

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## TENTH SESSION

### Official Records



# 520th PLENARY MEETING

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**President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).**

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. CASEY (AUSTRALIA), MR. BELAÚNDE (PERU) AND MR. MOLOTOV (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS)

1. Mr. CASEY (Australia): May I start by saying how warmly the Australian delegation welcomes the election of Mr. Maza to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We congratulate him and assure him of our full co-operation in his task of steering the affairs of this great meeting through what I hope will be calm waters. In addition, I should also like to express our gratitude to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. van Kleffens of the Netherlands, who last year here, and more recently in San Francisco, presided with such patience and skill over our deliberations.

2. When I spoke last year in the General Assembly [479th meeting], I pointed to a number of events in various parts of the world which seemed to give grounds for optimism. No one of these events was outstanding in itself but, taken together, they seemed at the time to promise a process of gradual change for the better.

3. This year I would rather look at the international scene the other way round. Instead of adding together a number of more or less isolated occurrences and trying to assess their influence on the international climate as a whole, I believe we should consider the great change which appears to have taken place in the political climate of the world and try to assess what influence this change has had and will have on particular problems and situations with which we have to deal.

4. The great change in the international climate came about early this year, and was notable at the Geneva Conference of Heads of Government in July. Since that historic meeting, a great deal has been written and said about what was achieved there. I think for myself that quite the most important thing about the Geneva meeting was the fact that it was held.

5. Like many others, I put a very high value on personal contact. Even in this age of almost instantaneous world-wide communications, there is no substitute for it. You cannot transmit personality, conviction or sincerity by telegram, nor by any means of communication yet to be achieved. One cannot make friends

by proxy or at long distance, however perfect one's means of communication. I often wish I could convince myself that one could, as it would save me a lot of very hard travelling. In going to Geneva and making personal contact, and thus removing some of the animosities and suspicions which have marked international affairs for so many years, the Heads of Governments did us all a great service.

6. Nevertheless, the barometer is not yet set fair. Let us not forget that the Geneva talks did not solve any single problem. Certainly they were not intended to do so; they were meant to afford a way of approach to solutions. However, the contacts achieved at Geneva were important and significant, and give grounds for hope that, as a result, a process of practical co-operation in respect of specific matters can be set in train directed towards the solution of particular international differences. However practical and down to earth we may believe ourselves to be, let us not adopt, in this inter-Geneva period, an attitude of scepticism. Let us look forward with hope to the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Geneva next month. We will discover soon enough if the Geneva spirit is really what the world has been hoping and praying for. If not, I think the peoples will know who to blame.

7. The most important single problem is that of Germany. Europe—and so the world—cannot be permanently stable and at peace while the division of Germany endures. The tensions inseparable from this division preclude the confidence without which disarmament is a dream. The horror of atomic war is bound up with this question of the reunification of the German people more than with any other single political question. The negotiations on Germany will be an illuminating test of the sincerity of the new leadership in the Soviet Government. The terms on which it will consent to consider German reunification are the acid test.

8. In saying this I do not forget for one moment that during the past year Austria has been freed. With all the world, we welcomed the news of the successful results of Chancellor Raab's visit to Moscow. But are the terms on which Austria was released from bondage to be a model for Germany? If so, would not a power vacuum dangerous to Western Europe, the Atlantic, and hence to the greater part of the world, be created? Could Western statesmen then be expected to accept such terms?

9. The German problem remains one of the hard cores of tension and mistrust. You cannot neutralize the power and influence of a great people which has shown how it can rise within a decade from the dust and rubble of defeat to a position of significance in the world. I believe that Western Germany today, though fully conscious of its rapidly growing industrial and political power, is determined that its power shall be used for good.

10. The granting of the opportunity for the reunification of Germany by genuinely free all-German elections, without strings, is the sort of evidence that practical men will require before the Geneva spirit can be considered to have prevailed. Will we see this evidence at the Foreign Ministers' meeting next month? Does the Moscow "new look" mean that peace and the release of mankind from the terror and the horror of atomic war are the real goals of Soviet policy? Or is it only a mask for a tactical phase of synthetic good will designed to lull the fears of the peoples of the West, and deprive Western leaders of the backing of their populations? The further talks of the Big Four will indicate the answers to these questions, and what Moscow proposes about Germany will be the clearest sign.

11. In the last year, I believe the most sinister subject that has occupied the minds of thinking men has been the hydrogen bomb. Many people may think of the hydrogen bomb as something which, in the extreme, would be used only by one giant Power against another, leaving the rest of the world immune. From this it may be argued that the control of the hydrogen bomb is a matter which rests in the first place, and possibly ultimately, with the great Powers.

12. We in Australia cannot accept that this is in fact the position. We believe that the existence of these apocalyptic weapons is a matter which concerns us all, the smallest hardly less than the greatest. Obviously the prime moves towards the control of these fearful weapons must rest with the giant Powers, but all of us must take the most constant and continuing interest in this matter, and do all we can to further the efforts which are being made under the auspices of the United Nations to regulate them. Australia therefore watches these efforts with the closest interest. We see the present situation as one in which the giants of this world are in a position to obliterate each other and possibly to drag all mankind to destruction in the process. We therefore attach the greatest importance to the work of the Disarmament Commission and of its Sub-Committee.

13. The process of finding a means by which nuclear weapons may be controlled and, at the same time, conventional forces reduced, may be difficult and may take time. The whole thing — and what a vastly important thing for us all — hinges on confidence, and confidence, as we all know, has by no means yet been restored. And confidence will not be restored until integrity has been restored. Again, there is no substitute for integrity.

14. In this connexion, also, it should be possible to put the Geneva spirit into practical effect. We believe that common ground might be found between President Eisenhower's bold and imaginative proposal at Geneva for exchange of information and mutual inspection and the position adopted earlier in the year by the Soviet Government. There is also need for all of us here to study most carefully the plan put forward at Geneva by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France. For our part, we shall do all we can to aid in the search for common ground and to encourage the growth of confidence which is such an essential part of the whole business.

15. I have spoken of the need to create an atmosphere of greater mutual trust before the safety of all countries can be assured. I have mentioned steps in developing

this trust which must be taken by the communist side — immediate steps such as permitting the reunification of Germany — which would go far towards creating the necessary conditions for a new international relationship. But beneath these great political decisions lies a whole field of human relations which I venture to hope will be permitted to develop into fruitful and lasting contacts between the so-called Eastern and Western worlds — contacts not only between experts on such technical matters as atomic energy and agriculture and health, but between ordinary men and women who may freely visit each other's countries, seeing what they please and talking to whom they please.

16. After the unification of Germany, what are we to find? Will it be only that the Iron Curtain has been moved back a short distance on the map? Is this frontier of suspicion and fear to persist? If so, great dangers will remain. Until ordinary folk can come and go on lawful and innocent pursuits, until first-hand knowledge can be gained on both sides of the frontier, confidence and security will be unsure.

17. I do not wish to overrate the importance of these exchanges, but besides increasing cultural, scientific, technical and specialized exchanges and contacts between people in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, and the rest of the world, I would like to see steps taken that would result in the progressive development of contacts between ordinary people who have no other aim in view than that of getting to know each other. Such ordinary contacts between ordinary human beings would be a way of greatly amplifying and expanding the spirit of Geneva.

18. It is of the utmost importance that the peoples of all nations should acquire a full understanding of each other based upon truth and facts. Unfortunately, as we are all aware, the peoples of communist countries are prevented from knowing the truth about the rest of the world. They are isolated and insulated from contact with other peoples. They are deliberately prevented from learning about each other through the ordinary media of communication such as the Press and radio. This isolation of the Soviet and other communist peoples from the true facts constitutes a great potential threat to peace and is something which I sincerely hope will be progressively broken down at the next Geneva meeting and thereafter.

19. Indeed, the present session of the General Assembly may provide some opportunities for the Soviet Union to show us evidence of its real intentions in some of the fields I have mentioned. Many people all over the world are now giving serious thought to the ways and means of living peacefully side by side with countries whose government is based on principles different from their own.

20. In recent years we have heard much from the Soviet Government about "peaceful coexistence", a term which it is not unfair to say originally had a rather equivocal meaning, but which nowadays we might hope is going to be used in a more real sense. But whatever the theoretical niceties of the matter, it seems clear that in present conditions we must either coexist or co-perish — either co-live or co-die. That is probably why the orthodox meaning of peaceful coexistence in the 1920's and 1930's — when it really meant little more than what the French call "*reculer pour mieux sauter*" — has come in the 1950's to mean a more permanent, if still a somewhat sterile, relationship.

21. For my part, I am in favour of peaceful coexistence. But by this I do not mean merely a static acceptance of the fact that modern weapons would make it suicidal to attempt to impose one's political and social pattern on the other side. I mean a relationship in which understanding and trust can be developed at all levels. Coexistence must be a co-operative and progressive thing — not just another name for the waiting game.

22. I find no difficulty in the idea of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different economic systems, some organized largely on the principles of private enterprise and others with a varying degree of governmental planning and control. We have passed beyond the stage of history when men could only conceive of two diametrically opposed systems — that of completely free enterprise and that of full-scale socialism. The countries of the world today present a great variety of different forms of economic organization, including various combinations of State control and private initiative. These differences in organization sometimes reflect factors in national political tradition, and sometimes arise out of fundamental problems of economic development.

23. To suggest that one particular form of organization — either socialist or capitalist — must impose itself upon the whole world is to ignore the experience of history and to deny the facts of the modern world. It is perfectly possible and mutually advantageous for countries with somewhat different economic systems to trade with each other and to develop other kinds of economic co-operation — provided there is general confidence that coexistence is sincerely accepted by both parties as a political and social principle, as well as an economic one.

24. As a political principle, peaceful coexistence is not a new idea; it is surely but another way of stating one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations. In the words of the Preamble of the Charter, "the peoples of the United Nations [are] determined... to practise tolerance and live together... as good neighbours"; and one of the purposes set out in Article 1 of the Charter is: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Surely this is what peaceful coexistence really means.

