognition of the victory for women which her election symbolizes. Other speakers have recognized that, together with her other accomplishments. I refer to the fact because I wish to offer up a prayer. Madam, may the Almighty guide your merciful woman's hand so that it may, like a magic wand, transform the insecure and divided world in which we live into a better world where peace, law and justice shall reign.

81. Mr. DE PIMENTEL BRANDAO (Brazil): Before making my statement, I wish to say how much my Government, my delegation and I myself have been gratified at the election of Mrs. Pandit as President of the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Our satisfaction springs from two sources: first because of the fact that, as the head of the Indian delegation, she represents a country dear to the hearts of all Brazilians and one which has been a relentless worker for the cause of freedom and peace; and secondly, because of the fact that the President of this Assembly is a distinguished lady whose charming personal gifts are not second to her political experience.

82. I should like to add a word of congratulations to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of our Organization. His personal qualifications, as we have already come to know them in the short period since his election, are a guarantee for the good handling of matters pertaining to the United Nations, as well as for the creation of a better climate for understanding among the major Powers.

83. Year by year, the United Nations is widening its field of action. Political, economic, cultural and juridical imperatives, in short, all the free forces of international life, are transforming the General Assembly of the United Nations into a real world forum. In this hall are voiced the opinions of all geographic groups, as well as all political ideologies and all the yearnings towards the betterment of economic and social conditions of mankind, the strengthening of world

harmony and the observance of the universally proclaimed principles of law.

84. Nonetheless, with the broadening of this field of action, we are faced with an upsurge of scepticism. Those who find fault with the practical results of the action of the United Nations contend that much more could have been accomplished; that the world is still divided into two opposing blocs, that certain major problems have been dealt with only superficially, and that hesitations and the alternation of progress and setbacks has done great harm to some endeavours of the Organization, which offered, at the start, promising possibilities. I do not deny that up to a certain point those criticisms might be well-founded. We should, however, point out that the Organization, owing to the very fact that it was born out of a profound political chaos, is handicapped by certain unavoidable imperfections and shortcomings. These imperfections and shortcomings are the aftermath of the throes of the immediate post-war period. One of the highest juridical and diplomatic authorities in my country, Mr. Raúl Fernandes, former Minister for External Relations, once remarked that nowadays the world is granted but a "moratorium of peace".

85. The danger to be averted is that this growing scepticism with regard to the action of the United Nations should succeed in contaminating minds that up to now have been inspired by constructive realism.

86. In all truth—and this is my deep belief—it is now an established fact that world public opinion reposes its trust in the United Nations. If one were to draw up a brief balance of the activities and achievements of the United Nations, it would be immediately clear that its assets are already considerable. I should like to add that, if more has not been accomplished, the responsibility should not be placed entirely on the Organization; it has mainly resulted from political currents and counter-currents which have exerted great influence on the solutions to the problems under consideration.

87. In my opinion, it is necessary that sooner or later we proceed, in the prescribed order, with the revision of the Charter, so that the Organization may be in a better position to accomplish its aims to the fullest and thereby eliminate the criticisms that have been levelled against it. This revision should be undertaken in an objective and impartial manner, taking advantage of the lessons learned from the experience acquired in the course of the past years. If in fact the Charter of the United Nations contains flaws and imperfections, and if we all are aware of their existence, why not tackle this problem and try to find a remedy for it? The Charter is not only a political and juridical document that serves as a guide and a code of discipline; the Charter is indeed the expression of a kind of political, juridical and moral plebiscite which voices the yearnings of our world.

88. The peoples of our time, those of big, small or medium Powers, long for law and justice, both in the national and international fields. War has become more and more murderous and destructive, threatening the very existence of human society. It is probably this instinct of self-preservation in the human species that has inspired the creation of this political body. This instinctive will to live is, in fact, an irresistible force that cannot be ignored by anyone. The proof of this is that even those who voice the most violent criticism

of the efficiency of our Organization are nevertheless most anxious to keep it alive.

89. If the government of a big Power, such as the Soviet Union, criticizes the actions of the Organization and repeatedly expresses its displeasure at the manner in which our problems have been dealt with by the United Nations, it would seem natural and, I should say, logical to expect this government to be, in theory or in practice, in favour of the revision of the Charter. May I indulge in the hope that the Soviet Union will eventually join with those who seriously consider the possibility of carrying out the revision of the United Nations Charter so as to make it a better tool in the political and juridical fields.

