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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. LAWRENCE (LIBERIA), MR. QUIROGA GALDO (BOLIVIA) AND MR. PALAMARCHUK (UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC)

1. Mr. LAWRENCE (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia avails itself of its privilege under the custom which allows delegations, at the beginning of each session of the General Assembly, to express their points of view in what has come to be known as the general debate.

2. In the main, the subjects which seem to have exercised the minds of most of the preceding delegations have been the atomic and hydrogen age in which we find ourselves almost rudely thrust, and the problem of whether the two ways of life confronting each other in the world today can subsist side by side in tranquillity, or whether their incompatibility is so great as to render their peaceful coexistence impossible.

3. As one of the smaller countries without the means or resources to practise modern warfare, we have given serious thought to whether any useful purpose could be served by taking part in discussions of subjects to which we could contribute so little, since whatever we might say might be regarded as but so many words. Despite the all-embracing declarations and charters enunciated in recent years, the rule that "might makes right" is still not without efficacy. Little, if any, heed is paid to mere words. Nevertheless, we are persuaded that smaller nations can and should take a part, even if only to express their points of view since, indeed, their very existence is involved.

4. In the great struggle between the two ways of life, or in any struggle in which the opposing forces may use the latest scientific methods, no nation great or small will go unscathed, and all existence upon our planet may quite possibly be exterminated. Hence, although materially we can do but little, yet, like watchmen on the wall, we can be keen and alert to approaching danger and sound the tocsin whenever there looms a threat to international peace and security.

5. We owe it to ourselves and to our posterity to join in the effort to meet the difficulties and dangers which must be overcome if international peace and security, to which this Organization is solemnly dedicated, are to be realized.

6. The delegation of Liberia therefore welcomes wholeheartedly the proposal for the establishment of an atomic pool, dedicated to the task of exploring the possibilities for developing the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. We regard this proposal as a practical approach to a problem, the solution of which will be a test of international morality, which ought necessarily to be exercised in an atmosphere of sobriety, mutual confidence and good will. The delegation of Liberia will support any proposal before this Assembly which seeks to realize this ideal.

7. The cessation of armed conflict in Korea and Indo-China has been warmly acclaimed by numerous speakers, who have voiced the view that for the first time in many years all is at peace. While it is true that negotiations have brought forth a cease-fire in Indo-China and Korea, thereby considerably easing world tension, we do not know that it can be truthfully said that the world is at peace, since millions of subject peoples in the under-developed continents are still being haunted and harassed, driven from their ancestral hearths, forcibly deprived of their lands and worldly goods, their women left homeless and unprotected and their children fatherless and without instruction or hope for the future.

8. Today the spirit of nationalism surges in every human breast, and every man who does not enjoy this privilege cherishes the hope and the ambition to manage his own affairs. Which one of us will rise and say that this is not an honourable ambition? Indeed, I dare say that in the hearts and in the history of the peoples of every nation represented in this Organization are enshrined their national heroes who, at some time in the near or distant past, symbolized for them liberty and freedom. With this in mind, we who are enamoured of the principles of democracy ought to be most careful in branding as terrorists and savages men who love their country and their ancestral firesides, who love freedom and liberty for themselves and their posterity, men who only want to be left alone to secure and work out their own destiny.

9. We are concerned with the problem posed by these teeming millions of subject peoples and their steady emergence toward self-government and independence. We are dedicated to the principle of the self-determination of peoples: that there can be no substitute for self-government, however altruistic may be the intentions of the governing Power. Today, we too are engaged in a great struggle testing whether a world half slave and half free can long endure!

10. The delegation of Liberia is grateful for this opportunity to record its admiration for Mrs. Pandit who presided over the last session of the General Assembly in a manner which lent honour to her country and won the love and esteem of all who were privileged to work with her.

11. To the President, the delegation of Liberia brings its warmest compliments and wishes for every success in his tenure of office.

12. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): Two years ago, at the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Vice-President of the Republic of Bolivia and Chairman of our delegation described [384th meeting] the Bolivian people's victorious fight to enforce the principle of the nationalization of the sources of production and thereby to achieve economic independence and consolidate the country's political sovereignty. The exhaustive analysis he made at that time constitutes a document of the utmost significance that will always serve for the guidance of the leaders of under-developed countries who are fighting to restore to their peoples the benefit of their sources of wealth, wrongfully withheld by those who represent backward and oppressive feudal systems.

13. At that time, the Uruguayan delegation played a part that earned it a place of honour and the gratitude of the Latin-American countries. The resolution recognizing the right of peoples freely to exploit their natural wealth and resources [resolution 626 (VII)] was adopted by the General Assembly, and its adoption won for the United Nations the gratitude of many peoples throughout the world.

