

136. The leader of the Indian delegation had also referred to the question of South West Africa. That matter appeared on the agenda, and the delegation of the Union of South Africa would therefore refrain from dealing with it until the item was discussed.

Report of the Credentials Committee

137. Mr. BRAÑA (Cuba), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, presented the following report of the Credentials Committee:

"The Committee was composed of the representatives of Belgium, Brazil, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Iran, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and Uruguay.

"The Committee examined the documents from the Member States which were submitted to it by the Secretariat. It found that the credentials for the representatives of the Governments of the following forty-three Member States completely satisfied the requirements of rule 23 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Sweden, Thai-

land, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

"The following Member States have transmitted provisional credentials for all or some of their representatives: Afghanistan, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Israel, Lebanon, Paraguay, Philippines, Syria, Turkey and Venezuela.

"The following Member States have not presented any credentials: Bolivia, Guatemala, Poland, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Their delegations have advised us that these documents have been dispatched.

"The Committee will, in due course, examine the final credentials of the representatives of the States named above who have presented provisional credentials and of those whose credentials have not yet arrived. In the meantime, the Committee proposes that these representatives should be seated provisionally in the General Assembly, with the same rights as the other representatives."

138. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) drew attention to the fact that his Government had presented provisional credentials. The report would therefore need to be corrected as far as Guatemala was concerned.

The report of the Credentials Committee was approved.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Saturday, 24 September 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

General debate (*continued*): speeches by Mr. Wierblowski (Poland) Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile), Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan), Mr. Aklilou (Ethiopia), Mr. Kiselev (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

1. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) said that in taking part in the discussion of the Secretary-General's annual report¹, he would dwell first of all on the statement that, during the year which had just elapsed, the fear of war had decreased.

2. Ten years had gone by since the outbreak of the war, and more than four years since its end and the victory of the democratic forces over fascism. Yet after six years of suffering and bloody warfare, after four years hard work to rebuild what the war had destroyed, the fact that the fear of war had decreased was regarded as an achievement.

3. No doubt such a statement could be made and it was certainly justified. Nevertheless, it was an admission of the tragic fact that in 1949, as in 1939, the peoples were living in the fear of a new war, in the fear that death might once again threaten millions of human beings and that massacres and the barbaric destruction of the material

and cultural wealth of mankind might once again take place.

4. Mr. Wierblowski represented a nation which had just celebrated, on the preceding 1 September, a tragic anniversary. Ten years before, his country had been bombed without mercy and mangled beneath the tracks of Hitler's tanks. The criminal attack against Poland had marked the formal beginning of the Second World War. He said "formal", because in fact the world war had started well before that.

5. Hitlerism, fascism and Japanese militarism had gained new territory and new positions long before September 1939. At the same time, they had obtained increasing support from the Governments then in power in Great Britain and France. The German attack on Poland had been the climax of the criminal and treacherous policy of Munich.

6. It was not without significance that, as early as November 1937, Lord Halifax, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had informed Hitler that the members of the British Government were fully aware of the fact that not only had the Fuehrer achieved a great deal inside Germany, but that Germany could rightly be regarded as the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism.

7. On the eve of the total war for world conquest, hitlerism had been regarded as a bulwark

¹ See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1.

of the West. A bulwark against what and for what purpose? British and French statesmen had had no doubts on that point. Hitler was to have become an instrument and an effective ally in the struggle against the State which had proclaimed and had endeavoured to realize the concept of collective security, the country which had been ready to come to the assistance of the smaller States which were threatened, and to help them effectively, not merely by a purely formal declaration of war, not only by a "phony war".

8. Hitlerism was to have become the battering ram to destroy that Power which, at the difficult moment of the criminal Munich conspiracy, had offered genuine assistance to Czechoslovakia, the victim of a cowardly betrayal. It had been intended that the S.S. divisions should be used against the Soviet Union, which had resolved to defend, and was effectively defending the declining authority of the League of Nations, and which had earnestly desired to see the League become an effective instrument in the struggle for peace. The USSR had been blamed for opposing the pro-fascist and anti-Soviet policy of Neville Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier, the policy of those who were digging the grave of the League of Nations. There had been an understanding with the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. In order to cover the tracks, an attempt had been made to set up a façade of negotiations with the Soviet Union. As Mr. Dirksen, the German Ambassador in Great Britain at that time, had stated, the idea of German *lebensraum* had been received in London with full consideration.

9. It had been the peoples of eastern and south-eastern Europe which were to become the victims of that policy. The Governments of those countries—semi-fascist or fascist emulators of Hitlerism, in full sympathy with the anti-Soviet policies of Germany, estranged from the masses and hated by them—had become mere puppets in the game, a game contrary to the interests of those countries. That was the origin of the tragic events of September 1939.

10. The Polish people, isolated and abandoned, had fought heroically against the full might of the Third Reich, while the British and French divisions had remained inactive. Poland had fallen a victim to the Germany policy of *lebensraum*, the perfidious policy of the western Powers which had supported Hitler Germany and the criminal pro-Hitler and anti-Soviet policy of the then Polish Government.

11. The reason why the western Powers had declared war on Germany at that time—though without waging it effectively—had not been to safeguard a principle, as was proved by the official documents which had since become available. Emboldened by the men of Munich and dazzled by his easy successes, Hitler had put forward exaggerated claims. In the new division of the world, he had wanted to gain too much too quickly. It had been a matter not of principle, but of a price and the terms of payment.

12. For Poland, on the other hand, as for the other States in that part of Europe, it had not been a matter of price, but of life or death.

13. Documents in the German archives threw a harsh light on the political events of those years. Mr. Wierblowski could quote from many documents which had become public. He would confine

himself to an extract from a conversation between the German Ambassador in London and Mr. Buxton, Neville Chamberlain's confidential emissary. Mr. Buxton who, according to the Ambassador, was a well-known and moderate member of the Labour Party, had said that the United Kingdom promised fully to respect the German spheres of interest in eastern and south-eastern Europe; that it would therefore withdraw the guarantees it had given to certain States in the German sphere of influence and, furthermore, that it promised to influence France to break its alliance with the Soviet Union and to give up its ties in south-eastern Europe.

14. A similar idea had been expressed even more clearly by Sir Horace Wilson in a conversation with Mr. Dirksen, German Ambassador in London; it was that Poland was to be left to its fate.

15. Poland had indeed been abandoned. Thus Poland had had to pay not only the bloody price of betrayal by its own Government but also that of the political machinations of its alleged protectors.

16. Mr. Wierblowski had recalled the recent past, not only because that period of struggle, suffering and humiliation was still alive in the minds of his people, but above all because the date of 1 September conjured up more than mere historical memories. For that date had marked the tragic outcome of a policy which had sought to isolate one of the great Powers, a policy of contempt for the sovereignty and rights of small nations, a policy of perfidious violation of the principles of collective security in favour of the law of the jungle. What had happened on 1 September 1939 had been the result of the destruction of the international organization of that period.

17. Did the history of the years which had since passed, and particularly of the Second World War, prove that Hitler and the men of Munich had been right? Did it indeed bring proof that jungle law was stronger than the principles of collaboration and the joint action of peoples in the name of progress? Of course not. It was always those who violated those principles, the Hitlers and the Chamberlains, who failed. The war alliance of the great Powers, tempered in the fire of combat, built on principles of collaboration, equality and joint decisions, had led the United Nations to victory. It was through Teheran, Moscow, Yalta and Potsdam, through the difficult task of drawing up joint, unanimous and compromise decisions, and not by imposing their will by force, not by arbitrary decisions, that the Allies had trod the path leading them to Rome, Berlin and Tokyo.