90. As the representative of a peace-loving nation, earnestly devoted to the juridical rules and moral principles which should guide international society, I should like to stress that our main wish is that the work of the United Nations may grow from year to year in order to afford better protection to sacred human rights and to mutual respect among nations and in order to strengthen the ties among all peoples.

91. The division of the world into two ideologically opposed blocs, and the cultural, economic and political antagonisms which have resulted from this split, have not been strong enough to undermine the foundations of the Organization. On the contrary, this unfortunate division has acted as a true catalyst. It has actually enhanced the power of endurance of the United Nations.

92. We are in truth not creators but interpreters of the profound aspirations of mankind. It is our mission to seize the main currents of world public opinion, which seeks the betterment of the economic, social and moral conditions of the individual and the perfecting of the international community. The present Minister for External Relations of Brazil, the eminent professor, Dr. Vicente Rão, who represented Brazil at the General Assembly in 1950, has already emphasized the paramountcy of the juridical order over transitory issues which arise as a result of the desire of certain Powers for expansion.

93. The present session of the General Assembly is required to consider the serious political and economic questions on whose solution rests the assurance of lasting world peace. Among these problems, I wish to refer to the reduction of armaments, economic aid to under-developed countries, technical assistance, human rights and the ironing out of the conflict between the nationalistic spirit of the young nations and the so-called colonial order.

94. It is absolutely necessary that the United Nations should give the greatest amount of time and attention to the gigantic economic problems that distress vast regions of most of the under-developed countries. It is indeed advisable to note that collective security of an economic nature should coexist with the classic idea of collective security in the political and juridical domains. Although it is already outlined in the Charter, this concept deserves to be thoroughly explored, thus permitting a practical solution designed to allow under-developed countries to meet the pressures resulting from an imbalance in the economic levels and the rate of economic growth of the different nations.

95. In this particular field, the work of the United Nations is bound to bring immediate results. Under-

developed countries look forward to a swifter increase in their *per capita* income through increasing productivity, both in range and in depth.

96. It is a matter of importance that, thanks to their excellent experts and executive organs, the United Nations and its specialized agencies will gradually and indefatigably not only pursue the technical assistance activities, but also establish schemes of international co-operation for the financing of economic development. This policy cannot fail to be implemented, and it will lay the foundations for a firmer world economic order.

97. It is my country's heartfelt hope that peace will prevail in Korea. Need I say that peace is indeed the main goal of the United Nations? The tragic lesson learned in Korea will not have been learned in vain. Let us not relent in the noble striving for peace and the strengthening of peaceful and fruitful relations among all the nations of the world.

98. Mr. URRUTIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): The United Nations Charter establishes the general debate in the Assembly as a means whereby governments can keep in touch with world opinion. Like all the machinery of the United Nations, however, the general debate, which is so truly democratic in character, was provided to help nations to achieve mutual understanding, using the language of peace, and not as an occasion for the utterance of angry, war-like words.

99. Nevertheless, since the close of the splendid San Francisco period, when nations, still stirred by the emotions of war and flushed with the victory over the dark forces of hate, met together and concluded a pact of peace and good will, our debates have proved to be occasions for suspicion and mistrust and for reckless moves towards fresh disasters rather than instruments of conciliation and agreement.

100. Year after year, in the face of the anguished hopes of mankind, the international temperature has risen to fever pitch, providing a frightful warning of impending danger. And it is now, in these closing months of a year that has brought with it so many vain hopes for peace, that tension between the great Powers has become intensified to the point of obliterating from the horizon any prospect of universal peace. We seem to be reaching the climax of the crisis, a crossroads where nations must stop and choose either the road to peace or the highway of adventure. This is the end of a journey which has lasted approximately eight years; this is an appropriate time to reflect, to think, to look many times before we leap, as Mr. Vyshinsky, the USSR representative, advised us to do a few days ago [440th meeting], with such fine oratory but so little connexion with the facts. Look before you leap; but is there any government that would rashly destroy the spontaneous, human friendship of the peoples and subject the world once again to the clenched fist of hate?