14. The decisive support given to Bolivia by Uruguay is fully explained by a study of the glorious origins of the latter country, which achieved independence through the efforts of a man representing the rural element, the peasant element, in the setting of the wars of independence, in contrast with the oligarchical and urban element that moulded our political emancipation in other parts of America.

15. In justice it must be recognized that José Artigas was the forerunner of the popular struggles of our time. The Uruguayan hero gave expression to the longings of the masses, who perceived intuitively that political independence was not enough, because at that time it meant chiefly that the economic wealth of America would be transferred from the ousted colonizers to the victorious indigenous oligarchies.

16. During the first fifty years of its existence as a republic, Bolivia lived in a Middle Age that, while it had no philosophers or Gothic cathedrals, possessed feudal lords wielding power over life and property. That society, proud of its European origin, occasionally produced brilliant men who tried to improve their country's lot, but who encountered an obstacle to their desires in an economy based entirely on agricultural production, which exhibited serious deficiencies owing to the use of primitive farm implements.

17. In that half-century the Bolivians learned a terrible lesson: that if a people has large territories but is weak, it must inevitably face war. As Balzac aptly said: "*Qui terre a, guerre a*" (He who has land has war).

18. The jurists to whom the Assembly has assigned the difficult task of defining aggression will always find it profitable to read the history of Bolivia. As in the

Biblical episode, aggression occurs when the strong man slyly observes the circumstances of the weak and, having armed himself, attacks him who lacked the foresight to arm himself. Bolivia, an economically weak country with a badly-designed social structure in which the majority was subjected to forced labour in the fields and the mines, could rely for the defence of its territorial integrity only on a characteristic doctrine of American public international law: the *uti possidetis* of 1810, which proved to be but a poor weapon of pen and ink against the effectiveness of rifle and cannon.

19. For these reasons the Bolivian delegation listened with interest and satisfaction to the words spoken in this forum by the representatives of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning mankind's longing to halt the armaments race and to bring about the control and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. The atomic bomb in the hands of unscrupulous people is in reality the scientific expression of the will for aggression that manifested itself thousands of years ago when a man armed himself with a stone or a stick against another who, through improvidence or idealism, remained unarmed.

20. Some of the representatives who spoke before me referred to the spread in world public opinion of scepticism concerning the efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. The mass psychosis created by the fear of nuclear weapons and the conviction that the atomic war is inevitable is the most menacing danger that this international Organization has yet faced. Yet it must be said that, apart from the urgent need for agreement on the prohibition and control of atomic weapons which I have mentioned, it is essential that the United Nations should launch a veritable psychological crusade, through all its organs and by securing the co-operation of all men of good will throughout the world, to banish from the minds of the peoples the terrifying assumption that atomic war is inevitable.

21. I believe that, in the minds of the peoples distressed by the description of the Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Bikini and other more recent explosions, that manufactured sun, the hydrogen bomb, has become a kind of legendary monster whose whims, wickedness, cunning and growing intelligence are feared. It is essential that the public should have a more logical conception of the reality and should be convinced that the bomb is not dangerous; for—as the French writer Denis de Rougemont says in his book *Lettres sur la bombe atomique* (Letters on the Atomic Bomb)—the bomb is not dangerous in itself, because it is an object; it is man that is terribly dangerous. He has made the bomb and is preparing to use it. Control of the bomb is a good thing, but what is needed is control of man.

22. This "control of man" must be the immediate aim of us all. We must correct the error in human thinking that has made the atomic bomb the most effective instrument of mass psychological imbalance. It is the duty of the United Nations to launch a world-wide campaign and to charge the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization with its implementation. The attainment of a sounder basis of judgment with regard to all that concerns nuclear energy would soon become the most effective factor in the system of international control which the President of the United States has proposed with such humanity and wisdom.

23. The Bolivian people, which always associates itself with the champions of peace, justice and law precisely because it has had first-hand experience of the impact of aggression, has still another ground for anxiety concerning the atomic problem. A mixed committee of engineers and scientists from Bolivia and the United States recently explored part of Bolivia's territory and verified the existence of immense deposits of radioactive minerals. Consequently, Bolivians are now wondering with alarm whether, after having mined tin for half a century with no result other than fifty years of living in poverty, illness, illiteracy and oppression, the Bolivian miners, who are among the continent's most politically-minded, are to be condemned to wrest from the bosom of the Andes the raw material which will enable man to manufacture an imitation sun to destroy, to annihilate, the tireless creative work of that star.