25. Nevertheless, I believe that we have to define what we mean by coexistence rather more precisely. I would say that coexistence must mean that no one country or group of countries shall attempt by force of arms to harass or subdue another. But beyond that — and perhaps of even greater importance in the circumstances of today — coexistence must mean that no country shall attempt, politically or otherwise, to undermine the allegiance of the people of another country from its government. These are the outward and visible minima on which coexistence, as I understand it, must rest.

26. For our side — the non-communist or democratic side — these considerations present no difficulty. They exist in practice already. But on the other side — the communist side — the cessation of efforts to bring about internal dissension or subversion in other countries requires high policy decisions in both Moscow and Peking. As we have seen so recently against the background of the activities of Soviet representatives in Australia, existing policies of long standing will have to be reversed.

27. If I am right in thinking that the Geneva Conference means that the prospect of physical communist aggression has greatly receded, it is necessary to em-

phasize that before peaceful coexistence can come about in any real sense, policy decisions must be made by communist Governments which will rule out the continuation of such subversive activities *vis-à-vis* States with which the Communists ostensibly maintain friendly relations.

28. Another aspect of this matter, which is related to what I have said, is the state of ignorance in which the peoples of the communist countries are kept regarding the state of affairs in the principal democratic countries. Those observers from the free world who have been permitted to travel in the Soviet Union and in communist China in recent times all bear witness to the fantastic picture of life in democratic countries which has come to be accepted unquestioningly even by intelligent and educated Communists.

29. Australians who have travelled in communist countries have told me personally of their dismay when they have met ordinary decent people in the Soviet Union or in China and were unable to shake by rational argument their appalling misconceptions about the facts of life in the Western world, and perhaps in Australia in particular. So great had been their isolation, and so thorough and lengthy their indoctrination, that the great majority of people — even educated people — in communist countries seemed convinced that the ordinary people in countries like Australia were down-trodden and oppressed and were praying for the day when they might be liberated from their sufferings by a benevolent communist rule.

30. Such a situation cannot but concern us all, since it is obvious that when hundreds of millions of people think ill and wrongly of their neighbours, there is always the risk of their being led into dangerous adventures which could set off a great explosion. A confident peace can only be based on understanding and tolerance among nations, especially among neighbours. I do not believe that uniformity of outlook or conformity of ideology are necessarily essential to the preservation of peace. But suspicion, and still more a suspicion deliberately nurtured by Governments, is corrosive of anything that can properly be called coexistence. It is no use talking about coexistence unless you practise the essentials on which it must be based.

31. I would like to say something about Australia's interest in United Nations activities devoted to the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Australia is a country which is fortunate in possessing considerable resources of raw materials of radioactive substances. As such, we welcome the recent concentration of international effort on the development of atomic power for the benefit of mankind. Like so many of our neighbours in Asia, Australia is much in need of sources of cheap power for purposes of development.

32. The Australian Government wishes to participate to the full in international efforts to facilitate the achievement of these aims. Indeed, we are hopeful that shortly the whole emphasis of discussion and thought regarding the atom may be changed from the destructive to the constructive. Australia participated, with as strong a delegation as we could send, in the Geneva Conference of scientists on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and we did our best to contribute positively to the papers and studies which were exchanged, to the mutual advantage of all the participating countries. In the same spirit, we were glad to join with other countries in drawing up a draft statute for the proposed Inter-

national Atomic Energy Agency, which we believe can be a practical instrument for bringing scientific knowledge of atomic power to those who need it.

33. I may say that Australia is also keenly interested in the items which will come before the General Assembly regarding the effects of nuclear radiation. Australia, as a country rich in the raw materials of nuclear power and a country also spacious enough to permit the carrying out of large-scale nuclear experiments, has a direct interest, and indeed a concern which is widely felt amongst our people.

34. Let me now say something about Australia's attitude towards the United Nations, and in particular, at the present time, our attitude towards the Security Council, of which we have great hopes that we may shortly become a member. We like to believe that our attitude towards the United Nations is a practical one. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that we do not expect the United Nations always to achieve international co-operation and understanding in an ideal form; nor do we expect the contrary. But we have tried, and we will continue to try, to deal with matters as they arise in the United Nations in a spirit of common sense, judging each situation on its merits and in the light of what is practical in present-day circumstances.

35. As a Commonwealth country, we hope to bring to the deliberations of the Security Council something of the special experience we share with our fellow Commonwealth countries.

36. The Commonwealth today occupies an exceptional position in world affairs because it constitutes a group of independent self-governing nations bound together in a voluntary association by ties of friendship and common heritage. The United Kingdom, which may be called the foundation member of the Commonwealth, has had unique experience in the difficult task of nurturing and guiding the development of countries to the point at which they can take over their own affairs and their own destinies. It is a great tribute to the United Kingdom that, as these countries have achieved their independence, so many of them have chosen to remain within the association of the Commonwealth, and that between these countries, whether or not they have remained in the Commonwealth, even closer ties of friendship and mutual comprehension have been established than existed before they attained self-government. The Commonwealth, as a living and evolving organism, is the embodiment of a great reservoir of experience in the arts not only of democratic government but also of co-operation between peoples at different stages of development. Whilst all members of the Commonwealth have contributed to this experience, the greatest credit must be given to the United Kingdom for the wisdom and understanding that its Government and Parliament have applied to the development of this Commonwealth of independent countries, equal in status if not in stature, and bound by common ties.

37. Of course the influence for good of the United Kingdom itself extends far beyond the frontiers of the Commonwealth, or even of its former empire, because so many of the constitutional and legal concepts on which the structure of the free world — and, indeed, of this Organization — is founded have been developed, tested, and exemplified in British institutions over the centuries. Despite the difficult years of economic readjustment since the end of the war, the United Kingdom has again and again played an important role in world affairs by the exercise of the same qualities of wisdom

and tolerance with which we in the Commonwealth are so familiar. We know that in the present session of the United Nations problems will be ventilated which directly affect the United Kingdom's interests. We in Australia are convinced that, in so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, these problems will be dealt with with patience, justice and humanity. In the nature of things, the United Kingdom has in view not only its own interests, in the narrow sense of the term, but also those of the Commonwealth and even of the still wider world community.

38. For the United Nations to work with optimum effect, it must unite as many of the nations of the world as meet its requirements for membership. The wider its membership, the more authority will be vested in decisions and initiatives taken in its name. This is a problem on which I hope and believe that progress will be made this year, and I look forward to hearing from the representative of the Soviet Union that his Government is now ready to play its part in opening the gates. For its part, Australia has always maintained that, to be fully effective, the United Nations must be as fully representative as possible of the nations of the world. I need not remind you that universality of membership remains our agreed objective as Members of this Organization.

39. In the better atmosphere now prevailing among the great Powers, we would welcome most gladly a decision by the General Assembly and the Security Council whereby a substantial number of the present applicants would come in. The Australian delegation will, during this session, support any realistic and practical method of achieving this. In saying this, it will of course be understood that I make no reference to Australia's attitude about Chinese representation in the United Nations, on which, in any case, the Assembly has already taken, with Australian support, a decision to postpone action for a further period.

40. There are a number of countries on the waiting list which could undoubtedly make an effective contribution to the work of the United Nations, and which have already given evidence of their acceptance of the principles for which the United Nations stands.

41. Without at this stage canvassing the claims of particular countries to membership, I should like to say a special word about Japan as an illustration of what I have said. When the Treaty of Peace with Japan, signed at San Francisco, came into force about three and a half years ago, there remained not only a number of outstanding problems to be settled but also a good deal of understandable reserve in Australia towards Japan. I am glad to say that in the past three and a half years very good progress has been made in clearing up the outstanding matters not covered by the Treaty and that, approaching our problems pragmatically, we have achieved a distinct advance in the relationship between Australia and Japan.

42. At the same time, Japan has entered fully into the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, where there was no barrier to its membership, and has shown itself ready and indeed anxious to build a place for itself in the new international system. Japan has recently been admitted to the Colombo Plan, and is beginning to assist in its work. Japan has also accepted the authority of the International Court of Justice; and, in what could have been, in other circumstances, a difficult dispute over pearl fisheries in waters adjacent to Australia, our two Governments are submitting the legal issues involved to the International Court of

Justice, while the activities of the Japanese pearl fishers are continuing under a provisional régime.

43. It is on the basis of this practical evidence of Japan's policy and conduct in recent years, and in an atmosphere of improving relations, that Australia has recently assured Japan of full support in connexion with its seeking admission to the United Nations, which admission we hope will take place at the present session of the Assembly.

44. I would hope that the entry of new Members to the United Nations will be discussed on its merits and that irrelevant matters will not be introduced. It would be very difficult to defend, and it would be wholly opposed to the spirit of the Charter and to the Geneva spirit, to make the entry of any new Members the subject of pressure to get them to agree to some matter quite extraneous to their suitability for United Nations membership.

45. At this point I would like to say a few words on the question of Charter review. We have heard many suggestions for amending the Charter and making the United Nations more effective. A great deal of study and discussion of these problems has been going on for a long time in Australia, both within the Government and in interested private bodies. Against this background, I have reached the view that the shortcomings of the United Nations over the past ten years have sprung not so much from its constitution and the text of the Charter itself, as from the more fundamental disagreements of Members, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council.

46. These differences of national interest cannot, in our view, be amended out of existence by changes in the United Nations Charter. We therefore see some danger in holding a conference to review the Charter at an early date, since amendments of substance are hardly likely to receive the necessary support, and discussion of them may very well lead to barren controversy and the hardening of positions already well known.