101. The year 1953 has witnessed, in rapid chronological succession, a series of events of deep historical significance which seemed to open up a new prospect to the world and to herald a relaxing of international tension. The Soviet peace offensive—which an American statesman has termed the peace defensive—succeeded in creating a new atmosphere, favourable, as never before, to the study and adjustment of the world

situation. But the world expected deeds to follow words, and the deeds have not yet appeared. The Korean armistice, the end of that terrible episode of bloodshed, strengthened the belief that we were approaching a solution of the tragic problems facing the peoples. It seemed that 1953 would become, if not the year in which peace was achieved, at least the year in which the first steps were taken towards peace. Why then do we find ourselves today confronted with this dire alternative, hearing the old, bitter words of recrimination and contemplating the frightful possibility that the course of oppression will become irrevocably fixed and that the lines of battle will again be drawn in Korea?

102. The reply to this great question, which hangs threateningly over us and increases indescribably the burden of our responsibility, is now on all lips, for it is the elementary, simple, common-sense answer: we are passing through this period of strife because governments have forfeited our confidence, because the great Powers of the world are suspicious of each other, because words serve only to mask intentions and because international life, the daily communion between nations, is carried on without confidence, in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and prejudice.

103. All the machinery of the United Nations, all its agencies for international co-operation and all its security measures will recede from the foreground and will be relegated to a subordinate, secondary place until confidence is restored among the nations. Our primary and most urgent task is to restore confidence among nations and governments, and even more so among the governments of the great Powers, which, with their material strength and moral influence, should establish new hopes for peace in the world. To restore confidence and to establish an atmosphere of trust are common-sense phrases, elementary concepts, simple principles which are today buried beneath a veritable avalanche of words.

104. Although we have reached the most acute stage of the crisis, and while no fine oratory, no matter how polished or biting, can conceal the fact that a struggle for world domination is taking place, the very fact that the problem has become so acute leads us to hope for an unexpected solution. Barely three days ago, the Soviet Union representative hurled an indignant challenge at the democratic countries which refused to include the question of the composition of the political conference on the agenda. We were certainly not surprised to hear Mr. Vyshinsky's threat, and later we admired the moderation, the intelligence and the calm open-mindedness apparent in Mr. Lodge's reply, when he declared that the United States was ready to meet the other side half-way in achieving a compromise.

105. After the last eight years of conflict, it is time we paused for reflection. Why should we devote careful consideration to the items on the agenda of this eighth session of the General Assembly, which may be a turning-point in the history of the United Nations, if what we say and agree upon here is built upon unreality, distrust and suspicion?

106. We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of political manoeuvring, to use the apt words of Mr. Lodge, nor can we surround the Korean peace conference with the same atmosphere of distrust which envelopes this Assembly's debates. We should concentrate less on

the composition of the conference than on the desire for peace of those attending the conference.

107. Colombia will take part in the political conference in accordance with the same legal considerations and in the same spirit which promoted it to send its troops to Korea. We had nothing to defend in the war, nor shall we sign the peace, as a belligerent nation. Just as yesterday on the battlefield we carried out the mandate of the United Nations, so we shall continue to do tomorrow, in the peace talks, with no interest of our own save to comply with our international obligations and to respect the provisions of the Charter in their entirety.

108. May I be allowed at this point to recall, on behalf of the Colombian armed forces, as a tribute to our dead in Korea, the words of admiration with which the United Nations Command recorded the heroic behaviour of the Colombian battalion, its legendary courage, its indomitable fortitude and the proud simplicity of its military life. Ours is a peace-loving nation, but a nation which knows how to employ force in order to honour its international undertakings.

109. Eminent jurists and high authorities on international law occupy a place of honour in this Assembly. What a vast work is theirs, what a wide range of subjects and arguments lies before them if they can work free from the stress and strain of international tension. Laws are sanctioned by unanimous acceptance, but, before they can be thus sanctioned, the common will must be strengthened.

110. Once confidence has been restored among the great Powers, we could, for example, take up the question of disarmament and set up some kind of progressive jurisdiction which would start by prohibiting the use of certain weapons, and in particular atomic weapons, on open cities, and could gradually be extended to all weapons of war. We could likewise consider the revision of the Charter, with a view to making flexible, more adaptable, less oligarchical in respect to the veto and more democratic by providing a greater role for the Assembly, without, however, going so far as to introduce the preponderant vote, which would be a perversion of the spirit of the United Nations. And we should of course declare universal respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms. But this work, like so many other projects, depends upon the restoration of international confidence.