24. On the threshold of the hydrogen age, Bolivia has ceased to be a mining camp. With the great tin mines nationalized and the legitimacy of that all-important measure sanctioned by resolution 626 (VII) of the United Nations General Assembly, dated 21 December 1952, my country found itself faced with the dramatic problem arising from raw-material prices. I quote the words of the Minister for External Relations of Bolivia on a matter that is of interest to all raw-material producing countries:

"We are a mineral-producing country, our chief product being tin. During the Second World War we contributed to the defence of democracy with approximately 200,000 tons of tin, sold at controlled prices not in the best interest of the Bolivian economy. At that time, as at other times, we were urged to increase our production whatever the effort or sacrifice, a process which is always costly and difficult. It has happened again and again that, while we have been producing at full capacity, world market prices, which are beyond our control, have fallen sharply, with disastrous effects. Not even in times of high prices were we able to secure what we felt was due us, because at such times some method was always found of imposing a maximum price for tin, while nobody took care to prevent a fall in prices. It may be said, therefore, that there has never been, and there is not now, a free market for tin."

25. At the present time, although we have maintained and even increased the export volume as a result of the policy of nationalization, Bolivia has received less money owing to the fall in prices. The prices fixed in all contracts of sale for tin are determined by world mineral market quotations, and are therefore unremunerative.

26. It is the duty of the United Nations to co-operate in solving this acute problem, which affects all raw-material producing countries alike; and it is the moral duty of those who govern highly industrialized countries to respect the impartial judgment of those who hold that the prices of manufactured goods must be brought into harmony with the prices of raw materials.

27. It is unreasonable that while some countries enjoy a high standard of living, in others, such as Bolivia and India, the *per capita* income is so small as to be ridiculous, or that the tin miner should be working in such wretched conditions that his average life expectancy is barely 27 years, a fact which warrants our accusing of genocide the oligarchy that ruled my country during the last fifty years.

28. In order to remedy the tragic condition of the Bolivian working classes, President Paz Estenssoro and his comrades-in-arms have, despite the limitations imposed by the current price of minerals, given effect to the relevant points in the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement's programme. Family allowances, housing subsidies, a minimum subsistence wage and collective contracts of employment have been introduced and the unpaid services which were common in the feudal system of agriculture have been abolished. In that connexion, I again quote the Minister for External Relations of Bolivia:

"But in addition to those concrete benefits, which merely supply long-felt needs, the workers have been given the status and respect to which they are entitled, because it is their contribution that counts most in the country's development. For example, there exists in my country a trade unions statute which protects labour leaders from the persecution which, in general, is the response to their demands. Workers are included on the managing boards of the two largest State undertakings which administer the nationalized mines and oil wells, and the efficiency of those organizations has been improved through a system of workers' control. Lastly, the Government itself includes four responsible and alert ministers who are workers. I do not mention these facts for purposes of mere propaganda, but because they are intimately related to the efforts of international organizations to safeguard workers' interests."

29. I should mention in addition to the foregoing my Government's ratification of six international instruments in the social field originating from meetings of the International Labour Organisation and the decree prohibiting the possession by any property owner of more than one hectare of vacant land in an urban area and providing for the expropriation at a fair valuation of land in excess of 10,000 square metres except where it is the property of an industrial enterprise which needs a larger area of land. This decree, which marks the institution of urban reform in Bolivia, was enacted to protect the middle and working classes by providing them with the accommodation to which every human being is entitled and defeating the selfishness of those who used to acquire vast areas of urban land and keep them for purposes of speculation.

30. On 2 August 1953 the Legislative Decree on Land Reform was enacted to amend the semi-feudal conditions under which land was worked, and it was immediately put into effect: plots of land which peasants under the old system had been allowed to cultivate in exchange for various unpaid services became the property of those who cultivated them. The same decree further provided that wages must be paid to the peasants for the work they did on the land which remained in the possession of the former owner. Once the peasants had become the owners of the land, their efforts exceeded all expectations: the last harvest, the first since the land reform, greatly exceeded previous ones. Thus the facts have given the lie to the pessimistic predictions of certain reactionary circles in the continent as to the results of Bolivia's land reform, and have even contradicted the experience of other countries.

31. For over a hundred years the peasants were subjected to an inhuman servitude characterized not only by unpaid work for their masters, but also, and what

is more important, by contempt for their status as human beings. The point was reached where they were even denied access to the centre of a town. The land reform has put an end to their oppression and humiliation and has helped to awaken in them a profound awareness that makes them feel that they are an integral part of the national life as free citizens of a free country.