18. The same principles were at the basis of the United Nations. In the light of the experience of the preceding four years, the Secretary-General's statement that, if the principle of unanimity among the great Powers had not been established at San Francisco, it would have been necessary to adopt it at that point, was proved absolutely correct and of immediate significance.

19. Mr. Wierblowski noted with regret that the statesmen of certain great Powers, forgetful of the lessons of history, were deliberately violating the principles of sincere international co-operation. They were choosing the method of arbitrary

decisions and *faits accomplis* and, holding any methods valid, they were attempting, through military blocs contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, to achieve the aims of their imperialistic policies, while proclaiming with exaggerated eloquence their fidelity to the principles of international co-operation and, recalling that they had supported those principles during the war.

20. But, since the truth must be faced, it must be asked whether, during the war, the four great Powers had honestly practised the principle of loyal collaboration, whether they had intended to observe it in peacetime?

21. While the peoples of Europe, and especially the Polish people, had been conducting a bloody war against the occupying forces and while the heroic armies of the Soviet Union had been defending Stalingrad and preparing the victorious offensive which was to culminate in the conquest of Berlin, the view had been expressed that there was no need to hurry, that it would be better to wait until the peoples of the USSR were bled white so that the USSR would emerge weakened from the war. Only a few weeks previously, during the session of the so-called Council of Europe at Strasbourg one of the British delegates, Mr. Macmillan, had made public a memorandum written in 1942, by Mr. Churchill dealing with the organization of post-war Europe. Even then Mr. Churchill had been elaborating plans to isolate the Soviet Union and to drive that country out of Europe. In that memorandum he had used the expression "Soviet barbarism" in referring to the ally to which the United Kingdom owed so deep a debt of gratitude.

22. Mr. Churchill was not the only one who had acted in that way. In the United States, important groups had made no secret of their intention of embarking on a struggle against the Soviet Union after the victory over Germany.

23. It was of them that Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's chief adviser and intimate friend, had written in his memoirs that they constituted a small, vociferous minority which took advantage of every rift between the United States and the USSR to make trouble between the two countries. And Mr. Hopkins had added that no Government worth its salt would ever permit that group to influence its policy.

24. Nevertheless, that was what had happened. The fact that, during the war, the alliance had withstood all trials, was due to the determined stand of the working classes of the entire world not only against Hitlerism but also against the anti-Soviet tendencies of Mr. Churchill and his followers; it was also due to the honest and straight-forward policy of the Soviet Union.

25. While Mr. Churchill had been writing his anti-Soviet memorandum, Generalissimo Stalin, in the speech he had made on 6 November 1942 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October Revolution, had spoken of the common programme of the coalition between the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States for the war and the post-war period.

26. The war had been won thanks to the firm and fighting attitude, and to the spirit of sacrifice and heroism, of the masses of all the United Nations; thanks also to the wise and far-seeing

policy of the USSR Government, which admitted compromises but was inflexible when necessary.

27. The policies of the peace-loving nations, with the Soviet Union at their head, would undoubtedly be able to counteract the plans of those who dreamt of world war as a means of increasing their profits and extending their domination. In the struggle for peace, the previous year had brought considerable successes. The forces opposed to war were growing rapidly. After the Wroclaw congress, the masses of the whole world had forcefully protested against war-mongering at the Paris and Prague peace congresses, at national peace conferences in the United States, in the United Kingdom, Canada, Hungary, Belgium, Romania, Japan, Brazil and Mexico, and at the anti-war congresses organized in Germany on 1 September. They had thus demonstrated not only their fear of war, to which the Secretary-General referred, but also their inflexible will to fight for peace.

28. There were some in the Assembly who considered those demonstrations as the expression of a particular political tendency. That was an obvious error which proved to what extent those men were estranged from the masses and how indifferent they were to the cares, sorrows, and real aspirations of those masses.

29. The peoples of the world desired peace. That was the aim which united them. The enthusiasm with which they had hailed the creation of the United Nations and the confidence which they placed in it resulted from the wish to avoid further carnage. They would judge the usefulness and importance of its work solely on what it was able to do and what it intended to do for peace.

30. At the same time as the broad masses were waging a struggle for peace, the oppressed nations were battling successfully for their freedom in Asia and in other regions. The Secretary-General had correctly emphasized in his report that the days of dependency or inferior status were fast coming to an end in Asia.

31. An impressive instance of that process was the case of China, which had forever banished foreign exploitation and influence from its territory. Each people which liberated itself from the yoke of imperialism weakened the bloc which sought war and strengthened the ranks which sought peace, because it eliminated the very sources of conflict which resulted from imperialistic tendencies.

32. Again, the cause of peace was advanced by the strengthening of friendly co-operation within the group of countries comprising the USSR and the peoples' democracies. That was an example of co-operation between a great Power and smaller States, an example of mutual aid which increased the political and economic strength and reinforced the sovereignty of the smaller State. That example was all the more striking since the world was confronted with the picture of the foreign policy of other great Powers which, when they referred to aid or collaboration, meant the subordination of the weaker country to the more powerful.

33. The relations between the countries of eastern Europe were completely different from those which had prevailed in the pre-war period, when they had harboured the germs of many conflicts. That period was gone forever. Eastern Europe,

which had suffered terrible losses in the struggle against Hitlerism and fascism, was contributing immensely to the peaceful evolution of mankind.

34. During the past year, those who were bent on unleashing a new war had made feverish attempts to consolidate their forces.

35. It was with that purpose that the heads of the General Staffs of the United States Armed Forces had visited all the countries of "Marshallized" Europe. Secret councils had been held, and strategic bases throughout the whole world had been created, thousands of miles distant from the United States. The war potential of western Germany and Japan was being rebuilt. The Western Union had been organized. The North Atlantic Treaty had been signed. That treaty which was manifestly contrary to Articles 51 and 53 of the Charter, as well as to the principles of collective security. It was a treaty which created an aggressive bloc, established the sphere of influence of a single Power, and prepared the way for a new armaments race. No skilful playing with words could conceal its real meaning.

36. All those facts provided indisputable proof of the aggressive plans of those who, during the same period, had obstructed the disarmament negotiations and proposals and had prevented the prohibition of the atomic weapon and other means of mass destruction. The Secretary-General was right to warn that a new and terrible world war, conducted with the means currently available, could not be avoided by any arrangement which left out any of the great Powers, and that it was necessary that the peoples of the world should face those facts.

37. The previous year had been marked by increased interference in the domestic affairs of several States and by open attacks on the principle of national sovereignty. The ideological justification of the United States policy of expansion had found its expression in the organization of so-called European Councils, in idle statements concerning a world government, in the declarations of statesmen who emphasized the providential role of the United States, the country to which God had supposedly assigned the direction of the world and the mission of teaching men the American way of life.

38. The proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly, in contradiction of every principle of the United Nations Charter and of the peace treaties, the item dealing with the so-called defence of religious freedom in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania constituted such an attack on the national sovereignty of small countries. Not only had those countries not been allowed to become Members of the Organization, but a campaign of slander had been unleashed against them.