111. The Latin-American nations are young, and it is their bounden duty to be optimistic. They are not prepared to stand as dumb spectators before calamity. They have placed all their enthusiasm and all their hopes in the United Nations, and they are awaiting the advent of peace.

112. Colombia has already demonstrated its willingness to serve by its action in the Korean war. The same attitude guides us now during this phase which is still one of conciliation and agreement; but should war again be unleashed upon the world, Colombia will again, with the same resolute will which led it to choose its battle station in Korea, range itself on the side of the nations of the world which yesterday fought for justice and freedom and which will fight for those ideals again tomorrow.

113. U MYINT THEIN (Burma): I take this opportunity to extend to the President the sincere felicitations of the Burmese people and of the Burmese

delegation on the occasion of her election to the high office which she now adorns with such grace and dignity. Peace has always been associated with the gentler sex, and we think that Mrs. Pandit's election to the Presidency of this august Assembly is a happy omen of the advent of peace, a peace that is real and a peace that is not uneasy. We fervently pray that her occupancy of the presidential chair will coincide with a definite change for the better in international relations, a change that is so desperately needed.

114. We also extend our good wishes to the new Secretary-General on his assumption of office. We wish him success in the discharge of his onerous duties.

115. Any survey of the events of the past year would obviously be incomplete without at least a passing reference to the historic events in Korea, and I make no apology for turning to this subject even though every speaker before me has also dealt with it.

116. The Korean armistice is an overdue answer to the prayers of a weary world longing for peace. It represents a turning point not only in the affairs of the Far East, but also in the affairs of the world. We rejoice at the termination of the bloodshed, and we have sufficient faith in human nature to express the belief that, even though a unified and independent Korea may still be some distance ahead of us, the fighting will not be resumed.

117. If we have learned any lesson from the history of Korea over the last four years, it is that any attempt to unite Korea by force of arms is doomed to failure. At best it will result in a vast unified Korean graveyard, while the other possibilities are just too terrible to contemplate. Consequently we would regard any move by any of the parties to resume the conflict, or to provoke the other side, as an unforgivable crime against mankind.

118. The Korean armistice is inevitably linked with the question of a political settlement. It goes without saying that we share the universal desire to see a unified and independent Korea come into being as soon as possible. But, after all that has occurred in Korea, the fusion of the two parts is bound to be a slow and difficult process, and would be even if Korean interests alone were involved, which unhappily is not the case. Consequently the world, and in particular the Korean people, must be patient.

119. We have seen in recent weeks the difficulties which stand in the way even of convening a conference to discuss the Korean issue. It is easy to be disheartened by this, but when we reflect that the armistice itself was a negotiated armistice, and that it took two years of patient negotiation to bring it about, it would perhaps be naive to expect that everything else would fall neatly into place once the armistice had been signed. We are confident that a conference will come into being; but when it does, we must expect that progress will not be as rapid as we all would like to see. This may call for a degree of patience as high as that displayed by the two sets of negotiators at Panmunjom, and we must all be prepared for it.

120. Consequently we must deplore any attempt arbitrarily to limit the duration of the conference in advance. The stakes are too high, not only for the Korean people, but for mankind in general, for any of us to indulge in that kind of luxury.

121. These are the thoughts which occur to us as we look into the future of Korea. My delegation would be the first to admit that there is nothing novel or original in them, but nevertheless we feel that no harm, and perhaps just a little good, may come out of our restating them before the Assembly.

122. The representatives of the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia have referred [443th meeting] to a matter which is of more than topical interest to us. At the appropriate time and place I shall elaborate and describe in detail the position prevailing in Burma in regard to the continued presence of 12,000 unwanted people, whom the United Nations with its delicacy of feeling describes as "foreign" troops, even if we all know who they are. I would merely recall that by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly [*resolution 707 (VII)*] their presence was condemned; they were asked to leave the territory of Burma and governments were enjoined to help in effecting their withdrawal.