32. Allow me to digress for a moment to review, in the perspective afforded by this time and place, what has been accomplished in a little over two years. In this General Assembly I can raise my voice in the name of my country to affirm with justifiable pride that Bolivia is fulfilling the solemn obligation which it assumed in signing the Charter of the United Nations, in which the peoples express their determination "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person".

33. Since the destruction of the Inca empire, Bolivian territory has been the scene of a continuing process of biological democratization. Nowhere in the continent is there any country more Indian or *mestizo* than Bolivia. Even those whose skins are white are genuine Bolivians, because they have assimilated the characteristics of the *mestizo* through their five senses. That is why Bolivia is always in the forefront of the fight against racial discrimination. My country's delegations to the seventh and eighth sessions of the General Assembly were co-sponsors of draft resolutions on the problems of racial discrimination and the status of the Indian minorities in the Union of South Africa. In this connexion and in connexion with the anti-colonial tradition of Bolivia's international policy our position is unchanged, and will remain so.

34. In order to bring the indigenous peoples once and for all into the stream of Western culture and civilization, the revolutionary regime has introduced universal suffrage. To that end the obstacles previously imposed by the exploiting minorities in the form of legal impediments—as by prescribing that the voter must be able to read and write, that he must have a certain minimum income, and so forth—in order to prevent the working masses from participating in the nation's political life, were eliminated.

35. During the last ten years the Presidents of the Republic were elected by less than 50,000 votes in a population of approximately four million, which clearly shows that democracy existed only in theory. Now that suffrage without discrimination as to sex, income or education has been introduced, we hope that at the next parliamentary elections the total vote will come close to one million.

36. The nationalization of the mines and the land reform have created the necessary conditions for attaining the third great objective in President Paz Estenssoro's programme of government: the expansion and diversification of the national economy. Despite the low prices of minerals on the world market, and although the land reform is only at the first stage of its implementation, the progress achieved in this part of the revolutionary programme has been considerable.

37. The President of the Republic and leader of the national revolution made the following statement:

"In order to attempt the expansion and diversification of the national economy with any prospect of

success it was essential not only that we should have available the proceeds of our exports, but also that the State should be free to plan exclusively in the national interest. It was necessary to liberate the productive forces which had previously been held in check by the feudal system of agriculture, and to expand the domestic consumer market, as is being done.

"The backwardness of the Bolivian economy is apparent not only in the reduced volume, but also in the nature, of the national production. An extensive agriculture like ours, that is restricted to a few crops, and an exportable production that consists almost exclusively of mining products, make us heavily dependent on the outside world and therefore extremely vulnerable in the event of a decline in the world mineral market. That is why it is vitally important that we should develop and diversify the national economy."

38. Under this plan the Government has given priority to increasing petroleum production, both because of the importance of oil as a source of power and because it can be made into a profitable branch of our export trade. Today, Bolivia does not need to import a single drop of petrol or kerosene, and we are constructing an oil pipeline which will link Cochabamba, where there is a large refinery, to the port of Arica, to supply the countries of the South Pacific with Bolivian petroleum. Bolivia has immense petroleum reserves and we are seeking the co-operation of foreign private capital to exploit them, as the country lacks the necessary resources to carry out such an ambitious plan. Furthermore, under agreements concluded with Brazil and Argentina, we are preparing the full exploitation of vast oilfields, which in time will transform Bolivia into a supplier of fuel for the principal South American States on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts.

39. Owing to its advantageous geographical position in the continent, my country is the pivot of South America's political balance. Exposed to forces from all directions, our territory helps to eliminate antagonisms by reconciling interests which, if they clashed, would certainly disturb the peace of the hemisphere. Our wealth is at the service of all the sister republics which are our neighbours and with which we live on terms of friendly co-operation. That is why it may be of interest to the representatives in this Assembly to know of the efforts that are being made to diversify our economy and to achieve high production levels in oil and rubber and in the iron of the fabulous mountain of Mutún; these efforts will benefit not only my own country, but also Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Peru in particular.

40. The delegation which I have the honour to lead temporarily will express in the Second Committee its interest in the establishment of the special fund for the economic development of under-developed countries. My Government considers, in this connexion, that there is no justification for relating the outcome of the problems of disarmament to the problems involved in the establishment of the fund. The great Powers hold that only the savings resulting from disarmament could provide the basis for carrying out this project. This is simply unacceptable, because the need to establish the special United Nations fund is urgent and the solution of the problems of disarmament is unfortunately slow in coming. It is therefore the duty of

highly industrialized countries with vast accumulations of savings to grant their co-operation to the backward nations under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

41. With the co-operation of the United States we are engaged in carrying out the great work to which I have just referred. On 1 October an event occurred in Bolivia that is of the utmost importance to my country and to the continent: the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz Highway, 500 kilometres in length, was opened, in completion of the railway system connecting the Pacific Ocean with the Río de la Plata, making the oil, agricultural and livestock wealth of the sub-tropical region and the Bolivian valleys accessible to the countries belonging to these geographical systems.