47. In any case, Article 108 of the Charter provides a direct method of amendment without the necessity for a review conference, and, if there is any immediately required and agreed amendment, it can be adopted and incorporated in the Charter as part of our ordinary business. For example, it is possible that, if a substantial number of new Members are admitted to the United Nations, some amendment to the Charter might be thought to be desirable — such as an enlargement of the established membership of certain United Nations bodies, perhaps, in particular, the Security Council itself.

48. I now feel that I must say a few words about a subject which we in Australia hope will not have to be discussed again at this session of the Assembly — that is, the subject of West New Guinea. The present position in this regard is that the General Committee has not yet discussed whether or not it will be included in our agenda. I have asked for the privilege of being present in the General Committee when this agenda item comes to be discussed, when I will have opportunity to express the views of my delegation and of my Government in this regard. In these circumstances, I do not believe that it would be right or appropriate for me to express myself at this moment. The views of the Australian Government will be known to representatives from the debates of last year.

49. I turn now to economic and social matters. For the past three years Australia has been a member of the

Economic and Social Council. This has been Australia's second term, and our representative to the Council, Sir Douglas Copland, had the honour of being elected President of the Council this year.

50. I feel that it is important to say something about the terms "developed" and "under-developed", which are used so freely in relation to United Nations economic programmes. In the first place, there is a tendency for people to lump together all the so-called "under-developed" countries. In fact, of course, there are very wide variations within this classification.

51. Taking my own country, Australia, as an example, we are in some fields of our economy a developed country. In others, Australia is an under-developed country, in the sense that our economy needs regular and appreciable injections of capital from outside if our rate of growth is to be maintained. So it seems to me important to take account of factors such as I have mentioned in relation to Australia in considering other countries which are in need of various degrees and forms of outside help if their living standards are to rise, or indeed, in some cases, if they are even to be maintained at their present levels.

52. There is, of course, no exact yardstick for measuring these things, but one method of approach which may help to keep the respective claims of recipient countries in better perspective is to look at the problem on a regional basis. This would mean dealing separately with the Latin American countries, whose average income is relatively high, separately again with countries in the Middle East and, finally, with the large area of South and South-East Asia, where incomes per head are very low. We, in Australia, are, of course, particularly conscious of the great and pressing needs of our friends and neighbours in South and South-East Asia, where low-income economies, unfortunately, still predominate so widely, and the adaptation of modern techniques in power and fuel, transport, industry and agriculture are still relatively limited.

53. Even if the problem of allocating aid to under-developed countries is considered on some basis of relative needs such as those I have suggested, the solution cannot be found merely by providing financial contributions, even if sufficient funds were available to do this on a much larger scale than is at present possible. Much more important than the mere injection of capital from outside into under-developed economies is the capacity and determination of recipient countries themselves to mobilize such local resources as are available, and to develop an administrative structure in which modern techniques can be applied to raise productivity without damage to the traditional structures of their societies.

54. In some respects, the Colombo Plan may be regarded as a pilot project for this purpose, which endeavours to keep in view the considerations which I have mentioned. The Colombo Plan deals with countries of a specific area, and there have been developed under it some interesting and imaginative techniques. And the outstanding feature of the Colombo Plan is that aid from outside, whether given as technical assistance or in the form of equipment, is complementary to the plans being developed by the recipient countries themselves. The initiative rests with them, and the external assistance takes the form of a contribution, perhaps a valuable contribution, to their own resources. Even in respect of the operation of the Colombo Plan, we have

yet to evolve what may be called catalytic techniques, which will trigger off local initiatives and activities. We are constantly seeking for new initiatives in this matter.

55. I may say that we will shortly welcome the thousandth Asian student to come to Australia for training under the Colombo Plan. Perhaps even more important is the fact that, since the end of the war, no fewer than 10,000 Asian students have had training in Australia, including Colombo Plan trainees. By far the greater part of these 10,000 students have come to Australia in the ordinary way, paying their own way. I have no doubt that these large numbers of ordinary students have been encouraged to come to Australia by reason of the welcome that their Colombo Plan colleagues have had.

56. I do not intend in any way to underestimate the very definite progress towards assisting the under-developed countries which has been made by the United Nations itself. The United Nations Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance which, in the current year, will make available approximately \$30 million for training individuals in the under-developed countries and providing experts to assist their own plans in many fields, is achieving very considerable success. It represents a fine achievement in international co-operation, embracing as it does practically all the nations of the world. There has been nothing quite like it before. Australia is a substantial contributor to this programme and has been fortunately able to provide many experts and to furnish facilities for the training of a great many individuals in Australia itself.

57. The past year has seen further significant achievements on the part of those organs of the United Nations which have been established to assist in efforts directed to the relief of human suffering, to the general improvement in living standards and to the development of under-developed economies. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has continued its considerable assistance to national projects for the improvement of the health and welfare of children, at a cost of more than \$15 million. In the more strictly humanitarian field, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and the organization of the High Commissioner for Refugees, have provided relief to, and in many cases assisted in the rehabilitation of, many of the hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people who have been dislodged by war from their former homes and communities in the Middle East and Europe respectively.

58. The Australian Government has always believed that activities of this kind provide the United Nations with valuable opportunities to develop the bonds of friendship and human co-operation between nations. All of these activities are supported by voluntary contributions by Member States—and in some instances by non-member States—and are carried on through the devoted service of men and women whose work reflects the greatest credit on the United Nations. Australia has always considered it a duty and a privilege to participate in these schemes, and to contribute to the extent of its capacity.

59. I am therefore glad to say that, subject to Australian parliamentary approval, the Australian Government has decided to make the following contributions for the current year: to UNICEF, for the calendar year 1955, \$566,720, which is a 20 per cent increase over our contribution of last year; to UNRWA, for the year ending 30 June 1956, \$112,000, which is the same as

our contribution last year; to the United Nations Refugee Fund, for 1955, \$112,000, which is double our contribution of last year.

60. The Australian Government is at present considering a further contribution to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and would hope to be in a position to make an announcement as to the amount in the near future. Last year's contribution by Australia was \$500,000.

61. In considering the scale of these contributions to United Nations programmes, it should be remembered that they are additional to Australia's contributions to the Colombo Plan, which during the current year will amount to the equivalent of nearly \$11 million. Thus the total Australian contributions to international projects of economic aid, technical assistance and humanitarian relief, during the financial year 1955-1956, will amount to over \$12 million.

62. I am also glad to say that the Australian Government has agreed to participate in the International Finance Corporation, which will provide a useful channel for the investment of capital in under-developed countries.

63. Usually I devote a good deal of my time in these annual surveys to affairs directly concerning Australia's relationship with the countries of South and South-East Asia. This, I think, is understandable by reason of the geographical position of Australia. This year I have devoted less of my time to such matters, although I hope I need not say that this does not indicate any lessening of Australia's interest in our immediate friends and neighbours. Perhaps it means that there are fewer problems to discuss.

64. Australia's continued interest in the countries of South and South-East Asia is reflected, I think, in the fact that I will shortly be visiting the capitals of most of these countries before I return to Australia. I look forward to visiting Karachi, New Delhi, Rangoon, Bangkok, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Djakarta, and spending at least several days in each. In the course of those visits, I hope to renew many personal contacts and friendships of the past and to have the opportunity to discuss many matters of mutual concern. The Colombo Plan Ministerial Conference in Singapore, in mid-October, will provide an opportunity for the Foreign Ministers of a wide range of countries to meet together to discuss a lot of things in a relatively unhurried way. Personally I value these contacts highly. Their importance, I think, cannot be overestimated for the development of mutual understanding, which is the basis of friendly relationships.

65. We are all here in an effort to work out what is best to do in a variety of directions. In some of these directions our individual national interests are involved, but in the larger matters, the top-level matters which vitally concern us all, the interests of all countries of the world are alike: what is best for all is best for each, in particular the preserving of the peace of the world. In these great matters of vital and overriding importance, let us all remember—those of us who are large and those of us who are small—the remark of a wise man of the past: "Let us beware of that splendid smallness which is local patriotism."

66. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): I associate myself whole-heartedly with the congratulations which Mr. Maza has received on his well-deserved election as President of the General

Assembly. He was elected because of his personal merits and his brilliant parliamentary career, and his election is at the same time a recognition of Chile's enthusiastic support of the United Nations and the conspicuous services it has rendered the Organization.

67. I must also recall, both as a matter of justice and out of affection, the brilliant manner in which the former President, Mr. van Kleffens, gave us proof of human feeling, extreme courtesy, and a masterly skill in settling difficult questions.

68. And since I am talking about justice, I cannot omit, in this review, to pay a tribute to the work done by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in preparation for the Geneva Conference, the success of which we are all enthusiastically acclaiming, and to the negotiations which he conducted with such intelligence and adroitness on behalf of the prisoners detained in China, which were also crowned with success.

69. Having satisfied justice, I shall turn to the questions before us. The commemoration of the signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco gave us an opportunity to examine the Organization's work and to point out some of the reasons which had made it difficult and the perils which beset it. In sober and authoritative terms, speakers expressed the view that the balance sheet of the United Nations was favourable. We believe, however, that an attempt should be made to examine the Organization as a whole. We emphasize this word "whole" because the United Nations, a living institution, does not depend on the legal provisions of the Charter alone, but on the whole complex of psychological, economic, social and moral factors which have come within what we might call its vital scope.

70. When the League of Nations was founded, many believed that the European system of balance of power had been abolished and superseded by the so-called collective security system embodied in the juridical obligation of common defence. But that plan, which in any case lacked the necessary universality because of the absence of the United States of America, the late entry of the Soviet Union and of Germany, and then the withdrawal of the latter and also of Japan, failed. It failed because the League put its faith mostly in the legal aspect of the problem, without taking the moral atmosphere into account—an atmosphere unfortunately vitiated at the time by conflicting ideological currents—and without paying attention to the essential factor, the economic interdependence of States.