123. Despite such efforts, these people have evinced no desire to go, nor has a single one left Burma. The people in Formosa who were initially responsible for their entry into Burma and who still continue to help and maintain these troops, supplying them with money and arms, have done nothing beyond giving lip-service towards withdrawing these men. I have stated on a previous occasion that the presence of these troops and their wanton acts, ranging from the looting of rice to their identification with the local insurgents who are fighting the Burmese Government, constitute "aggression" by whatever standard the term is defined. And when such aggression is engineered by those who have been permitted to hold on to a seat in the United Nations, and when they get away with it, we begin to ask ourselves if we are living in the Wonderland of Alice.

124. I should like to impress upon representatives the seriousness of the situation. There seems to be a feeling that some solution by persuasion might emerge. We are not optimistic, but if our friends still think there is a chance of a solution, we only hope that they are right. We must state, however, that the only solution that would give us relief is the total withdrawal of those troops. The specious excuse that General Li Mi has no control over some of his men is not acceptable to us.

125. The complacency with which some representatives view the situation has alarmed us greatly, and such complacency is odd when compared with the excitement that was caused when certain developments occurred in the neighbouring Kingdom of Laos some months ago. One would have thought then that the sky was on fire. Even if one did not quite know if the Kingdom of Laos was in fact threatened, there was no lack of volunteers willing to resort to extreme measures to put out the fire, for it was thought that this alleged fire was inspired by a people with a political ideology different from that of the majority of the Member States. But when the Assembly is faced with a situation such as the one that prevails in my country, where a Member State commits aggression upon another Member State, the tendency is to avoid hurting people's feelings and merely to hope for the best. Delicacy of feeling comes into play, and a spade is not then called a spade but is termed something even less apt than an agricultural implement.

126. For us, direct contact and relationship with the comity of nations is a privilege only recently acquired, and if in the initial stages of such contact we find the relationship bewildering, we dread to think what the future has in store for us.

127. There are many other matters that we find bewildering, and one of them is the position of the peoples still under colonial rule. In the Charter of the United Nations we have affirmed our faith, if such affirmation is necessary, in fundamental human rights, in the equality of the rights of men and women, and of nations large and small. Despite this affirmation, there are still millions of peoples who groan and suffer under colonial and imperial rule. If they manifest in their desire to shed the shackles that deny them freedom, the reaction of the paramount Power is violent. If they resort to a rising as a last and desperate course, then the world is informed that the movement is communist-inspired. When they do not resort to such violence, but seek redress in this Assembly, then they are told that the matter is one of domestic jurisdiction. It would seem that, despite the high-sounding affirmations and the pious hopes expressed in the Charter, the Assembly itself may become the means of perpetuating colonial and imperial rule.

128. The representative of Guatemala has said [442th meeting] that the colonial epoch is over, and with great respect we endorse his view. The theory of the white man's burden is an outworn myth. But if there should be people who are yet unfit to rule themselves, it is about time that they were taken away from the not-too-gentle hands of colonial Powers and placed under United Nations trusteeship.

129. I turn now to a problem which is as old as the problem of colonial imperialism itself, and equally outmoded. This is the issue of racial discrimination, particularly racial discrimination based on colour.

130. Of all the assertions which man may make, the assertion that those belonging to one race or racial grouping are in some way superior to those of another race or racial grouping, merely because they happen to have a skin of a different colour, is possibly the most audacious. This audacity is condoned when those who make the assertion are themselves comparatively recent settlers in lands where their darker-skinned brethren have dwelt for centuries. The last fifty years have witnessed very great progress in the gradual elimination of this problem in most parts of the world, but we are saddened by the fact that it has required two world wars to bring this about.

131. We wish that we could speak of this problem as though it were a thing of the past, but unfortunately we cannot. We know all too well that it still exists in large areas of the world, and that in at least one country racial discrimination and segregation form basic features of the law of the land, a law which attempts to perpetuate the domination of the darker-skinned majority by a white minority.

132. To the great credit of the United Nations, it was decided last year [*resolution 616 A (VII)*] to investigate this problem. Particular credit must go to those Member States with predominantly white populations which supported such an investigation. Unfortunately, the government concerned has refused to co-operate with the United Nations, claiming that this is a matter which falls essentially within its domestic

jurisdiction, despite the fact that its actions represent a flagrant violation of Article 55 of the Charter.

133. These actions are being watched with increasing resentment throughout the whole of Asia and Africa, and they have in them the seeds of a dangerous racial conflict which may spread to other parts of the world. If the United Nations is to maintain its prestige and authority in these two continents, it cannot afford to let the clear will of the majority be flouted on this issue by the government concerned.