42. The completion of this project was made possible by the credits totalling approximately \$34 million granted by the United States Export-Import Bank. All the expenditures in Bolivian currency—local purchases, supplies, wages, salaries paid in the country—were defrayed by the Bolivian Government, in addition to a considerable part of the cost of studies and of other dollar expenditures. Taking into account the credits granted by the Export-Import Bank and the Bolivian Government's contributions, the total cost of the highway exceeds \$45 million. Now that this magnificent undertaking, the outcome of Bolivian and United States co-operation, has been completed, we trust that United States aid will be increased until it reaches the scale necessitated by the magnitude of the plan for the diversification of the national production, for the execution of which the Co-ordination and Planning Board, under the chairmanship of the Vice-President of the Republic of Bolivia, is responsible.

43. We are interested in private capital, but it would be wilful self-deception on our part to hope that all our needs can be met by private investors. It is important to analyse the influence which the investment of purely private capital would have on the economies of the under-developed countries. There can be no doubt that more capital has been exported from Latin America in the form of profits than has been brought in. Hence it is obvious that, in view of the urgent need for capital that is common to the Latin-American countries, we cannot expect it all from private investment. This does not mean that we do not want this kind of contribution. On the contrary, such contributions are welcome in my country and are protected by the Act of 17 October 1945, drawn up by Victor Paz Estenssoro, at that time Minister of Finance under the Villarroel regime, which affords to foreign private investors the necessary securities and guarantees for the return of the capital through annual amortization payments.

44. It is, however, necessary to set forth the problem of economic co-operation in realistic terms. Undoubtedly the best method consists in the grant of development loans on favourable terms by agencies whose main objective is not to reap unlimited profit. When the loans had been paid off, the capital goods acquired with their aid, the developing agricultural and livestock industries and the hydroelectric plants and roads which would be built, would remain in the country and would have the additional advantage of providing better conditions for possible private investment.

45. In conclusion, it affords me the utmost pleasure to refer to the technical assistance which my country is receiving from the United Nations specialized agencies.

46. The Revolutionary Government of Bolivia, on finding some defects in the Agreement concerning Technical Assistance signed by the military *junta* formerly in power, negotiated with the United Nations the Revised Agreement concerning Technical Assistance which lays down the manner in which this assistance is to contribute to the solution of Bolivian problems in accordance with the unshakable principle of national sovereignty. Under this important agreement a group of advisers and experts is at present at work in my country; their activities have at all times earned the support of the Government and the approval of public opinion in the country. It is fitting that I should mention here the consummate skill and great wisdom with which the Secretary-General of the United Nations selected the members of this group and has always guided them.

47. We consider that the work which the Technical Assistance Mission is performing in Bolivia is an experiment of great importance to the under-developed countries. I therefore take the liberty of proposing that scholarships should be instituted for students of nations whose economic and social conditions are similar to those of Bolivia, to afford them the opportunity of profiting by the experience which the Mission is acquiring. I can assure you that this brilliant group of men from various countries of the world has won the respect and gratitude of the Bolivian people and has strengthened their faith in the future of this international organization which, notwithstanding scepticism and ill-will, continues to be mankind's greatest hope.

48. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I should like to take this opportunity to extend greetings to the representatives attending the ninth session of the General Assembly and to express the hope that the work of the session will be successful.

49. During the general debate various views were expressed on the international situation and on the nature and significance of the political, economic and social problems which the General Assembly has to consider. In our view, proposals designed to achieve world peace and security should, along with other proposals, be given most careful consideration, more particularly the Soviet Union's proposals [*A/2742 and Corr.1*] concerning the conclusion of a convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

50. The USSR delegation's proposals have evoked widespread interest and have increased the hopes of peoples that an appropriate agreement may be achieved which would be designed to strengthen peace and increase international security and which would provide for the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and a substantial reduction in conventional armaments.

51. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR deems it even more essential to stress that favourable conditions exist for the adoption of agreed decisions on the international problems under consideration, and this can be achieved on the basis of mutual understanding, co-operation and an objective appraisal of the events which have occurred and are now occurring in the world.