71. The experience of the League of Nations led the founders of the United Nations to seek the greatest possible degree of universality by bringing in all the large States and opening the door to all peace-loving countries. The Soviet Union and the United States of America, which had been absent when the League of Nations was founded, were the two pillars of the new Organization. The Security Council was given executive powers for the defence of peace. The Military Staff Committee was set up and means were provided whereby all States could co-operate in any necessary restraining action. An effort was made to develop human solidarity in its cultural and economic aspects, both as an end in itself and as a means of ensuring peace. Lastly, in conferring upon the General Assembly, true expression of the democracy of States, the power to discuss matters, provision was made to enlist the feelings of world public opinion for peace. Thus the merely legal obligation of collective security was to become integrated in this vital process with economic and cultural inter-

dependence, and the whole was to be guided by the universal conscience, as personified by and incarnated in the General Assembly.

72. We could thus envisage not only the coexistence of equal and sovereign Powers within their own spheres in which no one should interfere, but a programme of economic co-operation requiring a living and fruitful moral atmosphere.

73. The great Powers were given the mandate to preserve peace and to use all their strength and resources for that purpose. The Charter respected regional agreements. Dependent peoples were given the hope of achieving self-government, sacred mandates being established in some cases and in other cases trusteeship agreements which were to lead to independence and freedom. Lastly, the Statute of the International Court of Justice was drafted, and it was hoped that the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court would be extended.

74. All this magnificent and imposing machinery was based, unfortunately, on two postulates: constant agreement of the great Powers in all important questions and the existence of a moral atmosphere of complete agreement on certain ethical questions, without which it is impossible for obligations to be fulfilled or juridical institutions to function. I repeat—a political aspect—agreement among the great Powers; a moral aspect—full agreement on ethical certainties, that is to say, on international morals.

75. Events have shown that these two conditions have rarely been fulfilled. The Soviet Union has followed its traditional policy, which is based on its own geographical and military position, and it took full advantage of its military position when the other Allies suddenly disarmed, while Europe was in the grip of a serious crisis. The life of our Organization began at a time of great instability; that should be clearly indicated by political sociology. Moreover, once the common danger had disappeared through the destruction of the Nazi régime, the contrast re-emerged between the Western concept of life, which endeavours to realize social justice within a context of freedom, and the Marxist concept, which endeavours to realize it through the all-powerful action of the State.

76. The century-old experience of Europe has proved that a concentration of power, with its tendency towards a universal State, can be halted only by an equilibrium achieved under the beneficent and effective influence of spiritual values. With all its defects, the limitation of power by balance, in accordance with concepts dating back to mediaeval tradition, brought long periods of peace to Europe during the eighteenth century and initiated that concert of Powers described by Voltaire in memorable pages, which was a unique example in the history of civilization. The same factors of military and political balance and spiritual community also brought long periods of peace to Europe in the nineteenth century, and up to the 1914 war, as has been clearly shown by Professor Taylor in his book, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*.

77. The United Nations could not be given the magic power of creating *ex nihilo* and overnight the elements necessary to replace the military and moral conditions for the limitation of power which existed under the old system of balance. Fortunately, the Charter has safeguarded the principle of regional collective security in the event that universal collective security does not function owing to lack of agreement among the great Powers.

Thanks to this principle, and within the letter and spirit of the Charter, treaties can be signed which guarantee not only peace within a certain region, but also defence against all extra-regional aggression, thus making a certain balance possible.

78. It is true that the discovery of atomic weapons in the critical period between 1946 and 1949 placed in the hands of the West the greatest force capable of halting or containing aggression, but it did not prevent wars of subversion, a slow and stealthy advance, constant infiltration, and lastly, expansion in Asia, which could only be arrested by the miracle of collective action which took place in Korea.

79. Economic co-operation, with the generous help of the United States, has brought about a favourable change in European countries. Christian democracy, which admirably synthesizes the supreme dignity of the individual with the most advanced requirements of social justice, prepared the reconstruction of Italy and Germany, and inspired that of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, thus preparing the integration of Europe on a basis of economic unity and cultural community. With indefatigable and heroic dignity, Spain has countered all intervention, no matter whence it came, with its supreme desire for independence which, in keeping with its glorious traditions, it has always exercised in favour of the West, that is, of peace.

80. The economic rehabilitation and the democratic organization of Europe have created a link of effective mutual dependence which is reflected in the treaties which have been signed, the essence and aim of which is peace. This type of mutual dependence has also inspired other pacts signed by the democratic countries of Asia and of other areas for common defence.

81. Slowly, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, conditions have been created for a new balance, of a defensive character, the efficacy of which is reflected in the change in the policy of the Soviet bloc. This result speaks with crushing eloquence of the need to maintain and consolidate the position which has been reached.

82. Although the Soviet Union also possesses nuclear weapons, the balance does not appear to have been endangered. The infinite danger of these weapons has created an attitude of restraint on both sides. Nuclear weapons, unlike other armaments, do not awaken the spirit of adventure or the desire to go to war at every opportunity in the fallacious illusion of a swift and final victory. The conviction is taking root, in the minds not only of the leaders but also of the peoples of the world — and it is our duty to strengthen this conviction — that atomic warfare, even if it is begun locally and is limited at first to tactical operations, will tend to become generalized and will lead quickly to the annihilation of both sides. Not the dream of a universal empire, but the ghastly nightmare of universal destruction, hangs over the minds of the leaders of today.

83. Today there is no common body of transcendental beliefs and ethical certainties, nor is there any common concept of life, such as existed in the balance of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but there does exist, in addition to the material balance which is now developing, a consciousness of the common danger which would arise as a result of any warlike adventure. It is obvious that generous spirits would prefer to a negative bond and reciprocal fear — to what is known as the balance of terror — a positive union based on

respect for the genuine ways of life of each people and mutual understanding of the particular value of each culture. But, failing such profound and dynamic solidarity, we must take full advantage of what has been created by reciprocal restraint, perfecting it, as the Charter requires, by economic interdependence and cultural exchange. There is a crystal-clear and most encouraging fact in life today: economies are developing in mutual dependence and the various cultures are becoming increasingly richer by their influence on one another.

84. It will be said that the United Nations, not as a legal system but as a living reality, has only revived the former balance which was discredited by two catastrophes and the system of alliances to which has been attributed the instability which led to two wars. We can affirm with all sincerity, having carefully studied the facts, that these catastrophes occurred precisely because not enough attention had been paid to maintaining an effective and timely balance in the material and moral fields. It is obvious that there are similarities between the balance which is developing today within the framework of the Charter and the former balance, but it would be absurd to base a tendentious identification on such similarities when in fact there are differences, as I shall proceed to show.

85. The former balance was based primarily on the politico-military idea that States lived for war. The new balance uses, and has to use, politico-military elements, but within a juridical organization.

86. The former balance presumed an aristocracy of States, a situation which was not affected by the role which was occasionally, and temporarily, assigned to the small Powers, as at the Congress of Vienna. The new balance calls for equality of all States in co-operation for peace and security, except that the greater Powers have greater responsibility. Proof of this lies in the decisive role played to-day by the medium-sized and smaller Powers of America, Asia, Africa and Oceania.

87. The former balance was compatible with economic rivalries, which in some cases led to temporary adjustments of a commercial nature. The new balance presupposes effective economic interdependence and the need for and mutual advantage of co-operating in the development of the non-industrialized countries, and in the raising of the standard of living of all peoples.

88. The former balance was sometimes supported by religious convictions and the opinion of cultured minorities. The new balance seeks the support of popular opinion and endeavours to encourage the creation of a true universal conscience.

89. The most important difference between the old balance and the new lies in their respective goals. In the former system, population increase and economic progress led to increased power and changes in the military situation which could be compensated only by super-human efforts on the part of the less favoured nations, the readjustment of old alliances or the creation of new ones. This unstable situation led to the so-called arms race, with its attendant danger of war. The new balance, which must not be regarded as an end in itself, but as a means towards a higher end, calls for a reduction of armaments to the level strictly necessary for defence, instead of an arms race. The new balance is therefore linked by its intrinsic nature to disarmament, or, to be more explicit, to the limitation and reduction of arms.

90. As the Charter lays down, States must not live for war, but for peace. The stabilization, or the "freezing", of armed forces is not sufficient. We cannot be satisfied with a balance which might be called static. The new balance must be flexible, and although this may appear paradoxical, it must be dynamic, in that it must lead to a gradual, equitable and proportionate reduction of weapons of war to the limit needed for defence.

91. With regard to weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear or not — high explosives, bacterial and chemical warfare — the human conscience demands their complete abolition, but not merely by words or rhetoric for propaganda purposes, which today can deceive no one. An effective and tangible limitation of arms must be carried out through solemn treaties setting forth the juridical obligation of instituting an effective international control that cannot be paralysed by any system of voting. The lengthy debates in the General Assembly have had the merit of clarifying these truths; there can be no prohibition without control, and there can be no control without constant and unrestricted inspection.

92. The effectiveness of our Organization revolves around the provisions of the Charter relating to the limitation of armaments. The creation of a system that would make this effective is today the final test of sincerity in adhering to the Charter. This would require the bold initiation of frank and freely agreed inspection. The proposal made by President Eisenhower at the Geneva Conference for aerial inspection, preceded by an exchange of documentary information, must be considered in the light of these ideas. In order to appreciate the great importance of this plan, we must remember that inspection forms an indissoluble triad with control and prohibition. In order to ensure that the priority given to the abolition of nuclear weapons or to the limitation of conventional armaments does not confer an advantage on one bloc at the expense of the other, the representative of Australia suggested at the sixth session of the General Assembly that work should take place concurrently in both fields. The representative of Peru suggested that simultaneous action should be taken, and that suggestion was happily included in the Franco-British memorandum and solemnly accepted by the Soviet Union at the ninth session of the General Assembly [A/C.1/750].