39. It could hardly be maintained that such activities served to strengthen the United Nations. And what should be said of the actions of one of the great Powers, which held a prominent position in the United Nations, when it set up a body such as that known as the Committee for Free Europe, which openly engaged in sabotage, diversion and espionage and which fomented disturbances in the territory of other Members of the United Nations; and when it offered such experts in underground activities—apart from a reward in dollars—entry visas to the United States? It was in fact an overt violation both of the United Na-

tions Charter and of the elementary principles of international morality.

40. There were other champions of that morality, who did not hesitate to misuse the religious beliefs and sentiments of the faithful for ends which were essentially incompatible with all the commandments of religion, by giving their blessing to the warmongers, while censuring men of good will and good faith who were engaged in the reconstruction of their devastated countries.

41. In referring to the current problems of international policy, it was impossible to omit mention of the central problem of the liquidation of the consequences of war in Europe, namely, the German question. Mr. Wierblowski did not propose to enter into a thorough discussion of the German question in the forum of the United Nations, since, as was generally known, that was a question for which the Council of Foreign Ministers was alone competent. The German question, however, provided the most glaring example of arbitrary decisions, of the violation of operative international treaties and of the creation of a sphere of influence, exclusively reserved to a single Power and serving that Power's political, military and economic ends.

42. In violation of the Potsdam decisions on the democratization and demilitarization of Germany, Nazi, chauvinist and revisionist elements were coming to power in Germany under the protection of the local occupation authorities. Poland was disturbed at the growth of fascist influence in the public life of the western zones. The reconstruction of Germany's war potential by neo-Nazi elements was in full swing with the support of the western Powers. Without reference to the German people, a mutilated State was being established in western Germany and democratic and peace-loving elements were being intimidated or persecuted.

43. That artificial creation represented a threat, and not to Germany's neighbours only. Western Germany might in future threaten its creators and protectors.

44. In the name of the Polish Government and people, Mr. Wierblowski denounced the Powers which, being Members of the United Nations, tolerated and encouraged revisionist provocateurs in the western occupation zones of Germany.

45. The situation in the Soviet zone of occupation was very different. The course of events in the eastern part of Germany proved that it was possible to settle the German problem along democratic lines on one condition, namely, that the occupation authorities, wishing to create a single and democratic German State, carried out a clear-sighted and consistent policy. The development of democratic institutions in that State would create conditions favourable to the stabilization of peaceful relations and to the restoration of normal relations with other nations. The unity of a Germany built on such democratic principles would open the road to a stabilization of peaceful relations in Europe.

46. The Polish Government expressing its peaceful aspirations and desiring above all the establishment of normal relations with its immediate neighbour to the west, had repeatedly and constructively defined its attitude towards militant German democracy and towards the future democratic German State, built on a just peace treaty.

The Polish Government was putting that policy into effect by developing its economic relations with Germany, and especially with the Soviet zone. The economic relations which were being developed by Poland with the eastern part of Germany bore evidence of the fact that the strengthening of democratic forces in Germany was conducive to the normalization of Germany's relations with neighbouring countries.

47. The climax of the pernicious policy which the western Powers were conducting in Germany had been the elections to the so-called Bonn Parliament. The result of those elections was very disturbing to progressive elements throughout the world. People linked with the Nazi movement, living symbols of the reviving German fascism, had emerged as leaders of the so-called State of western Germany.

48. The representative of France, Mr. Schuman, had devoted a considerable part of his speech (225th meeting) to the German question. It was in no way surprising that the representative of a State which had so often been the object of German aggression should pay a great deal of attention to the question, one of the most important to French policy.

49. Mr. Schuman had described the work carried out by the western Powers in the western zones of Germany as an experiment, adding that the rate of further development would depend on the results of that experiment. If Mr. Schuman had spoken before the inauguration of the so-called Parliament of Bonn and before the creation of the so-called Government of western Germany, he might have been said to be suffering from political shortsightedness. But it was sheer political blindness to speak of an experiment after Mr. Schumacher himself had stated that the Parliament of Bonn was swarming with Nazi supporters, after Heuss, a former Nazi sympathizer, had been elected President, after Kopf, a war criminal, had become a member of the Government and after Chancellor Adenauer had expressed distinctly revisionist theories. The Polish delegation did not believe that the French people, who had fought so heroically against the Nazi occupation, were as unperturbed about the German question as the leader of the French delegation. Ten years after the outbreak of the war, Poland wished to issue a fresh warning against that policy.

50. In economic questions, the events which had taken place during the past year had shown that Poland's forecasts had been correct. There was no doubt that during that period, particularly in the second part of the year, the capitalist countries had shown ever stronger signs of crisis. Neither the world economic survey¹ nor the report of the Economic Commission for Europe² had been able to ignore that fact.

51. The economic position of the capitalist countries was characterized by the weakening of economic development and, during the second part of the period, the cessation or decline of the development of production, notwithstanding the fact that in a number of countries the scars of the destruction wreaked by the war had not yet been obliterated and the standards of living had not yet reached their pre-war level. Although there was still a shortage of food, some countries were reducing the area under crops or the production

of agricultural machinery and tractors. Less industrial equipment was being produced despite the fact that machines were wearing out and that there were large export potentialities.

52. Rising unemployment and the lowering of the standards of living of the masses of the people were related to the decline in production and the growing crisis in the capitalistic countries. The Polish delegation would make a full statement on its attitude to the causes of unemployment and the means of remedying, at any rate in part, that calamity which was inherent in the capitalistic economic system, when the agenda item referring to that question was discussed.

53. The rise in unemployment in the countries of western Europe and the United States could not be questioned. It was mentioned in all the economic publications of the United Nations Secretariat. It was regrettable, however, that those publications did not give sufficient prominence to the extent of the complications which resulted for western Europe from its ever growing submission to the United States and that they did not state clearly that the world was faced with that aspect of the Marshall Plan which had rightly been called the export of unemployment.

54. Mr. Wierblowski noted with surprise that the Secretary-General's report did not contrast the grim situation in the capitalistic countries with the economic success achieved by Poland, the other peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union.

55. Even though that part of Europe had suffered the greatest destruction, those countries were making the most rapid strides in development. Poland had succeeded in abolishing unemployment which before the war had been so disastrous for the working classes. The standard of living of the working classes was steadily rising, as wages were increasing while prices remained stable. The position of the farming population had definitely improved.

56. In comparison with 1937, employment figures had risen by 40 per cent and industrial production had increased by more than 70 per cent. The Polish mining industry was working not only for the home market but was meeting the needs of other European countries. The production of the mining and power industry, during the first six months of 1949, had increased by 11 per cent over the corresponding period in 1948. The production of heavy industry, which was the basis of Poland's future development, was constantly increasing. During the first six months of 1949, Polish heavy industry production had increased by 25 per cent over the corresponding period in 1948. The increase in the food industry during the same period had been 24 per cent, and light industry had increased by 31 per cent.

57. Those few significant figures clearly showed how the economy of a country which had succeeded in making itself independent of the crises inherent in the capitalistic economy was developing.

58. Those results had obviously not been achieved on a basis of economic self-sufficiency. Precisely because Poland had strengthened its economic ties with the other peoples' democracies and especially with the USSR, which had rendered it great help, it had been able to set up a

¹ See *World Economic Report 1948*: United Nations Publications; Sales No., 1949.II.C.3.

² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, Fourth Year, Ninth Session, Supplement No. 12.

system of mutual economic assistance. That co-operation had taken the form of an organization, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. That organization was an example of economic co-operation based on absolute equality and the absence of all political pressure. It was the exact opposite of the theory and practice of the Marshall Plan, the aim of which was the economic conquest of Europe.

59. Poland was ready, moreover, to develop, and was, indeed, developing, its economic relations with all the countries in the world on a basis of complete equality and mutual profit. Poland rejected any effort at discrimination and would not tolerate the imposition of conditions incompatible with the trend of development of its national economy. On that basis it was ready to develop further its economic exchanges with the western European countries.

60. If, in spite of that, there were no signs that the western European countries wished to develop exchanges with the peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union, that circumstance must primarily be attributed to the general political attitude of the Power which was currently determining the trends of economic policy with respect to the western European countries. A visible sign of that trend was to be seen in the export quotas and the black-listing of goods destined for eastern Europe. That trend ran counter to the vital interests of the western European countries and for that reason it might be hoped that economic wisdom would prevail.

61. Unfortunately, only a few days previously, those vital interests, and more specifically those of western Europe, had again been injured by an enforced devaluation of currencies. That action constituted an attempt to create conditions under which one single currency would dominate the economic life of a large part of the world. That would obviously facilitate the economic penetration of American monopolies into the economic life of those countries by making them even more dependent upon the United States. It was obvious that one of the principal aims of that manoeuvre was to place the burden of the crisis on the working masses and to lower their real wages and their standards of living.

62. Mr. Wierblowski wished to say a few words on the problem of assistance to economically backward countries. It was obvious that Poland fully supported the idea of the economic development of those countries. The Polish delegation continued to hold the views it had expressed during the discussions on the problem as a whole at the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council held that summer in Geneva. Such action, however, carried with it the danger of violation of the national sovereignty of economically underdeveloped countries, and the danger of the subordinating their interests to those of big capital. Poland would obviously oppose tendencies of that kind. It considered it essential that guarantees for the preservation of the sovereignty of those countries should be given and assurances offered that the aid would take into account their development and their economic needs.

63. In no circumstances, therefore, must those countries be turned into areas for the expansion of capital which would arrest and distort their development. Aid to those countries should in no case transform them into bases supplying raw

materials to great monopolies. Those were the reservations that Poland felt obliged to make.

64. That analysis should make it easy to define the part of the United Nations, towards which the hopes of all humanity had been directed since its establishment. In previous years there had been certain tendencies to transform the Organization into an instrument of the Anglo-American bloc, into a voting machine, an inert, ignored and abandoned institution. It was only thanks to the will for peace and the vigilance of the peoples, and thanks to the firm attitude of the peace-loving States, that that plan had not been put into effect.

65. Mr. Wierblowski was obliged to note with regret, however, the great harm done to the authority of the United Nations, and the fact that the United Nations had given very little aid to those States which were seeking to enable it to play an active part in the world and to uphold its prestige.

66. It was to be hoped that the sound view expressed in the Secretary-General's latest report regarding the necessity for unanimous action by the great Powers, as well as the critical passages which dealt with the attempts to isolate one great Power, would become the starting point of more vigorous action by the United Nations in the service of peace and progress. The Organization should see that the spirit of the Charter was observed, and should prevent the creation of illegal commissions, such as the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans and the United Nations Commission on Korea, or of bodies such as the Interim Committee of the General Assembly. The Organization should take care that, even in questions of minor importance, it should not become the instrument of a temporary and mechanical majority and should firmly reject all attacks on its authority or on the authority of its most important organ, the Security Council.

67. Speaking from that rostrum, the representatives of several States had given assurances of their will for peace. Nevertheless, no great Power, with the exception of the USSR, had voiced any clear or concrete proposal for the improvement of the existing situation. The representative of the Soviet Union had been the only one to submit to the General Assembly proposals (226th meeting) that would give the United Nations new possibilities.

68. Those proposals condemned the preparations for war that were being carried on, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. They recommended the prohibition of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction, the use of which was incompatible with the conscience and honour of nations and their membership of the international community. They called upon all nations to settle their disputes by peaceful methods. They recommended that the General Assembly should appeal to the great Powers which bore the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security to unite their efforts and conclude amongst themselves a pact for the strengthening of peace. In the existing situation, which was tense and clouded by the threat of war, the USSR proposals could not be considered otherwise than as a concrete and constructive step of great importance. That was the kind of decision that the weary peoples and the working classes of the world expected from the United Nations. They greeted the USSR pro-

posals with joy and hope. They believed that their adoption by the General Assembly would strengthen the United Nations and the cause of those who were fighting for peace throughout the world, and would lead to a real improvement in the situation.

69. The people and the Government of the Polish Republic were in entire agreement with the USSR proposals and asked the Assembly to adopt them unanimously.

70. Poland had already shown on more than one occasion its constructive attitude towards the United Nations, not only by words, but also by deeds. Poland's foreign policy had no end in view save that of peaceful collaboration among peoples and the consolidation of the forces of progress. That was the end to which were directed all the alliances and treaties signed by the Polish Government, treaties which, in conformity with the Charter, were registered with the United Nations. Poland was taking part in none of the aggressive blocs organized under the guise of regionalism. Poland opposed, and would continue resolutely to oppose, the armaments race, the criminal and destructive atomic bomb, and bacteriological warfare. It looked with sympathy and comprehension upon any movement for national liberation and any struggle for freedom and independence against oppression and slavery.

71. Poland demanded a democratic peace for the peoples of Greece, Indonesia, Viet-Nam and other countries struggling for national liberation and democracy. It considered that the first necessary step in that direction was the withdrawal of the armies of intervention, those of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. Poland also looked with sympathy on other peoples which were trying to shake off the yoke of servitude. The Polish delegation could never acquiesce in that act of violence perpetrated before the eyes of the whole world—the annexation of South West Africa by the Union of South Africa. The welfare of populations and their right to self-determination would alone guide the decisions of the Polish delegation in that matter. That was equally true of the problem of the future of the former Italian colonies.

72. Poland would oppose any attempt at discrimination in questions regarding the admission of new Members to the United Nations. It would defend freedom of conscience against any attempt to exploit religious feelings for obscure political ends. In Poland, a peoples' democracy, religious beliefs were considered the personal affair of each individual.

73. An atmosphere of war hysteria was pervading certain countries. That atmosphere was influencing the manner in which current international problems were being treated. It was producing conflicts, and hanging heavily over the deliberations of the Organization. It was distorting everything and leading to a situation where, in an artificially created fog, shadows assumed in the minds of those who suffered from such war hysteria, the proportions of great and real dangers.

74. The possibilities of easing the tension in the international situation and the growing promise of co-operation between nations still existed as they had in the past. Two different political and economic systems could quite well exist side by side and work together in peace. The example of the Council and Foreign Ministers had proved conclusively that, with a little good will, con-

structive solutions could be reached. Men of good will, the plain people who longed for peace, had welcomed with great relief the decisions taken by the Council at its recent meeting in Paris. It seemed that their faith had been justified. But the warmongers had wasted no time in taking their revenge and had sought to destroy the results of the Paris meeting of the four great Powers. The workers of the world, however, would not keep silent. The future lay in their hands. It was they who would shape the progress of history. They were determined that there should be no more war. Ten years after the military attack on Poland, in the month which marked the anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War, the whole Polish people took its stand in the forefront of those who were striving to banish forever the spectre of war and to establish peace.

75. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) began by saying that the greatest concern of the General Assembly was to see whether the United Nations still enjoyed the faith and confidence of all the nations. Referring to the Secretary-General's annual report, he said that it could be gathered from that document that the life of the Organization had not reached the pace foreseen in San Francisco, and that its results did not fulfil the hopes born on that occasion, although the year which had passed since the preceding session of the General Assembly had been, in the words of the Secretary-General, on the whole, a year of progress towards a more peaceful world.

76. What San Francisco had promised the world was a change of outlook, a change which originated in the sorrow and suffering of millions of human beings. With due regard for the sovereignty of nations and for the free self-determination of peoples, a feeling of international responsibility for the safeguarding of world peace and security had been fostered. Moreover, a causal connexion between the progressive improvement of the standards of living of human beings and the gradual elimination of the deep-rooted causes of conflict had been explicitly recognized.

77. If the Assembly analyzed the world situation, keeping in mind such principles, it would have to admit that those fundamental ideas which inspired the United Nations were making headway among the nations against great difficulties. Such international feeling was evident in the stages which had led to the formation of the Council of Europe—a step taken by the western European countries to pool their resources, co-ordinate their plans and achieve their goal of political unity. That was a striking event of modern times. After repeated efforts towards unification in the course of its history, Europe was seeking unity on a democratic basis, respecting forms of government and ideological and religious tendencies. That was one of the finest experiments in the history of the West and an invaluable lesson for the rest of the world.

78. Referring to the execution of the agreements to the New Delhi Conference, Mr. Santa Cruz stated that the new countries of Asia were proving to the world that in history, which determined universal destinies, more than one continent counted, and that the countries of Asia were capable of influencing the structure of the world of the future. As the Secretary-General's

report stated, those same principles, applied by the United Nations, had won for the United Nations a great victory, namely, peace in the Middle East.

79. He went on to speak of the Kashmir dispute and the ideas expressed at the beginning of the debate by the representative of India (222nd meeting), and said that the reiterated assurances that India was determined to find a peaceful solution were important guarantees for those who hoped that nothing would separate nations which were to share a noble and historic destiny.

80. The Assembly had to contrast those successes in the political field, and the partial solution of the Berlin conflict, with new and extremely serious situations which proved that in other respects the spirit of San Francisco had been disregarded and even deliberately violated.

81. Part of the territory of China was occupied by military forces engaged in a movement of expansion which ran counter to all the principles of the United Nations. Part of that nation, comprising millions of human beings, would therefore remain isolated from any idea of international co-operation. The leaders of that movement, the invaders, were boasting at that very moment of putting into action a policy of defiance and hatred. Upon reading the statements of Mao Tze-tung, one was conscious of a great defeat of the principles of the Charter. The danger which hovered over all Asia could not be ignored if world peace was still regarded as one and indivisible. The participation of the USSR in those events, which had been denounced by the representative of China (223rd meeting), showed the tragic seriousness of the situation.

82. Nor could the General Assembly ignore the existence of a new element of conflict, the effects of which could not be foreseen. A nation, a Member of the United Nations, was being subjected to economic, political and ideological aggression on the part of a great Power and a group of its satellites solely because it had not complied with orders detrimental to its own interests. While the Charter adopted in San Francisco promised a world of peaceful collaboration among nations, the Soviet Union was promoting a red crusade intended to subjugate to its will the external and internal affairs of a sovereign state, Yugoslavia. What should really alarm the United Nations, however, was the will to bridge that ideological schism by violence, and the hatefully imperialistic nature of such an attitude, an attitude which recalled that of Nazism and was thus a flagrant threat to the peace.

83. Mr. Santa Cruz said that the peace offer made the previous day (226th meeting) by the USSR representative was profoundly ironic. The Soviet Union spoke of peace at the very moment when Moscow was calling for aggression against Yugoslavia and the formation of a Government subservient to its wishes, and at the very moment when it was concluding its work in China.

84. The leader of the Chilean delegation described the Marshall Plan as a typical and effective example of a sense of collective responsibility. Referring to the financial problems besetting the United Kingdom, which kept the democratic nations in a state of uneasiness, he said that everything which weakened and jeopardized the stability of the United Kingdom weakened and jeopardized the peace, because that country was one of

the most solid and respected guarantees of democratic co-operation in the world.

85. The case of the United Kingdom once again emphasized the contradictions in the reconstruction of areas directly affected by the war and in the economic development of backward regions in a world which only recently had begun to speak and to understand the language of international co-operation. The under-developed countries had recently suffered the impact of international economic disorder; they had seen their national resources seriously depleted and their low standard of living reduced even further, because of the drop in the price of certain basic products.

86. Nevertheless, it was necessary to record the progress achieved in international co-operation for the economic development of under-developed areas. Mr. Santa Cruz referred in that connexion to point four of the programme of the President of the United States; to the plans for technical assistance which had been drafted as a result of that programme; and to the activities of the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank of the United States. Such action indicated that government leaders had become aware that international economic co-operation was a collective obligation deriving from the Charter itself and from the realities of the economic situation.

87. In order to avoid betrayal of the spirit of the United Nations Charter, one of the indispensable conditions was to demand a kind of economic development aimed at obtaining a better standard of living for those peoples. Referring in particular to the African continent, Mr. Santa Cruz said that plans were being discussed to invest large amounts of capital there in order to utilize that continent's natural resources. Such a programme merited praise, on the condition that it was carried out with the due regard for human and universal factors which must characterize any plans for development.

88. The head of the Chilean delegation then mentioned the work of mediation accomplished by the United Nations in Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia. Other attempts which the Organization had made to intervene had been paralysed by the abuse of the privilege of the veto, or had proved ineffective simply because of the persistent refusal of some countries to carry out the resolutions of the General Assembly. That had happened in the case of Korea and Greece, and as in the case of the recommendation contained in resolution 285 (III) of 25 April 1949 to the effect that the Soviet Union should permit Soviet women married to foreigners to leave the country.

89. The struggle for peace could not be confined to the defence of the structure which had been designed to maintain it; it should also be extended to safeguard and propagate the idea which had given it birth.

90. Referring to the former Italian colonies, Mr. Santa Cruz expressed the hope that the fate of those territories would be settled in the course of that session. Libya, Eritrea and former Italian Somaliland were still awaiting a solution which would give them a definitive status. The Chilean delegation did not want the future of those colonies to be linked to that of some Non-Self-Governing Territories where, in spite of the efforts of the Trusteeship Council, the standard of living of the population was incompatible with any concept of justice and humanity.

91. There were even some nations which refused to co-operate with the United Nations and which boasted of having established discriminatory régimes on the African continent.

92. The activities of the regional commissions and of some of the functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council deserved special mention that year. The preparation of the programme of technical assistance was one of the most important steps ever taken by the United Nations. Technical assistance would be eminently useful and, in addition, would create the proper atmosphere for a new international concept which, if applied to finance and to all other forms of co-operation, would put to the test the effectiveness of the United Nations and the spirit of its Charter. President Truman's announcement that the United States Government, by financial and technical assistance, would make a major contribution to the execution of the programme, was in harmony with the new sense of international solidarity and co-operation.

93. The programme of technical assistance took into consideration the need for adequate co-ordination of all organs called upon to participate in its execution, and the Chilean delegation hoped that the General Assembly would approve that programme at its current session.