52. As has already been pointed out, the ninth session of the General Assembly gets under way at a time when the efforts of peace-loving forces to bring about a relaxation of tension in international relations have achieved some heartening successes. The cessation of hostilities in Korea was an effective beginning towards the settlement by negotiation of controversial international questions. The armistice agreement in Korea made it possible for the representatives of the great Powers to convene in Berlin with a view to settling other outstanding problems. The Berlin Conference helped to clarify points of view on a number of important international problems and paved the way for another international conference at Geneva in which, for the first time since the war, the representatives of the five great Powers—namely, the United States, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, the United Kingdom and France—took part. The Geneva agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, which had continued for eight years, signified international recognition of the struggle of the people of Indo-China for national liberation.

53. In his annual report on the work of the United Nations, the Secretary-General quite rightly points out [A/2663, p. xi] that "the bringing to an end of the fighting in Korea and Indo-China has been . . . the most important development of the past year for the United Nations and, indeed, in the whole struggle for peace."

54. It would be difficult to deny the great influence of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the people's democracies, which, together with the efforts of the parties concerned, had a great effect on the results of the Geneva conference.

55. Obviously, the policy of friendship among peoples and of respect for the rights and interests of all nations, large and small, which is one of the fundamental and inviolable principles of the Soviet State, is exerting an increasingly beneficial influence on international relations.

56. The events of the past year lead to the following conclusions. In the first place, the results of the Geneva Conference, as Mr. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, has noted, confirmed the correctness of the principle upheld in the Soviet Union's whole foreign policy that there are no controversial problems in current international relations which are not susceptible of solution by negotiation and agreement designed to strengthen peace. Hence, negotiations among the Powers concerned on outstanding international problems may have positive results, may lead to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of peace. The strengthening of peace through negotiations aimed at the settlement of controversial problems in Asia, Europe and other parts of the world meets the national interests of every country.

57. In the second place, the Geneva Conference, at which the People's Republic of China took its legitimate place in the ranks of the other Powers, clearly indicated the important role in the solution of international problems to be played by the 600 million Chinese people and their Central People's Government at Peking. It has therefore long since been necessary to discard a policy based on the assumption that it is possible at the present time to solve international prob-

lems without the People's Republic of China, particularly problems relating to the maintenance of peace and security; that it is possible, without infringing the principles of the United Nations Charter, to ignore the right of the People's Republic of China to take its legitimate place in the United Nations.

58. Since the majority in the General Assembly continues at this session, too, to refuse to consider the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, how can one reconcile the declarations of faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter which some representatives have made from this rostrum with the stubborn refusal to be guided by those principles with respect to the Chinese people, a great and peace-loving nation? Obviously, the talk of adherence to the United Nations Charter is necessary in order to conceal acts which are prompted rather by ideological considerations or preconceived hostility than by a realistic appraisal of the facts. Such a policy cannot long endure.

59. Among the problems affecting the fate of millions of people, the maintenance of world peace and international co-operation is a national necessity for all States, whether they are represented in the United Nations or not. The Charter of the United Nations begins with the solemn statement that the United Nations is "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

60. The peoples wish to live in peace and friendship. The peoples' movement in favour of peace has now become the most significant phenomenon of international life. A relaxation of political tension has rewarded the efforts of the peace-loving forces which are fighting for peace and the prevention of a new war, the war which aggressive circles are seeking to unleash, their main target being the peoples who have adopted a different social order and a different social and political system.

61. But the danger to the peoples does not reside in the fact that different social systems or ideologies exist. The real danger lies in the aggressive policy of "positions of strength" which is wholly incompatible with the principle of peaceful coexistence, in the new strategy of so-called "massive retaliation" which, as can be seen from statements by leading American political figures, is associated with strategic atomic bombardments and is fraught with the risk of a third world war.

62. Mr. Lloyd, who spoke yesterday [487th meeting], gave an example of a distorted representation of the facts when he repeated the absurd accusations against the Soviet Union of having committed acts which gave him no reason to believe the sincerity of the Soviet Union's desire for peaceful coexistence. One might imagine Mr. Lloyd to be one of the ardent champions of peaceful coexistence, but this is far from being the case. His defence of the policy of remilitarizing West Germany and his justification of aggressive, restricted military groups lead one to the conclusion that the last thing he believes in is the possibility of peaceful coexistence and that he evidently does not consider that peaceful coexistence is a vital necessity for the United Kingdom either.

63. Mr. Eden, on the other hand, takes a different position. On 23 June of this year he told the House

of Commons that the policy of peaceful coexistence was the United Kingdom's aim and the aim of every country. We may assume that Sir Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, holds the same view.