93. There is one element common to disarmament in both these spheres — the sphere of atomic weapons and the sphere of conventional armaments — and that is inspection, which would be carried out by air and by the exchange of documentary information. The type of inspection proposed by President Eisenhower is the supreme proof of good faith, a decisive instrument for restoring international confidence. Such inspection would make any surprise attack both psychologically and morally impossible, and would provide a practical basis for a future agreement on the abolition of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments. Mutual inspection is in conformity with the principle of the juridical equality of States and, if it is made general through an international organization, it will not jeopardize State sovereignty, since this can be conceived of only as the freedom of each State within the international juridical order.

94. Once an atmosphere of confidence is created and the bases for the limitation of armaments have been laid down, the rhythm of economic co-operation, which is today the great international *desideratum*, will be accelerated. Let us recall with legitimate pride everything that the United Nations has achieved during the days

of international tension in the fields of technical assistance, child welfare, agricultural development, the struggle against disease, with limited resources and in an atmosphere of uncertainty, indeed, of fear. And let us consider the magnitude of the task that might be achieved if the prodigious sums now absorbed by war budgets were devoted to universal development programmes.

95. This task would coincide with the plans for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the astonishing features and application of which were demonstrated at the Geneva Conference. That Conference was admirable not only for its technical results, but also as a moral example of sincere co-operation and as a proof of human solidarity. The mysterious force that might have been the end of a civilization is now going to be converted into the basis of a new one. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the importance of setting up an international agency, such as that proposed by the United States of America, which will be called upon to direct this new period in human development.

96. Peru, faithful to its tradition of international solidarity, stands by its decision to collaborate fully in this programme. Indeed, as soon as the plan for the peaceful uses of atomic energy was presented, it informed the First Committee of its determination to contribute, so far as lay within its power, to the common fund that would be set up [725th meeting, para. 38].

97. My Government's policy is directed towards the effective realization of proposals for international co-operation. This co-operation is demonstrated in the political field by unshakable adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, expressed by a true policy of peace and respect for the rights of other States, as a basis for the fulfilment of the most treasured human ideals.

98. In the economic and social fields, the Peruvian Government, in compliance with the highest principles of social justice, is keeping the country's doors open to economic, financial and technical co-operation with other States and other international organizations. Our legislation, while encouraging the development and application of techniques, offers the fullest protection to free enterprise, both by ensuring a free and unrestricted economy, and by attracting domestic or foreign private capital through a policy of encouragement and legal safeguards.

99. An aspect of economic co-operation of especial interest to Peru and other countries in and outside America is the conservation and use of the resources and wealth of the sea. The sea, a magnificent instrument of communication and trade, is for the States which border it a source of supply which today cannot be disregarded and left to intensive and unrestricted exploitation, jeopardizing the legitimate rights of countries which look to their territorial waters for a continuation of their physical and organic existence. Such exploitation would, moreover, jeopardize the interests of mankind. The conservation of the resources and wealth of the sea is to the advantage of all and calls for scientific, controlled and regulated exploitation by the riparian States directly concerned. In accordance with traditional principles, passage must always be free, but the vital question which we have emphasized calls for the exercise of protective national legislation.

100. A glance at the events of recent days awakens in us a note of hope. We cannot fail to trust that international tension will effectively decline. The events which

have taken place, although they have not immediately led to practical results, are in themselves of great significance. The Geneva Conference of the Heads of the four great Powers, the atmosphere of courtesy and understanding which reigned throughout those meetings, is a very great step indeed towards understanding and peace. There is now a favourable atmosphere for the direct and frank exchange of views which is a preliminary to all negotiations.

101. This impartial and calm survey does not underestimate the difficulties which have to be overcome or the obstacles that still exist and which seem insuperable. Faced with them, it would be absurd to be over-optimistic. Illusion, like all calculations and wishful thinking, is based on transitory interests or feelings. But, faced with hard reality, which must be daily overcome, we must do our duty, and the reward which immanent justice confers on duty done is accompanied by the inspiring light of faith. This admirable union of duty and faith must suffice.

102. Mr. MOLOTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Following its custom, the General Assembly is beginning its work with an appraisal of the international situation and a review of the tasks which stand before it. That being so, the Soviet Union delegation would like to state its views; and, in doing so, it will proceed from the thesis that the primary task of the United Nations, in conformity with the Organization's fundamental principles and purposes, is the strengthening of peace and international security.

103. There can be no doubt that the first desire of all peoples is to live in peace and tranquillity, so that they can devote their efforts to peaceful and constructive work and to raising their standards of living. This was the desire that was the basis of the United Nations, when the Organization was set up ten years ago. And it is this same desire which still determines the deepest currents in international life.

104. Recent events have made it clear that the international situation has undergone changes making for a relaxation of tension in international relations. These events have confirmed the fact that the solution of the problem of ensuring the security of individual States, and of international security in general, must be sought not in military groupings of States and the continuation of the "cold war", but rather in concerted efforts by all States, large and small, to strengthen universal peace. The importance of such efforts must be plain to everyone, particularly in view of the fact that as a result of the Second World War and the great social and political changes that it brought about, a number of States of a socialist type have emerged in Europe and Asia, so that the problem of the peaceful coexistence of States with different economic and social structures has now acquired even graver significance. The first thing to be stressed in this connexion is the importance of efforts in this direction by the great Powers, which possess the most powerful military and material resources and bear a special responsibility for the destinies of the world.

105. The most important international event of recent times has been the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which has exerted a profound influence on the international situation. For the first time since 1945, the Heads of Government of the four Powers established personal contact and exchanged views on a number of the most important and urgent

international problems. This fact alone is highly significant in view of the kind of relations that had developed between the four Powers over the last decade. The significance of the Geneva Conference lies in the fact that the leading statesmen attending it clearly expressed their Governments' desire to make every effort to free the peoples of the world from the fear of a new war.

106. In this connexion, Mr. Bulganin, the Head of the Soviet Government, stressed the Soviet Union's inflexible desire for the strengthening of peace among nations. The Soviet Government, he declared, had always advocated the peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their internal régimes, the social and economic structure of any State being an internal matter to be decided by the people of that State.

107. Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States, to whose statements great importance was attached, spoke similarly of the need for creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence in international relations. Referring to the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, he pointed out that historically the peoples of the two countries had always lived in peace, that there were no territorial disputes or trade rivalries between them and that the American people wanted to be friends with the Soviet people.

108. Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, whose political experience we all value, speaking for the United Kingdom Government emphasized the need for developing international co-operation in the interests of lasting peace.

109. On behalf of the French Government, Mr. Faure, the Prime Minister of France, also stressed the need for developing peaceful co-operation between States, with a view to ending the "cold war".

110. As may be seen from these statements, the leading statesmen of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France who met in Geneva realized that a new approach to the settlement of outstanding international issues, including problems pending in Europe and Asia, was essential. There is an obvious difference between the tenor and general spirit of the Geneva Conference and the statements that were being made in the not-too-distant past in favour of continuing the "cold war". The speeches of the Heads of Government in favour of peace aroused new hopes among the peoples of the world, and expectations that they would not remain idle words.

111. The peoples of the world welcomed the Geneva Conference with such enthusiasm precisely because it marked a definite reversal in the trend of the relations between the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, a reversal which has had its influence on the international situation as a whole. The trend now is to seek means of overcoming existing difficulties and reaching the necessary agreement on outstanding international problems through negotiations conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding and international co-operation. Manifestly, the Conference already reflected to some extent the wide-spread desire for the consideration of urgent international issues from the angle of building up international confidence and consolidating international peace rather than that of strengthening particular groupings.

112. As you know, the Conference did not — indeed, it could not — achieve any immediate solution of the problems on which the Heads of Government exchanged views. The solution of these problems will require time,

determination and patience; those who took part in the Conference had no illusions on this score. Nevertheless, thanks to the efforts they all made at Geneva, agreed directives to the Foreign Ministers of the four Powers on a number of important questions were worked out. The Ministers are to continue the work begun by the Heads of Government and to continue the effort to settle outstanding international issues on the basis of the directives referred to.

113. The Geneva Conference was not a matter of chance. The way for it had been paved by a number of recent events. It became possible because the forces of peace and social progress had gained strength. The Conference held at Geneva reflected the deep changes that have taken place in the minds of the peoples, who are displaying increasing determination to defend peace, to refuse to allow the world to be consumed once again in the conflagration of war, with all its attendant sufferings for millions upon millions of people. No one can fail today to realize that the popular movement for peace that has developed in recent years has become a potent factor for universal peace.

114. The people's unflinching will for peace found expression in the fact that, even before the Geneva Conference, important events had occurred which helped to ease international tension and to clear the international climate. Such events as the armistice in Korea and the termination of hostilities in Indo-China, with the recognition of the Indochinese people's right to self-determination, were a sufficiently clear indication of that trend. While that does not mean that no acute international problems remain to be settled, the *de facto* restoration of peace throughout the world — a situation which might be said to have existed since the end of the war in Indo-China — had prepared the ground for the Geneva Conference of Heads of Government.

115. An important factor in the improvement of the international situation was the settlement, to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, of the highly important issue of Austria. This settlement meets both the national interests of the Austrian people and the interests of European security. As a result of this settlement, Austria has become an autonomous and independent State, without being drawn into any military groupings of other States. It has undertaken to pursue a policy of permanent neutrality; consequently it cannot now be used by other Powers as an instrument of their policy. As you know, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France have agreed to respect Austrian neutrality. This settlement of the Austrian problem is a substantial contribution to peace in Europe.

116. Austria's decision to follow a neutral course is significant in the present international situation. The trend towards neutrality has recently been gaining ground steadily in a number of other countries, whose peoples are expressing themselves with growing insistence and determination in favour of a policy of non-participation in aggressive military blocs and coalitions. In view of this, the Soviet Union has already announced its willingness to respect the neutrality of such countries. It is to be hoped that other Powers will show a similar understanding for this policy of neutrality, which helps to strengthen the peace.