94. Chile shared the concern expressed by the Brazilian delegation (222nd meeting) at the increasing number of organs set up by the United Nations, and at the excessive costs which the existing structure of international life was forcing on the nations. Chile was prepared to support any proposal aimed at ensuring efficient co-ordination of the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and elimination of superfluous activities. The specialized agencies should, in their own interests, collaborate in that task. The Chilean delegation was in favour of reducing some administrative expenditures.

95. Chile realized that peace was an international responsibility and that war was indivisible; hence Chile associated itself with all the stipulations of the Charter adopted in San Francisco.

96. Great efforts were being made to spread the democratic idea in Latin-American countries. The difficulties were tremendous for manifold reasons. Although certain facts might make it difficult to form a true idea of the spiritual and ideological conditions in that part of the hemisphere, it must be recognized that faith in democracy had become much stronger.

97. Mr. Santa Cruz recalled the recent statement (222nd meeting) of Mr. Dean Acheson, United States Secretary of State, to the effect that the United States always deplored the action of any group in substituting its judgment for that of the electorate, and that it especially deplored the overthrow by force of a freely elected Government. The same was true of the countries of Latin America, which rejected all forms of totalitarianism and, in their different ways, were all moving towards the democratic system as the only permanent form of government. That had been shown by the victory of the Government and people of Bolivia over a fascist uprising, a victory that filled all democratic Governments and peoples of Latin America with joy.

trialize their production, and protect themselves from the international economic dislocation. Much remained to be done in Latin America, and the United Nations would have the opportunity to assist in that effort through the programme of technical assistance. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund had understood the peculiar situation in that part of the American continent, and a more progressive spirit was guiding their decisions. The great economic centres of the world which had obtained so much from Latin America had the historic opportunity to co-operate in the creation of wealth, in compensation for the riches extracted in the past. The Chilean delegation believed that such a sense of responsibility towards economically weak nations, a direct and authentic product of the spirit of the Charter, would prevail in those who were directing world economy.

99. Sir Mohammad ZAFRULLA Khan (Pakistan) stated that the Assembly was fortunate in having elected as its President an international personality who, through his courage, vision and lofty eloquence, had on all occasions emphasized and lent much needed support to the principles and the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The courtesy, skill and speed with which he had conducted the proceedings and guided the deliberations of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee during the third session were guarantees that the work of the Assembly during the current session would proceed to its conclusion smoothly and speedily. General Rómulo's election to the high office of President of the Assembly was a matter of deep gratification to the Pakistan delegation, and to Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan personally. Both General Rómulo and the Assembly were to be congratulated on the happy choice.

100. The year that had elapsed had marked a great advance in the achievements of the United Nations in the economic, social and humanitarian fields.

101. The project of economic aid to under-developed countries was of particular interest to Pakistan, which was glad to accord it its general approval and support. Pakistan looked forward, during the course of the current session, to making its due contribution to the shaping and formulation of the project, and later to its implementation. The project betokened further recognition of the reality that not only peace and security but also the welfare and prosperity of mankind, in all their aspects, were interdependent and indivisible; that, in fact, mankind was fast becoming one family and must learn to live together in peace and beneficent co-operation, or perish. Indeed, that fact was expressly recognized in the Charter itself, which, in its Preamble, declared that the peoples of the United Nations were determined to practise tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, so as to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and also that, to the same end, they were determined to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The project of economic aid to under-developed countries was only one practical expression of that determination.

102. The Pakistan delegation regretted that it

faction with the work of the United Nations in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security through effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or breaches of the peace, as provided for in Article 1 of the Charter.

103. Addressing the Assembly during the general discussions at the first part of the third session¹, he himself had drawn attention to an instance of aggression committed by a powerful State against a weak and peaceful neighbour while the appeal of the latter against the threatened aggression had been pending and had been under discussion by the Security Council; he was referring to the case of Hyderabad. The question was still on the agenda of the Security Council; it was listed as item 11 of matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which were being dealt with by the Security Council and which had been notified by the Secretary-General to the Assembly (A/979) under paragraph 2 of Article 12. It was regrettable that the Security Council had so far not found itself able to take any steps towards the suppression of what undoubtedly had been and still was an act of aggression.

104. Other questions involving threats to the peace were before the Security Council. The group of questions included in item 8 of those notified by the Secretary-General, namely, the India-Pakistan question, was of the most direct and vital interest to Pakistan, the dispute relating to the accession of Kashmir being the most outstanding among them. A brief reference to that question had been made by the representative of India, in the course of his address to the Assembly at the 222nd meeting, but he had confined himself to generalities. The dispute, however, had dragged on through various phases for nearly two years, and Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan thought it would be appropriate, for the benefit and information of those States Members which were not represented on the Security Council, to explain briefly at what stage the efforts of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan which was seeking to bring about a settlement had been brought to a standstill.

105. Members were aware that Pakistan and India were agreed that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India should be determined on the basis of a free and impartial plebiscite of the people of the State. A campaign had recently been started in the Indian Press to persuade the Government of India to withdraw from that position. It was to be hoped, however, that India would not withdraw from the position which it had consistently held for two years.

106. A cease-fire agreement had been brought about through the efforts of the United Nations Commission. The next task of the Commission had been to bring about a truce agreement, and there the Commission had been confronted with demands and contentions which it had found itself unable to resolve by its own efforts. The Commission had therefore proposed that all matters of dispute between the parties, relating to the settlement of the truce agreement, should be submitted to the arbitration of Admiral Nimitz,

who had already been nominated by the parties as the Plebiscite Administrator. The Commission had proposed that the parties should agree to accept the decision of Admiral Nimitz on the disputed matters relating to the truce.

107. One of the matters in dispute between the parties was whether a certain question was to be determined at the truce stage or whether, under the resolutions of the Commission accepted by the parties and under the clarifications given by the Commission, it could be dealt with only during the period of the organization of the plebiscite which was to follow the truce. India's contention was that the matter must be determined as part of the truce agreement. Pakistan contended that it could be determined only during the plebiscite stage, when it would have to be synchronized with other related questions. The Indian representative had contended that, though arbitration was one of the methods of peaceful settlement enjoined by the Charter, India was unable to accept the Commission's proposal for arbitration in that case, since the issues to be decided had not been clearly defined. The fallacy underlying that statement was that one of the questions to be determined by the arbitrator was whether the issue that the Indian representative had in mind was to be determined at that stage or whether it came within the category of those to be determined at the next stage. That being the case, it was obviously for the arbitrator to determine whether, on the basis of the terms of the resolutions of the Commission accepted by both parties and the clarification of those resolutions furnished by the Commission to the parties, the issue must be determined at that stage or await determination at the next stage. If the arbitrator accepted the first view, he would proceed to determine it forthwith; if he were of the second opinion, he would so rule and the issue would be excluded from determination at the current stage.

108. In making that aspect of the matter an excuse for rejecting the proposal of the Commission, the Indian representative and the Indian Government appeared to be sheltering behind a position which they knew to be untenable. In the course of his distinguished career, the Indian representative had occupied a high judicial position, and had he been called upon to determine the question at issue judicially, it would surely not have taken him more than a few minutes to come to the conclusion that India had advanced the excuse merely to obstruct a process which must go forward speedily and must culminate in the organization and holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite at a very early date, if peace were to be preserved and maintained. Pakistan had found no difficulty in accepting the proposal of the Commission that the questions in dispute, relating to the settlement of the truce, should be submitted to the arbitration of the officer whom it was proposed to appoint as arbitrator and who had already been nominated Plebiscite Administrator. If India were, as its representative claimed, a loyal Member of the United Nations, anxious for a peaceful and stable solution of the problem, it must, as early as possible, agree to some process which would speedily resolve the deadlock and enable the Plebiscite Administrator to organize and hold a fair and impartial plebiscite.

109. Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan proceeded to draw the attention of the Assembly to another dis-

¹ See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part I*, 145th plenary meeting.

pute which had been pending between Pakistan and India for nearly eighteen months and which, if not peacefully settled, threatened to place the maintenance of international peace and security in grave danger.

110. The dispute in question related to the apportionment of the waters of the rivers which had been cut across by the drawing of the boundary line between India and West Pakistan. A large part of those waters was utilized for purposes of irrigation in West Pakistan and the States that had acceded to Pakistan, and upon the continuation of the supply of those waters depended not only the welfare and prosperity but even the livelihood and existence of large sections of the people of West Pakistan. The dispute had arisen over the action of India in cutting off, in 1948, and in the case of one channel in August 1947, the flow into Pakistan of the latter's share of the waters of certain canal systems which, by the partition, had become international. Previously, as a Joint Expert Committee on Partition had reported, there had been no question of varying the authorized shares of water to which the two zones and the various canals had been entitled before partition.

111. It would be readily recognized that, owing to the dependence of millions of people upon the rivers and irrigation systems across which the political boundary had been drawn, the distribution of those common waters was a matter of vital concern. An interruption, such as had occurred over a year previously, in the flow of waters upon which essential food-growing areas of Pakistan depended, or a diminution in that flow, or even a threat of interruption or diminution, which would have the effect of converting millions of acres of fertile land into arid wastes, created a situation likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and was inconsistent with the obligations of membership in the United Nations.

112. A year of negotiation had failed to accomplish the restoration of the flow into Pakistan of one of those systems. In connexion with the restoration of the flow of the others, the Government of India had asserted the right to impose certain onerous conditions. Pakistan had reserved its rights, and the two Governments had agreed that further meetings between their representatives should take place, in the hope that a friendly solution would be reached.

113. Those meetings had taken place, but a solution had not been reached. In fact, the meetings had failed to bring the views of the parties closer together. Instead, the Government of India had put forward contentions that struck at the very root of Pakistan's right to its historic, legal and equitable share in the common waters. India had claimed that, as an upper riparian State, it was entitled to divert every drop of the water of those common international rivers to its own uses and to dry up altogether those areas which had hitherto depended upon them for irrigation. It should be noted that Pakistan had already invested millions of dollars in the development of the irrigation systems of those areas.

114. The continued interference, or threat of interference, with the flow of those waters was so disquieting and pregnant with danger to the maintenance of peaceful conditions as to make it

imperative that a speedy solution should be sought by negotiation or adjudication. Pakistan was continuing its efforts to seek a solution by mutual agreement in the earnest hope that such a solution, acceptable to both sides, might be reached at an early date, but the matter was urgent and could not be delayed longer. If a settlement by negotiation should prove to be beyond the reach of the parties, Pakistan would be willing to submit the dispute to the adjudication of the International Court of Justice, as required by the Charter. Indeed, it had already submitted that proposal to India as an alternative in the event of a failure to reach settlement by agreement.

115. Pakistan's attitude in respect of both those vital and urgent matters was the clearest possible proof of its determination to seek a solution of all international disputes and problems through peaceful means, first by negotiation and, if that should fail, through recourse to the appropriate organs of the United Nations. If the purposes of the United Nations were to be achieved through peaceful methods, not only India, but all States, whether Members of the United Nations or not, would have to give similar proof of their anxiety that their disputes and problems should be resolved through such means.

116. The most outstanding problems in the political field with which the Assembly would have to deal during the course of the session were those relating to the former Italian colonies, Indonesia and Palestine. The problem of Greece was happily on the way towards a solution.

117. On the question of the former Italian colonies, Pakistan had made its point of view perfectly clear during the previous session, and to that point of view it continued to adhere. Pakistan maintained that a solution of that question must be found, as stated in annex XI to the peace treaty with Italy, in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of those territories and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments. Of all those considerations, the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants were paramount. Human beings, whether as individuals or in groups, could not be herded about as so many head of cattle. The Pakistan delegation would be prepared to lend its support to any proposal which maintained and gave effect to the principles of the Charter and would oppose any proposed solution that ran contrary to them.

118. As representatives were aware, a conference of representatives of Indonesia and the Netherlands, engaged in formulating a settlement of the Indonesian question, was sitting at The Hague. It was to be hoped that such a settlement, honourable and satisfactory to all concerned, would emerge from the discussions and deliberations of the conference in time for the fourth session of the General Assembly to take note of it and to give it its blessing. If by misfortune, that should not prove to be the case, the matter would come up for discussion, since it was on the Assembly's agenda. Pakistan's contribution to the discussion would be based upon the principles of the Charter, the outstanding one in that case being respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

119. The feelings of the people of Pakistan and the attitude of its Government in respect of that

matter were charged with a deep poignancy. They would not be able either to enjoy or to appreciate to the fullest extent their own recently achieved freedom and sovereignty until all the other nations of South West Asia which had not yet attained to full freedom found themselves in similar case. That applied not only to Indonesia, but also to Malaya, to Viet-Nam and, indeed, to all the other countries, nations and peoples that were still struggling to attain to the fullness of independence, both in the political and in the economic spheres.

120. With regard to Palestine, Pakistan's stand had throughout been clear and unequivocal. Pakistan did not depart in any way from the views which had been expressed on its behalf on that question. In the meantime certain calamities, of which Pakistan had given due and timely warning, had unfortunately overtaken an unfortunate section of the people of that unhappy land. Without prejudice to its main stand on the question, Pakistan would be prepared to take note of the exigencies of the situation and to make a contribution towards securing their redress on a fair, just and humanitarian basis.

121. One of the specific questions that would come under discussion was the effective internationalization of Jerusalem. To that Pakistan would give wholehearted support. It might be said that that aspect of the larger problem of Palestine would be a test of the consistency and effectiveness of the United Nations. In seeking to carry into effect the internationalization of Jerusalem, the United Nations was seeking merely to give effect to an important provision of the resolution which had culminated in the setting up of the State of Israel. The internationalization of Jerusalem had been one of the prior conditions of the creation of that State. Israel had thrown a challenge to the United Nations in respect of that condition. It would be an object lesson to the world and, indeed, might be a crucial test of the very justification of the continuation of the United Nations, for the Organization successfully and effectively to meet that challenge.

122. There were many other important matters on the agenda of the session on which he would not comment. An observation, however, was called for in connexion with the Interim Committee. That Committee had been set up with a legitimate purpose as an experimental measure. Unfortunately the experiment had not justified itself, mainly owing to the fact that a group of Member States had refused to participate in the activities of the Committee. One result of that had been that important questions, which could well have been referred to the Committee and should normally have been so referred, had been allotted to special committees so that they could be dealt with by all the Member States, or by such of them as had been nominated to those committees. Pakistan still hoped that it might be possible to persuade the group of States which had declined to participate in the work of the Interim Committee to change their attitude, but if that should unfortunately not be found possible, it would appear that the experiment should no longer be continued.