64. Mr. Lloyd's false inferences were loaded with rude remarks, and his attempts to raise the spectre of a "world revolution", allegedly the aim of Soviet foreign policy—a more ridiculous assertion can hardly be imagined—and his attempts deliberately to distort and besmirch the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, made his intentions quite clear. His whole speech was indicative of tendencies not at all conducive to a further relaxation of international tension or the creation of a more favourable atmosphere for the settlement of important international problems which are still unresolved despite all the efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries.

65. In his statement on 23 September [475th meeting] Mr. Dulles observed that the United States of America would confidently and steadily so act that peace might become "a sustaining principle of action". In itself such a statement deserves a favourable response, if the principle is to be taken as meaning action aimed at the maintenance of international peace. However, careful analysis of the foreign policy of the United States shows that its dominant trend is inimical to the maintenance and strengthening of peace. The United States is resolutely striving through "positions of strength" to achieve a dominant role in the world, and is attempting, in the teeth of historical necessity, to revive dead social relationships destroyed in the march of history and to thwart the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and other continents. Also obvious to all are the actions of the reactionary groups designed to frustrate the favourable turn in international relations towards a relaxation of tension which the Korean armistice and the settlement of the Indo-China question have brought about.

66. Attempts are being made to intensify the "cold war" in order to continue the militarization of economies and the armaments race, the establishment of new military bases on foreign territory and the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and to facilitate the organization of closed military groups. One such closed group with far-reaching consequences is the military bloc recently established under the Manila Treaty.

67. A noteworthy and highly characteristic circumstance is the fact that the members of the new military bloc in Asia are for the most part colonial powers, and that the Asian countries invited to become parties to the Treaty represent but one-tenth of the population of Asia, the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples of Asia being opposed to this Treaty. This fact alone shows that the real aims of the Manila Treaty have nothing in common with the true interests of the Asian peoples and with the principles on which international co-operation should be based: the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, equal rights, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The fact that some delegations here have described the new military bloc as an instrument of peace and prosperity does not change its colonialist and aggressive nature with all the ensuing consequences for the Asian peoples.

68. The final draft of the Treaty, for example, retains article 4 of the earlier draft, which, on the

pretext of combating subversive activities, provides for concerted action by the parties to the Treaty to suppress the popular movements in Asia for national independence and liberation from the yoke of colonialism. The official United States Press describes the Manila Treaty as the first official instrument of our time designed to permit international intervention in the domestic affairs of States, intervention which, moreover, can take any form, from economic and military aid to direct intervention.

69. Thus, the military alliance which the United States has formed in Asia is essentially a bloc of the colonialist Powers seeking to preserve their political and economic positions in Asia, while the pious declarations in the agreement about keeping and safeguarding the peace are there merely to reassure public opinion. However, the situation in Asia has changed radically and, no matter what steps are taken, it will continue to change in the direction of independent national development; the operation of the established laws of history cannot be prevented, and the course of history cannot be stopped, least of all by means of force.

70. In considering the position in the Far East, we cannot of course overlook the fact that the situation in that area remains tense owing to the unceasing acts of provocation by the Kuomintang which the Chinese people expelled from China and which has taken refuge on the island of Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek's pirates, under cover of the United States Seventh Fleet, which has established illegal control in the China seas, are attacking and seizing merchant ships of various countries and subjecting their crews to violence. The acts of piracy of the Kuomintang and of the United States authorities which are encouraging them are in flagrant violation of the generally accepted principles and standards of international law and, in particular, of the principle of freedom of the high seas. They are crimes which should be severely censured by the United Nations.

71. In Europe, too, the designs of those who inspire the policy of "positions of strength" are just as clear and dangerous as they are in Asia. Their plans for the division of Europe into opposing military camps and for the revival of German militarism, which more than once has brought devastation and ruin to many countries, are plans not for peace but for war.

72. The true way to ensure real security for Europe is to be found in the Soviet Government's proposal for an European collective security treaty, which takes full account of the experience of history and of the urgent needs of the nations of Europe. While there is no need at this point to make a comprehensive analysis of this problem, the Ukrainian delegation wishes to state that the Government of the Ukrainian SSR is firmly convinced that the cause of peace can be served only by an all-European system of collective security, a system which would include all States, regardless of their social structure, which would recognize and guarantee existing State frontiers, safeguard the national sovereignty of States, impose upon them the obligation not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, and provide for the participation in the collective security scheme of both parts of Germany until such time as they can be replaced by a unified Germany.

73. The Ukrainian people, which has been devoting all its efforts to the tasks of peaceful construction and raising the standard of living, remembers the lessons of the past and the untold suffering caused by repeated acts of aggression by the German militarists. It unanimously protests against the threat of a revival of German militarism which now overshadows the whole political life of Europe and is causing anxiety and uncertainty regarding the future.