117. Another important factor making for the reduction of tension was the change in the relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia which resulted from the visit of a Soviet Government delegation to Yugoslavia last

spring. The restoration of normal relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia not only meets the interests and wishes of both peoples, but serves to promote the cause of peace in Europe; it is a major contribution to the improvement of the European situation as a whole and to the strengthening of confidence between States. At the same time, the successful development of friendly relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia which is now taking place serves the interests of international security.

118. Mention need not be made here of the other important international events which have helped to ease tension. The positive part that has been played in these developments by the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and certain other States is well known.

119. Since the Second World War, profound changes have taken place not only in Europe, but also in Asia. Important developments are also occurring in Africa.

120. First and foremost, no one should underestimate the importance of the formation of the great People's Republic of China, created as a result of the Chinese people's final victory in their age-old struggle for national independence and freedom. The emergence of a new, popular and democratic China, whose legitimate rights and interests as a great sovereign State we must all respect, is one of the most important historical events of recent times. The rise and consolidation of the People's Republic of China, which enjoys the unwavering support of the great Chinese people, is a powerful factor for peace not only in Asia and the Far East, but also throughout the world.

121. Japan also can and must play, along with other countries, an important part in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security in the Far East. The successful conclusion of the negotiations now under way in London between the Soviet Union and Japan on the restoration of normal relations between the two countries would undoubtedly serve the interests of both the Japanese and Soviet peoples and help to improve the situation in the Far East.

122. Since the Second World War, a number of countries in Asia and Africa have won their independence. They include India, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, the Philippines, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Jordan, Libya and others. Some of these States are already prominent in the struggle for peace. Special reference should be made in this connexion to the part which is being played by India, the second largest country in Asia. The great Indian people has set an example not only of courageous struggle for independence but also of co-operation with other nations in the cause of peace. All of us, I think, must wish every success to the peoples of Asia and Africa and the countries of the Near and Middle East who have taken the road of independent development and are steadfastly and courageously defending their national independence. It is the duty of the United Nations to give every support to the peoples of these countries, to safeguard their legitimate rights, to put an end to any attempts to draw them into military groupings of Powers pursuing their own narrow ends, and to prevent any foreign interference in their domestic affairs.

123. The Soviet Union always has been and remains a consistent champion of peace and progress. Peoples defending their national independence, their freedom and the cause of peace among nations will always meet with its whole-hearted and active sympathy.

124. In the last few years, as we all know, a growing desire has been manifested for the expansion of trade and other economic relations and the removal of the discrimination now obtaining in East-West trade. Political, scientific, business and social contacts between the various countries have been extended. Visits by statesmen, exchanges of parliamentary delegations, exchanges of information on scientific, industrial and agricultural advances, the development of international tourism and exchanges of visits by leading personalities in the worlds of art, sport and so on, are all significant manifestations of the efforts that are being made on all sides to build up contacts and develop mutual understanding among nations. It is noteworthy that such delegations are being given a warm and friendly welcome by the peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States, China, the United Kingdom, Poland, Egypt, Sweden, Austria and other countries. The Soviet people see in this the expression of these peoples' ardent desire for the establishment of friendly relations among States and the consolidation of peace.

125. I should like to refer to the constructive part played by the well known declaration of 9 February 1955 of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, calling for the establishment of direct contacts between parliaments through the exchange of parliamentary delegations, in accordance with the peoples' deep desire for peaceful co-operation. We are glad to note that the Soviet Parliament's appeal has met with wide response, as may be seen from the fact that parliamentary delegations from many countries have visited the Soviet Union this year. Such meetings between members of parliament from various countries will in their turn promote the development of the East-West contacts called for by the Geneva Conference. The February declaration by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is an appeal by the Soviet Parliament to all the parliaments of the world. It is addressed not only to those countries with which the USSR maintains diplomatic relations, but to other States as well. In certain cases, the establishment of parliamentary contacts may well also create more favourable conditions for the desired normalization of relations between States.

126. Not so long ago, all work connected with the use of atomic energy was shrouded in mystery in many countries. This was yet another sign of the mistrust prevailing in international relations. It is proper to say that the situation has now changed considerably, as evidenced by the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held at Geneva in August 1955. We pay a tribute to the United States Government for initiating the idea of convening that Conference.

127. As you know, Soviet scientists took a very active part in the work of the Conference: they submitted over 100 papers describing the Soviet Union's experience in the use of atomic energy in technology, biology, medicine and agriculture. Soviet scientists also presented a report on the functioning of the world's first atomic power station, constructed in the USSR. Many foreign representatives have had the opportunity to see this power station for themselves.

128. There can be no doubt that the scientific Conference at Geneva did much to advance international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Soviet Union, for its part, intends to co-operate still further with other countries with a view to developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We also hope that the

beginnings made at the Conference will be followed up by the calling of regular — if possible annual — conferences of a similar kind, attended by scientists from all over the world, and not atomic scientists only but also specialists in other fields of technology and science.

129. Thus a number of recent developments, the most significant of which was the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government, have reflected the far-reaching changes that are taking place in the international situation. This does not mean that difficulties are a thing of the past. We shall still have to overcome many prejudices and many barriers on the road ahead. For example, the term "satellites" is still in use. But those who seek to apply this term to the peoples of Eastern Europe are simply transferring their own familiar ideas to countries to which they are entirely inapplicable. These countries have proved by their deeds that their relations with other States can develop properly only on a basis of respect for the principles of national sovereignty and friendship among nations.

130. We must strive unremittingly to create conditions in which people can look with confidence toward the future. The success of further efforts in the struggle for peace will depend on the extent to which opportunities are seized and to which attention is directed to settling outstanding international issues rather than creating or strengthening this or that military coalition. On this, too, will depend the measure of success the United Nations is able to achieve in attaining its great purpose — that of providing genuine security for the peoples of the world.

131. The primary objective in the present circumstances must be recognized to be the termination of the armaments race. As you all know, the armaments race, particularly in recent years, has assumed unprecedented proportions. Stocks of so-called conventional armaments are constantly piling up. So are atomic and hydrogen weapons, which, moreover, are day by day becoming more destructive and dangerous. The military expenditures of States have reached unheard-of heights, and they fall with their full weight on the shoulders of the toiling masses — the workers, peasants, employees and small proprietors. Enormous material and human resources are being diverted to war preparations, instead of being used for constructive purposes, to raise the peoples' standards of living and to give the necessary assistance to the economically under-developed countries and areas. This state of affairs cannot continue. The United Nations must throw its weight into the scale against the armaments race, in favour of the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war.

132. These are the purposes of the proposals on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war which the Soviet Government presented to the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission on 10 May 1955. The text of the Soviet proposals has been distributed to all members of the General Assembly today [A/2979].

133. The new Soviet proposals presented to the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission embody a practical programme of measures designed to bring about a relaxation of international tension, build up confidence among nations and end the "cold war". They refer to the need for putting an end to all war propaganda, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the

General Assembly several years ago [*resolution 110 (II)*]. We should see to it that this resolution is carried out. The Soviet proposals also speak of the need for reaching agreement on the liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of other States. Failing such an agreement, even one providing only for the step-by-step execution of the requisite measures, there can be no hope of any genuine elimination of mistrust in international relations. The Soviet proposals also provide, quite naturally, for the removal of every form of discrimination impeding the development of international trade, and for the extension of cultural contacts, the exchange of delegations and so on. As you know, the importance of these matters is now generally recognized. The USSR proposals also contain explicit recommendations designed to expedite the settlement of the German problem and of outstanding questions in the Far East.

134. What is important in the Soviet proposals is the fundamental principles they embody, which could well form the basis for an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

135. The new Soviet proposals on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons are a major advance towards a further reconciliation of the positions of the USSR and the Western Powers on the question of disarmament. It should be pointed out that on a number of important issues the Soviet proposals take into account ideas previously put forward by the Western Powers in the Disarmament Commission.

136. The Soviet Government has, for instance, accepted the Western Powers' proposal on the establishment of levels for the armed forces of the five Powers: namely, 1 million to 1,500,000 men each for the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, and 650,000 men each for France and the United Kingdom. Agreement on this question would lead at once to a tremendous reduction in military expenditure, and would be a major step towards ending the armaments race. The Soviet Union's acceptance of the United Kingdom, French and United States proposal for the establishment of ceilings for the armed forces of the five Powers renders completely invalid the objections previously raised to the prohibition of atomic weapons; objections based on the pretext that atomic weapons make up for the alleged "inferiority" of the Western Powers in conventional weapons and ensure a "balance" in armaments between the West and the East. The USSR proposal on levels of armed forces gives full weight to the Western Powers' position on this matter and justifies the expectation that they in their turn will adopt a position on the question of atomic weapons which will make it possible for agreement to be reached on that question.

137. The Soviet Union has also given due weight to the proposal of France and the United Kingdom on the time-table for the implementation of the complete prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and their elimination from national armaments. Both the USSR and the Franco-British proposals provide that the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons should come into effect after the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to the extent of 75 per cent of the total reduction. It is proposed that the elimination of these weapons from the armaments of States and their destruction should be carried out simultaneously with

the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces by the final 25 per cent of the agreed reduction. 138. The Soviet Union attaches considerable importance to the setting up of controls to ensure the implementation of disarmament measures, and its proposals provide that the control organ should have extensive rights and powers. The Soviet proposal for the establishment, on a basis of reciprocity, on the territories of the States concerned, of control posts at railway junctions, on main motor highways, in aerodromes and at large ports, creates the requisite conditions for effective control and would be of particular value in preventing a surprise attack by one State upon another. It is common knowledge that modern warfare necessitates the concentration and deployment of large land, air and naval forces. The proposal for the establishment of control posts under the authority of the international control organ offers the necessary means for detecting any such concentration and for preventing any surprise attack. The establishment of control posts on railways, main motor highways, aerodromes and seaports, with a view to the supervision of any transfer or regrouping of armed forces, would do much to strengthen confidence between States and would thereby help to bring about a relaxation of international tension.