134. Last year, my delegation drew attention to the widening gap between the living standards of the highly developed areas and those of the under-developed areas of the world. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for devoting a substantial part of his current annual report [A/2404] to this frightening aspect of the world's development. This problem, we suggest, is serious enough to be considered as something apart from the other problems which plague the world at the present time.

135. It would avail us nothing if the world were to find itself rid of the present tensions at the end of, say, five years, only to find itself confronted with a new crisis with potentialities for evil as great as those of the current world situation. We know that the under-developed areas of the world cannot be developed in five years, but we do suggest that it is important to utilize these years to build up among the peoples of the under-developed areas the prospect of a better life, if not for themselves, at least for their children; for life without hope of any kind can only result in the release of destructive forces which, once released, might easily make the present turbulent phase in the history of the world appear, by comparison, a spell of paradise.

136. We have tried to set out in general terms our feelings on what we consider to be the most important problems which face the world today. With possibly one exception, namely, the aggression in my country, none of these problems can be solved in the course of this session. But we are confident that, given the will to co-operate, under the wise leadership of our President, substantial progress can be made towards their solution. For its part, the delegation of Burma pledges its best endeavours and fullest co-operation.

137. Mr. TREJOS FLORES (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): The Costa Rican delegation has pleasure in associating itself with the congratulations which have been addressed to Mrs. Pandit on her election to the presidency of this Assembly. Her election is a well-deserved tribute to her intelligence and to her outstanding personal qualities. It is also a tribute to her great country. And finally, it is a tribute to, and a sign of recognition of the ever-increasing part played by women of all countries in the settlement of human problems, particularly those connected with the maintenance of peace. The proceedings of an organ whose principal object is the achievement of harmony and peaceful coexistence among nations cannot be better directed than by a woman.

138. It is our conviction that when the work of the present session of the Assembly is assessed, we shall see that the hope and faith placed in our mission by the mothers, wives and children of all peoples on earth, now quailing before the very thought of a new world war, have not been disappointed.

139. Costa Rica maintains friendly and cordial relations with all the democratic nations of the world. Our country, which is small both in area and in population, has no more armaments than are necessary to enable the police to maintain public order and national security. The Constitution of 1949 abolished the standing army. The last remaining barracks in the country were dismantled recently, and the place they had occupied converted into a national museum. Every year more than 500 new schools and colleges are built in different parts of the country. Costa Rica is proud to be able to state that its heaviest budget allocations are devoted to public education.

140. These facts, and our continuing devotion to peace and freedom among nations, confer upon us full moral authority to speak in defence of the fundamental principles of peoples and individuals and to condemn any attack on those principles and any act which might lead to violence or to a breach of the peace in any part of the world. We shall accordingly lend our most firm and determined support to all attempts to find a just and effective solution to the problems which are arousing fear and apprehension in both the large and the small nations.

141. It is hardly necessary to express the views and attitude of my delegation towards the problem of universal disarmament, and the aspiration thereto. We shall give full and unconditional support to all practical and well-intentioned proposals submitted on this most important item on our agenda, although we fully understand the difficulties of achieving an immediate solution, at least while there is no relaxation of the tension and alarm which now prevail in the world. We can also see how this item can provide admirable opportunities for certain demagogic propaganda spread by the false apostles of peace, and we must be on our guard against that.

142. We must, however, explain that we have never made our dislike of militarism and our abiding devotion to peace and the civic virtues a pretext for an attitude of deceptive and harmful neutrality, nor shall we ever do so. We believe that peace is indivisible and that any attack on the life or liberty of a country is a threat to the security of all. Still less can there be any question of neutrality in the face of a Power which by its doctrines and its acts betrays its policy of dominating the rest of the world and subjecting it to its own interests and will. For that reason, Costa Rica, despite its small area and its deep-rooted love of peace and tranquillity, has ranged itself unconditionally and resolutely on the side of the free nations; it will spare neither moral support nor any effort as a contribution to the generous and heroic struggle of the United States and its allies in defence of the principles of democracy and of freedom and security for all peoples and nations.