74. The Ukrainian delegation also wishes to draw the attention of the United Nations to the campaign to create hatred and hostility among nations and to make propaganda in favour of a new war, which is being conducted on a wide scale in the United States. As early as 1947 the United Nations unanimously adopted resolution 110 (II) condemning all forms of war propaganda. Under that resolution, Member States undertook to take appropriate steps "to promote . . . friendly relations among nations" and "to encourage the dissemination of all information designed to give expression to the undoubted desire of all peoples for peace". In actual fact, however, in the United States, not only the reactionary portion of the Press, which is linked with certain specific social circles, but also persons in important government posts are engaging in war propaganda and giving wide publicity to plans for atomic attack on the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the people's democracies, urging the use of weapons of mass destruction to create what they call a "scorched-earth belt" and to cancel out the inexhaustible human resources of Asia. In the Middle Ages it was proclaimed that it was better to have a desert than a country populated by heretics; today, the slogan of United States war propaganda is that it is better to have scorched earth than countries with a way of life other than the so-called American way of life.

75. Senator Knowland, the Republican majority leader in the United States Senate, published in the 1 October 1954 issue of *Collier's* an article significantly entitled, "We Must Be Willing to Fight Now." Dragging out the moth-eaten communist bogey, Senator Knowland urged the United States and other western countries to be ready to wage war, "now, if necessary". That, in his opinion, would show "hard, rare courage". I would point out that Senator Knowland is a public figure who helps to shape United States foreign policy. Far from being condemned or stopped, the propaganda in favour of the extermination of peoples by atomic and hydrogen weapons is actually encouraged under the pretext of what is called freedom of the press, although it must be clear that propaganda in favour of crime and incitement to crime have nothing to do with freedom of the press.

76. At this time, when a relaxation of international tension is to be observed and the possibilities of settling controversial problems have increased, the United Nations must once again speak out against the war propaganda being carried on in the United States and other countries, and brand it as a heinous crime against humanity.

77. Accordingly, the Ukrainian delegation firmly supports the proposal [A/2744] submitted today by the Czechoslovak delegation, that the General Assembly should examine the question of the prohibition of propaganda in favour of a new war as an item of an urgent and pressing character.

78. The security of both Europe and Asia can be ensured if all States, whatever their political and social structure, co-operate and agree on a general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The achievement of agreement on the reduction of armaments and the removal of the threat of war has been and continues to be a matter of primary importance, of the most urgent and pressing nature. That is why since 1946 the Government of the Soviet Union has repeatedly submitted to the General Assembly for consideration proposals for the unconditional prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction with the establishment of strict international control over such prohibition, and a proposal for the substantial reduction of the conventional armaments of States.

79. On 30 September 1954, the Soviet Union delegation submitted a draft resolution [A/2742 and *Corr.1*] concerning the conclusion of an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, which is of the utmost importance for ensuring international peace and security.

80. The first paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union delegation stresses that the international convention should be based on the French and United Kingdom proposals of 11 June 1954 [DC/53, *annex 9*]. Under the draft resolution, the Disarmament Commission would be instructed to prepare a draft convention providing for the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and their elimination from the armaments of States, a substantial reduction in armaments and the establishment of international control over the implementation of these decisions. Provision is made for two successive reductions of armaments and budgetary appropriations for military requirements, to the extent of 50 per cent of the agreed levels, from the strength of armaments and armed forces existing on 31 December 1953.

81. In view of the increasingly destructive power of atomic weapons, the question of the international settlement of the problem of the cessation of the production, and the prohibition of the use, of such weapons is becoming ever more urgent. It is therefore only natural that the Soviet Union draft resolution should give this question the importance it deserves. The only means of averting the threat of an atomic war is the complete and unconditional prohibition of thermonuclear weapons and their elimination from the armaments of States. Only in this way can mankind be protected against the threat of mass annihilation.

82. An important question in considering ways of implementing the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons is that of ensuring the compulsory application of prohibition and reduction, with guarantees that the convention to be signed will in fact be observed by all States, and that no State's security will be jeopardized as the result of violation of the convention. The way to ensure this is to establish effective international control. The USSR draft resolution provides for the establishment, first, of a temporary international control commission and, subsequently, of a standing international control organ. This proposal must be regarded as satisfactory in every respect.

83. The USSR draft resolution for the conclusion of a convention on the substantial reduction of armaments and the establishment of international control provides a practical basis for the adoption by the General Assembly of a decision which would be acceptable to all States, a decision so anxiously awaited by the peoples

of the world. The Ukrainian delegation warmly supports this draft resolution which is of such great importance for the strengthening of world peace and international security.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.