139. The Soviet proposals of 10 May 1955 have thus paved the way for the solution of the extremely complex problem of international control over the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. At the same time, the Soviet Government has expressed its willingness to give the most careful consideration to other proposals on this important question.

140. In this connexion, reference should be made to President Eisenhower's well-known proposal at the Geneva Conference concerning the exchange of military information and aerial photographs. The importance of those proposals must be recognized. We regard them as the expression of a sincere desire to advance the solution of the important problem of international control and inspection. It is from the same point of view that we are studying the proposal and its various aspects. The question that interests us, of course, is how far this proposal is calculated to contribute to the reduction of armaments and the settlement of the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons, that is to say, how far it can facilitate the achievement of our basic task, which is to put an end to the armaments race and to reduce the heavy burden on the peoples resulting from swollen military budgets and military preparations of all kinds. It is abundantly clear that the peoples count on the discussion of the disarmament problem to yield results likely to strengthen peace, remove the threat of another war and reduce the financial burden which the armaments race imposes upon them.

141. In this connexion, the statement made yesterday by the Chairman of the United States delegation cannot be passed over in silence. Mr. Dulles said that the "limitation of armaments becomes virtually unattainable" [*518th meeting, para. 74*]. Such a statement throws doubt on the usefulness of the work of the Disarmament Commission, which was set up by the General Assembly.

142. At the Geneva Conference, Mr. Faure, the Prime Minister of France, submitted a proposal for the reduction of military budgets and the establishment, with the resultant savings, of a special fund for the assistance of economically under-developed countries. The Soviet

Government is giving due consideration to this proposal. We believe that funds saved through reductions in military budgets could be used both to relieve the tax burden on the peoples of the States concerned and to assist the economically under-developed countries.

143. Considering that any steps taken by States to end the armaments race and reduce armaments would do much to further the relaxation of international tension and to strengthen confidence between States, the USSR Government decided to reduce the strength of Soviet armed forces by 640,000 men by 15 December 1955. This is not a mere intention or a project, but a practical first step, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned, towards carrying out the task of substantially reducing armaments and armed forces. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that other Powers possessing large armed forces will in their turn, and as a token of goodwill, take steps to reduce their own armed forces, without waiting for agreement to be reached on an international convention on this subject.

144. It is also a well-known fact that the existence of military bases on foreign territories is one of the main causes of international tension.

145. The Soviet Union, for its part, maintained until recently only two military bases outside its own frontiers. One of these bases was situated in the Far East, at Port Arthur, and was jointly administered by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. At the end of last year, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, agreement was reached between the USSR and the People's Republic of China on the transfer of this jointly held military base to the People's Republic of China alone. This agreement was put into effect in the spring of 1955. At the present time the Soviet Union has not a single military base in the Far East outside its own territory. The Soviet Union's second military base was on Finnish territory, in the Porkkala-Udd region. It had been established in accordance with the peace treaty which came into force in 1947 for a period of 50 years. Under an agreement just concluded between the Soviet Union and Finland, in which the initiative again came from the USSR, this Soviet military base too will be liquidated in the very near future. By 1 January 1956, all Soviet military units will have been withdrawn from the Porkkala-Udd area, and the area will return to the full disposal of Finland.

146. Thus, of two military bases maintained by the Soviet Union outside its frontiers under the relevant agreements, one was given up several months ago, while the second and last will be abandoned this year. The Soviet Union will possess not a single military base on the territory of other States. The Soviet Government took these steps in order to bring about a further improvement in international relations and to strengthen confidence between States. Here again, the Soviet Government has translated words into deeds. Our action justifies us in appealing to the Governments of other States, particularly those which maintain a large number of military bases on foreign territory, to take steps in their turn to abandon them. There can be no doubt that this would best help to arrest the armaments race, to strengthen confidence between States and to end the "cold war".

147. Wishing, as it does, to ensure the maintenance of general peace, the Soviet Government has always attached great importance to the achievement of security in Europe. It is a historical fact that the most devastating

wars, including the first and second world wars, have begun in Europe. Thus the maintenance of peace in Europe would be of decisive significance for the maintenance of general peace. It is for this reason that the Soviet Government has drawn attention to the need for establishing an effective security system in Europe, and has submitted a proposal to that effect for consideration by the States concerned. This proposal provides for the establishment in Europe, with the participation of the United States of America, of a collective security system based on the joint efforts of all European States, whatever their social and political systems. The Soviet Union is, of course, prepared to examine other proposals having the object of ensuring security in Europe.

148. In order to facilitate the achievement of the desired agreement on this question, the Soviet Government submitted a proposal at the Geneva Conference under which the establishment of a general European collective security system would be divided into two stages.

149. During the first stage, the States participating in the general European security system would remain bound by the obligations they had assumed under the treaties and agreements entered into during the period of the formation of military and political groupings. However, they would undertake to refrain from the use of armed force and to settle all disputes arising between them by peaceful means. Clearly, the acceptance of such an obligation by the countries participating in the security system would help to prevent the appearance in Europe of any situation which might constitute a threat to peace.

150. During the second stage, States would assume in full the obligations resulting from the European collective security system. At the same time, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Paris Agreements, as well as the eight-Power Warsaw Treaty, concluded as an answer to the Paris Agreements, would become null and void. We also proposed that the treaty should provide for the necessary consultation between States participating in the collective security system at any time when, in the opinion of any one of them, there arose a threat of an armed attack in Europe on one or more States parties to the treaty, so that effective steps might be taken to remove the threat. Under this proposal, an armed attack on one or more States parties to the treaty by any State or group of States would be regarded as an attack on all the parties to the treaty.

151. The reason for the proposal that the establishment of a general European security system should be brought about in two stages, rather than at once, is the existence of the present military groupings in Europe. Its object is to make it easier to surmount the existing obstacles to agreement on the important problem of European security, which is of deep concern to all the nations of Europe—and not to them alone. But the proposal contemplates the consolidation of a general European security system within a definite period of time; and during the second stage of the establishment of the system the present military groupings in Europe would be dissolved and the maintenance of peace and general European security would become the common task of all the nations of Europe.

152. The Soviet Government gave careful consideration to the ideas expressed by the participants in the Geneva Conference on the question of European security, and in particular to those voiced by Sir

Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, which are at present being examined in the Disarmament Commission. It hopes that its own proposals, together with all constructive ideas expressed by other participants in the Geneva Conference on the question of European security, will provide a basis for solving this important problem in such a way as to safeguard the vital interests of all European nations.

153. The attainment of agreement on this question would bring about a fundamental change in the European situation, which during recent years has been steadily deteriorating. A particularly important factor in the deterioration of the European situation has been the conclusion this year of the Paris Agreements, which provide for the remilitarization of Western Germany and its inclusion in the military blocs of certain Western Powers, thereby creating serious obstacles to the reunification of Germany.

154. The formation of a general European security system would also help to create more favourable conditions for the settlement of the German problem, including the problem of the restoration of German unity. The solution of this latter problem cannot be separated from the establishment of a general European security system, or from the question whether Europe is to become a potential hotbed of war or a bulwark of peace and international security.

155. On 13 September 1955, as you know, that is, only ten days ago, agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany) establishing normal diplomatic relations. Hereafter, the USSR will maintain diplomatic and other relations not only with the German Democratic Republic, but also with the Federal Republic of Germany. This will be conducive to the establishment of normal relations between States throughout Europe. Thus the establishment of normal relations between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany will help to improve still more the relations between the Soviet and German peoples, and will also serve to strengthen peace in Europe. In this connexion, reference must also be made to the new agreements concluded only a few days ago in Moscow between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. The object of these agreements is to promote still further the development of close co-operation and the consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on a basis of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

156. As for the German problem as a whole, it follows from my present remarks that, under present conditions, this will find its solution through the establishment of a general European security system.

157. The General Assembly cannot fail to consider the situation in Asia and the Far East. Among the various international problems which still await settlement, those relating to Asia and the Far East are especially urgent.

158. In this connexion, I must first of all emphasize the importance of the Taiwan question. This ancient Chinese territory is still not reunited with the People's Republic of China, a situation which is a serious obstacle to the normalization of the general situation in the Far East. There is no need for me to dwell at length on the reason for the present situation in the Taiwan area; it is common knowledge. A sober analysis of the situation

must inevitably lead to the conclusion that the obstacles preventing the reunification of Taiwan and other Chinese coastal islands with the People's Republic of China must be removed; and the sooner the better.

159. I am sure we all recognize the importance of the talks now being held at Geneva, at the initiative of the People's Republic of China, between that Government and the Government of the United States. Let us hope that these talks will contribute to the establishment of normal relations between the two countries.

160. The need for an immediate settlement of the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has already been emphasized here. We have also heard some unconvincing arguments in opposition. The objections came in particular from those who would like to see China as it was in the past, when certain foreign circles lorded it over the country as they saw fit. But in those days the Chinese people was not master in its own country; it was in a state of servitude. It is time we realized that those days are gone forever — a fact which can bring only rejoicing to all supporters of freedom and national independence.

161. It is noteworthy that it was not until the great Chinese people accepted the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that China freely spread its wings and set out on the broad sunlit way of progress. This, apart from all other considerations, throws a useful light on a problem which has been referred to here, the problem of communism. But if the restoration of the Chinese People's Republic's rights in the United Nations is to continue to be blocked on precisely this ground, then the authority and the vital work of the United Nations will suffer.