143. If we draw up a balance-sheet of the work so far achieved by the United Nations, the result will be satisfactory. It is true that we have not found a solution for all the problems which have been laid before us in the past few years and which are a cause of alarm and disquiet to all peoples. We have contrived, however, to contain aggression and to stem the totalitarian expansion which, if this Organization had not existed, would have continued unchecked its headlong career of domination and annihilation of small countries, as it was able to do in the period

immediately following the end of the last war. It is clear that the checking of totalitarian expansion and agreement upon a policy of collective security have not been easy tasks. There have been many difficulties, and on more than one occasion concessions have had to be made. We cannot discard the possibility that we may have to make further concessions. All that does not matter if, by paying that price, however high, the peace-loving peoples can achieve their purpose of living together in peace. The road to peace is not the broad and easy road which we should all have liked; at times it becomes almost impassable, owing to the obstacles constituted by the well-known ambitions of supremacy and world domination. But it does not matter whether the road is broad or difficult if it brings us to a lasting peace based on justice and respect for the rights and liberties of peoples and individuals.

144. Although there are reasons for satisfaction with the work hitherto achieved, there is no denying the expediency of considering a revision of the United Nations Charter. The United Nations must be realistic and dynamic if it is not to become an anachronistic and fossilized institution. In a world which changes daily, we cannot assume that our statute neither can nor should be revised. The Costa Rican delegation supports proposals for the study of amendments to the Charter designed to adapt that instrument to the new realities of the world and to add to it provisions whose need could not have been foreseen when the United Nations was set up. The international situation was different at that time, and it was believed that confidence and a spirit of co-operation among the great allied Powers would overcome any difficulty which might arise in the application of any obscure provisions or of any that were not fully acceptable to all the signatories of the Charter.

145. Costa Rica has always recognized the undeniable need for all peace-loving countries to be Members of the United Nations, and has accordingly opposed all political manoeuvres carried out with a view to preventing such membership. At former sessions of the General Assembly, Costa Rica has defended that principle and, in association with other Central American countries, has submitted various draft resolutions designed to secure the admission of other peace-loving countries. Unfortunately, this question has not been settled. Our attitude, however, remains unchanged; we believe that the legal solutions proposed so far, including that of the Central American countries, have not achieved the desired results, not necessarily because the majority of the members of the Assembly have found them fundamentally unacceptable, but because of political considerations. We shall therefore continue to hope that some solution will be found for the problem of the admission of new Members. We believe that even if it is not possible to arrive at a solution of a strictly juridical nature, at least some compromise could be reached. In view of these considerations, Costa Rica will support any formula likely to lead to a solution, even if only a partial solution, of the problem of the admission of new Members.

146. The Korean war, to which this Assembly has devoted so much of its time, has happily been brought to a close, at least for the time being. The United Nations has laid down the principles on the basis of which a final solution of this problem may be reached and a just and permanent peace established in that

unfortunate country, now ravaged and laid waste by the war. The discussion of the peace in Korea offers the communist leaders a new opportunity to make good their statements that they really want peace in the Far East, an end to the cold war and a final settlement of their difficulties with the Western nations. The peoples of the world look with hope and anguish towards a final peace settlement in Korea. If good faith and good will are shown in solving the Korean problem, it may be possible to find a satisfactory solution for other burning questions, such as those of the war in Indo-China and the treaties of peace with Germany and Austria.

147. The great surge of hope and relief felt by mankind upon the signing of the armistice in Korea was followed by a period of unease, which still persists, and which was caused by the refusal of the communist countries to accept the formula adopted by the General Assembly at the end of the last session [*resolution 711 (VII)*]. The Costa Rican delegation considers that resolution final and fails to see what good it would do to reopen the debate on this question; the only result would be to obstruct the work of the present session of the General Assembly and to create an unfavourable atmosphere for the solution of the problems before us. Nevertheless, we cherish the hope that hostilities in Korea will not be reopened, for there is a strong desire for peace in the world, and the country which gives or provokes the order to open fire will find itself rejected and condemned by all the peoples of the world, with consequences no one can foresee.

148. So long as a final peace has not been concluded in Korea, so long as the war in Indo-China is kept alive through the overt intervention of the communist nations, so long as the problems of Germany and Austria remain unsolved, there is, as Mr. Dulles explained with consummate clarity in his statement [*434 meeting*], no hope of a disappearance or lessening of the present tension between the democratic and the communist Powers. Unfortunately, the United Nations cannot do much more with regard to these questions than it has already done. Whatever remains to be done depends almost entirely on the attitude of the communist Powers towards the just and practical solutions proposed by the United Nations and the democratic governments of the West.

149. Although the Soviet Union and the other communist countries may not have decided upon war, neither have they decided to work sincerely with us for peace. It would seem that their policy was to provoke and maintain discord and unrest among the free peoples of the world, confident that they would have no such problems with the peoples under their iron rule. This clever policy, in addition to keeping the world in a state of unease and anxiety, compels the non-communist Powers to invest vast sums in armaments, funds which were it not for the devious and provocative methods of the Communists, could have been devoted to the solution of the problems of production and of the social and economic development of the democratic nations. This situation has existed for some years; if it is to continue, it would be advisable for the democratic Powers to review their policy and to adopt new measures enabling them to thwart the designs and objectives of the Communists.

150. The first step would be to seek an immediate solution of certain serious problems which have arisen

among the countries of the Western bloc and which furnish the communist leaders with material for propaganda and agitation. The just demands of certain peoples who are trying to achieve complete freedom and independence by means of negotiation and agreement, and who are really ready to assume sovereignty and to discharge the obligations that go with it, cannot and must not be ignored by the United Nations, and especially by the nations which are parties to the conflicts provoked by these demands. These nations would do much towards bringing about collaboration and security in the democratic world if they were to smooth the path of their former colonies and possessions to independence and give them the opportunity, thanks to the efforts of their valiant peoples and their natural resources, to join in the great work of building a better world where men may live in peace.

151. The Costa Rican delegation cannot remain indifferent to the just aspirations of peoples fighting for their independence and will support any measure designed to settle these problems through conciliation and agreement; these problems affect world tranquillity and can fortunately be solved even without the co-operation of the communist countries.

152. My delegation feels that, in addition to the purely political problems, special attention should be given to the oft-noted fact that there is a growing discrepancy between the level of income of developed countries and that of countries on the threshold of development or in its initial stages. We agree that the development of the latter, as recognized by the General Assembly in its resolution 400 (V), depends primarily upon the efforts of their peoples. This is the case with Costa Rica, which in recent years has established a number of institutions whose task it is to encourage production and a better use of natural resources. We feel, nevertheless, that international co-operation, in the form of financial aid and technical assistance, can be of great value in this field. My delegation will therefore continue to support, as it has done at previous sessions, the plan to set up a United Nations special fund for the purpose of extending subsidies and low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries. We shall also support the plan to set up an international finance corporation for the purpose of promoting economic development by stimulating private investment, as also the plans for tech-

nical assistance which the United Nations has been carrying out so efficiently and successfully.

153. Satisfaction of the demands for freedom of the peoples outside the Iron Curtain and effective aid to the under-developed countries are problems which can be solved without the collaboration of the representatives of communist countries; their importance should be recognized and their solution advanced during the present session of the General Assembly. In the world struggle between the communist system of oppression and the democratic system of freedom, the democracies will be victorious only to the extent to which they are able to solve their own problems. Let us perfect democracy, both internationally and inside the countries whose political systems are based on the noble postulates of peace and freedom. Let us do all in our power to enable peoples to enjoy complete freedom in directing their own destinies and choosing their own governments. Let us endeavour to prevent a state of affairs where peoples are ruled by foreign governments or dominated by governments which, although made up of their own nationals, do not represent the true will of the people.

154. When the democracies, without neglecting their basic problem of preventing, and preparing to defend themselves against, totalitarian aggression, have succeeded in solving their own problems, when human freedom and political freedom are a reality in all the countries of the Western bloc, when there are no oppressed peoples in the world except those living under communist dictatorship, the democracies will be able to look to the future without misgivings, since their unity, based on reason and justice, will be indestructible. They will then be able to count, not only on their own peoples and resources, but also on the support and sympathy of peoples who are still called neutral and of those behind the Iron Curtain. The peoples who are neutral today and the peoples suffering under communist oppression and exploitation will be the best allies of the democratic world, if democracy shows itself to be what it really is—a political system of social justice, welfare, improvement and progress, bathed in the warm rays of human freedom and self-determination. Let us perfect democracy and we may look to the future with confidence.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.