162. Nor should we forget that although the war in Korea has been brought to an end, the Korean problem is still far from settled. This means that the States concerned must spare no effort to bring about a final peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Under present conditions, a most important step towards such a settlement would be the establishment and development of relations between North and South Korea, and a *rapprochement* between them with a view to achieving agreement at some future date on the reunification of Korea. It should be noted that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has on a number of occasions submitted definite proposals for the establishment of business and cultural relations between North and South Korea. Unfortunately, the Government of South Korea takes a different view, and makes no attempt to conceal the fact that it is preparing for aggressive action against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is obvious that this attitude on the part of the South Korean Government must necessarily constitute a serious obstacle to the settlement of the Korean question, and one which we cannot overlook.

163. The question of the Indo-China situation also awaits a final solution. The Geneva agreements on Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia put an end to the hostilities in Indo-China and marked out the road towards a settlement in that area based on the recognition of the legitimate national rights of its peoples and their indisputable right to a free and independent existence. The basic provisions of the Geneva agreements relating to Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia are in general being carried out, though not without delays. Nevertheless, it has to be said that by no means everything is being done to ensure the successful solution of the important political problems arising out of these agreements. As

you know, the consultations on the organization of general elections in Viet-Nam provided for under the Geneva agreements have not yet begun. The obvious stumbling-block is the attitude of the authorities of southern Viet-Nam, who have avoided carrying out the provisions of the Geneva agreements and still refuse to take part in such consultations.

164. We are justified in hoping that the necessary steps will be taken to carry out the Geneva agreements on Indo-China, and that no disruption of the consultations between the representatives of the authorities of northern and southern Viet-Nam will be allowed. That is essential if general elections are to be held in Viet-Nam within the prescribed time, thereby opening up the possibility of unifying the country by restoring the national unity of Viet-Nam.

165. These remarks about the situation in Asia and the Far East do not, of course, exhaust the problems which are a source of concern to the peoples of that area. There are many other important problems connected with the maintenance of peace in that area and the struggle of the peoples concerned for their national independence and security.

166. These problems were considered at the Bandung Conference, attended by the representatives of 29 Asian and African States, at which a particularly prominent part was played by the People's Republic of China, India and Indonesia. The Bandung Conference was a major historical event, reflecting the mighty movement which is sweeping along the peoples of the East who are struggling for their national independence, for peace and for freedom. The Conference was attended by representatives of countries with varying political and social systems. Despite the fact that some of the participants in the Conference had already been drawn into various military groupings alien to their national interests, the Bandung Conference reached unanimous decisions of great political importance for the strengthening of world peace and the development of the national liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples.

167. Since India achieved its independence and joined the ranks of the free nations, the significance of the Republic of India as an important factor for the strengthening of peace has been steadily growing. India is playing an important and increasingly active part in questions of great moment to the countries of Asia. In the Soviet delegation's opinion, the statement made by Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, on 19 July 1955, regarding the desirability of calling a conference along the lines of the Geneva Conference to discuss the problems of Asia and the Far East, deserves serious consideration. As you know, this proposal of Mr. Nehru's was supported by U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, and several other statesmen of Asian countries.

168. I must also emphasize the great importance of the statement made by Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, at the recent session of the All-China People's Congress. In that statement he supported the idea of calling a conference of this kind to examine the problems of Asia and the Far East, and expressed the hope that the countries of Asia and the Pacific area, including the United States, would agree to conclude a collective peace pact in that area. A collective peace pact of this kind would meet the real interests of the peoples of Asia, whereas military blocs such as the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Organization are a direct threat to the security and the national independence of

the nations of Asia and the Far East. The settlement of outstanding problems in Asia and the Far East would do much to improve the international situation as a whole.

169. Under present conditions, the United Nations has a special duty to strive to lessen still further the tension in international relations. It can and should use every available opportunity to promote better mutual understanding and co-operation among States. The Charter of the United Nations begins with the statement that the peoples of the United Nations are "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". The Charter was adopted with due regard for the fact that the United Nations embraced States with different social systems, and that the task of this international Organization would be to encourage co-operation among these States and promote their peaceful coexistence.

170. The vitality of the principles of progress on which the Charter is founded has been fully demonstrated by the course of events during the past decade. These principles serve the interests of the freedom and independence of nations, as also the cause of strengthening peace and international co-operation. However serious the shortcomings in the practical work of the United Nations may have been, the purposes and principles of the Organization have received the recognition of all peoples striving for peace, freedom and progress.

171. At this session, the General Assembly has before it the question of a general conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.

172. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, there are no grounds for a review of the United Nations Charter. The Charter is fully adequate in its present form for the tasks of strengthening universal peace and developing international co-operation in political, economic and other spheres. A review of the Charter with a view to amending its fundamental provisions would not serve to promote confidence in relations between States; on the contrary, it would impede the attainment of this aim.

173. We all know how difficult and complex a task the drafting of the United Nations Charter was. In this connexion, we should recall the name of Franklin Roosevelt, then President of the United States, who played a prominent part in laying the foundations of the United Nations. In the drafting of the Charter, notably at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, tremendous efforts were required to formulate an instrument adequate to the primary task of maintaining peace among nations and at the same time acceptable to all Member States of the Organization, irrespective of the differences in their political and social systems. If we consider the circumstances objectively, we shall inevitably conclude that agreement on the various Charter provisions which some States believe require amendment would certainly not be easier, and might be more difficult, to attain at present than it was ten years ago. It is not the fault of the Charter that since the establishment of the United Nations the international situation has by no means always developed in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Given a sincere desire on the part of the Member States of the United Nations to promote international co-operation and security, the Charter in its present form is fully adequate to meet the demands placed on it.

174. For these reasons, the Soviet Government does not consider the calling of a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter advisable. Our purpose should be not to demolish the Charter, but to achieve agreed action by States, and in particular by the permanent members of the Security Council; that is essential if the United Nations is really to succeed in its task of maintaining and strengthening peace. The Soviet Government feels it necessary to say plainly that the Security Council should be given a more important role in the United Nations, as the Charter provides; for in recent years, the Council has obviously not been functioning at full capacity, and has on a number of occasions been by-passed in connexion with important matters relating to the maintenance of peace, matters which ought in fact to have been dealt with precisely by the Security Council.

175. The United Nations must become an organization which not merely does not encourage or turn a blind eye to various attempts to set up opposing military blocs, but actively promotes the development in every sphere of co-operation and contacts between the countries of East and West, and contributes to the genuine consolidation of peace and international security.

176. The state of affairs with regard to the admission of new Members to the United Nations is absolutely unsatisfactory. A large number of States of Europe, Asia and Africa still remain outside this international Organization and are not taking part in its work, despite the fact that they desire membership and meet the requirements for membership. They are barred from the Organization by the discrimination in respect of certain countries which still stubbornly persists here. An end must be put to this injustice.

177. The Soviet Union is in favour of an immediate settlement of the question of the admission of new Members. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation declares that it is willing to support the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the 16 States which have applied for membership. We are convinced that this solution of the problem of the admission of new Members would be in full conformity with the interests of the United Nations. Favourable action on the question of the admission of the 16 new States to the United Nations would not only meet the legitimate demands of the countries concerned but also serve the cause of peace.

178. We all know that the peoples of the world have welcomed with deep satisfaction the relaxation of international tension which has become apparent. Recent developments—in particular, the Geneva Conference of Heads of Government and the first conference of African and Asian countries, held at Bandung—have opened up vast possibilities in this direction. It is the plain duty of the United Nations to promote in every way the extension of international co-operation in every field, political and economic, cultural and scientific.

179. We must not forget that even now voices are still heard calling for the continuation of the "cold war". Schemes are still being fostered in certain quarters, with selfish interests and aggressive aims, to create and expand military groupings in various parts of the world. These schemers preach a policy of threats and pressure on other States. They oppose by every means at their disposal any reduction in military budgets, military orders and military preparations. They even go so far as to assert that the Geneva Conference and its results

were the consequence of this policy. But, as the saying goes, facts are stubborn things, and the facts show that it was neither sabre-rattling nor threats that made the Geneva Conference a success. The success of the Conference reflected the will of the peoples for peace and the desire of all the participants to find a new and more harmonious approach to the solution of those international problems which still await settlement. The characteristic feature of the Geneva Conference was a realization of the need for the solution of urgent international problems, of the need to find ways of settling outstanding problems that would not fan the flames of the "cold war", but would increase confidence among nations and improve relations between their leading statesmen. And it was this that made positive results possible.

180. This is the path that we must continue to follow with a view to achieving further successes, both in the forthcoming negotiations between the Powers on outstanding problems and on the questions under consideration by the United Nations, which are of the utmost importance to the cause of peace. Thus alone can we satisfy the hopes of the peoples, who fervently desire a life of peace and tranquillity.

181. In conclusion, the USSR delegation submits to the General Assembly, for its consideration, the following draft resolution [A/2981] entitled "Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and for the development of international co-operation":

*"The General Assembly*

*"Notes with satisfaction the efforts made by States, particularly of late, to relax international tension, to promote mutual confidence and to develop co-operation among nations; in this respect, the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the four Powers, the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries and the development of contacts between the political leaders of States are of particular importance;*

*"Calls upon Governments to continue their efforts with a view to consolidating universal peace and security and to seek a further improvement of relations and the strengthening of confidence among States;*

*"Attaches particular importance to the consideration of proposals by States designed to put an end to the armaments race and to settle outstanding international problems through negotiations; to the consideration of the proposals of the Soviet Government of 10 May and 21 July 1955 on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war, the proposal of the United States of America on a general plan for the implementation of the disarmament proposals made by the President of the United States on 21 July 1955 at Geneva, and the proposals introduced at Geneva by the United Kingdom and by France, and of pertinent proposals by other States;*

*"Will consider these and other possible proposals, regarding as its principal tasks the removal of the threat of a new war, the achievement of security and confidence in the future and the creation of conditions for a peaceful and tranquil life of peoples throughout the world."*

182. The delegation of the USSR expresses the hope that this draft resolution will receive the necessary support of the other members of the General Assembly, and that this session as a whole will be a fruitful one,

inspired by the desire to improve international co-operation and strengthen universal peace and international security.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*