123. The ideological conflict continued not only to divide the world but also to harass its peoples

and to threaten peace and security. The complexity of the human problems involved required that they should be approached from various angles; indeed, diverse points of view and differences of approach and method were essential conditions of advancement and progress and should, therefore, be encouraged. What was needed, however, was tolerance, which should provide full scope for ideas to act and react beneficently upon each other.

124. Pakistan's view was that every nation must be free to develop its social, economic and political systems and institutions along the lines best suited to its own needs and expressive of its genius. What must be insisted upon was that no force, violence or coercion, organized or unorganized, should be permitted to be employed, either inside a nation or from outside, to force a people to give up that which they desired to retain or to adopt that which they were reluctant to accept. Whatever was attempted must be undertaken openly and carried out by peaceful means. If that could be accepted and put into effect on a world-wide scale, the suspicions of sinister motives and the fears of secret and violent designs, which were poisoning international relations and constituted so grave a threat to the maintenance of peace and security, would soon be dispelled, making beneficent co-operation possible between groups of States which were divided from each other by those suspicions and fears.

125. One effort that would help to clear the atmosphere would be to foster knowledge in all spheres, to provide accurate information and to facilitate and promote free intercourse and interchanges across national and international frontiers. The activities of the United Nations directed towards the lowering and removal of barriers restricting the free movement of ideas, information and individuals should be intensified, since those barriers hindered better understanding and deeper friendship between the nations.

126. Pakistan could be relied upon to give its fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter.

127. Mr. AKILLOU (Ethiopia) wished to comment briefly on the agenda of the fourth session of the General Assembly.

128. General Rómulo, President of the General Assembly, had expressed the hope (220th meeting) that the current session might later be called the "Peace Assembly", and it was indeed a fact that the Assembly was meeting in an atmosphere of greatly relaxed tension.

129. It should nevertheless be noted that among the problems before the Assembly there were several which had been on its agenda for several sessions already, problems which it had unfortunately been unable so far to solve, which had left a legacy of discontent and which were disturbing international relations. There was no need to enlarge upon the nature of those questions. It was sufficient to glance at the agenda of the First Committee and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to realize the little progress so far achieved. It was therefore most important to put the atmosphere of relaxed tension to good use and to see how the Assembly could catch up with its arrears and complete its work.

130. The Brazilian representative had stressed (222nd meeting) the meagre results achieved by the Security Council after innumerable meetings, the lack of activity of the International Court of Justice and the fact that, in attempting to solve concrete problems—in most cases physical problems—the main questions were lost sight of. He said that that was like taking care of the body and forgetting the soul.

131. The Ethiopian delegation fully endorsed the view so ably expressed by the Brazilian representative. It also appreciated his very true remarks concerning the excessive number of bodies established by the United Nations; they had been allowed to proliferate to the point where they hampered the work of the General Assembly. There appeared to be a tendency on the part of the United Nations to shirk its responsibilities by dividing them among a multitude of other bodies.

132. A similar development had taken place in the days of the League of Nations. Could anyone have forgotten the time, immediately preceding the end of its work and of its very existence, when that organization had set up a great number of organs, committees of inquiry and sub-committees?

133. Mr. Aklilou recalled in particular the numerous committees which had been set up to deal with what had been in fact an extremely simple matter, namely, the fascist aggression against Ethiopia. It was indeed on account of that proliferation of meetings and committees that the world had accused the League of Nations of spoliation by procedure.

134. The same tendency was unfortunately becoming apparent at the moment in the General Assembly. The agenda of the fourth session of the Assembly comprised no less than sixty-six items, only eight of which could be considered as political. Yet it was evident from a glance at those eight political questions, namely, the questions of Palestine, Indonesia, Greece, Korea, atomic energy, disarmament, observance of human rights and the former Italian colonies, that not one of them was new. They were all on the agenda because so far the General Assembly had been unable to solve them although it had set up in each case study committees and committees of inquiry. The Assembly would never be able to hope for any solution if it continued to shun its own responsibilities by referring the questions to other organs. Was the conclusion, as the Syrian representative had observed (222nd meeting), that the defects which had brought about the bankruptcy of the League of Nations were reappearing in the United Nations and were liable to bring about its end? The work of the fourth session must prove the contrary.

135. If, as everyone maintained, there was a real relaxation in tension, it was most important for the Assembly not to delay any further in facing its own responsibilities in solving those problems and completing its agenda.

136. Those remarks were particularly true as far as the question of the former Italian colonies was concerned. In that connexion no one could possibly deny that the Assembly had a direct and irrefutable responsibility. Regarding that matter, it was sitting, so to speak, as a court of appeal. The Council of Foreign Ministers of the four great Powers had failed and, in accordance with

article 23 of the peace treaty with Italy, it had referred the question to the General Assembly and had bound itself in advance to abide by the latter's recommendations.

137. It should moreover be noted that, among all the various questions appearing again on the agenda, the matter of the former Italian colonies was certainly the one which had been most studied and which was ripest for solution. It had been studied by the twenty-one countries most concerned at the 1946 Peace Conference in Paris. For several months it had been considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers. That Council had had at its disposal studies carried out by the Four Power Commission of Investigation, which had spent almost a whole year in reaching its conclusions. Furthermore the countries most concerned had been requested on several occasions to state their views before the Four Power Commission. The Assembly had itself fully discussed the matter during the six weeks of the second part of its third session after having listened carefully and for a long time to the statements of the various non-governmental groups. So far, a total of no less than ten commissions had already studied and gone into the matter, which was nevertheless a simple one. If it were remembered that the twenty-one countries represented at the Peace Conference had referred the problem to the four great Powers for a solution and that they in turn had referred it after long study to the General Assembly, it would be clearly understood why, after the matter had been passed from one group to another, it was necessary to settle such an urgent problem without further delay.

138. Fortunately the General Assembly had resolutely rejected the various solutions involving a postponement of adjournment of a solution and, when it had been presented with the minimum and essential claims of Ethiopia, it had found a solution supported by six-sevenths of the members of the First Committee. That partial solution had, however, been defeated for wholly extraneous international political reasons.

139. The Assembly therefore had the duty and the possibility of finally settling the matter. As the United States Secretary of State had so rightly said in his speech (222nd meeting), the fact that by express prior agreement the responsible parties had enabled the United Nations to reach a settlement, gave reason to hope that henceforth the Organization would grow in influence. That was a precedent which might be taken as a basis of settling some political problems by special advance agreement to accept the recommendations of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

140. By proceeding without further delay to a settlement of the urgent and distressing matter of the former Italian colonies, an atmosphere would be created which would favour the solution of the other political problems which had been on the Assembly's agenda for so long and the way would thus be cleared for reconstructing, after so many years of conflict, international friendship and co-operation on a solid basis.

141. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the time had come to draw up the balance sheet of the activity of the United Nations during its first four years.

142. He had carefully studied the Secretary-General's report, in the introduction to which Mr.

Trygve Lie stated that the year had been, on the whole, a year of progress towards a more peaceful world, and that the United Nations had developed international co-operation in almost every field of human activity on a scale never before attempted.

143. Mr. Kiselev thought that estimate incorrect and, to say the least of it, an exaggeration. He wished himself to analyse the activities of the United Nations during those years.

144. During its three previous sessions, the General Assembly had examined a number of political, economic, and social questions, and had adopted 287 resolutions.

145. Resolution 41 (I) on the regulation and reduction of armaments had not been implemented. That problem, one of the greatest with which humanity was confronted, remained unsolved. The Commission for Conventional Armaments had suspended its work, as had also the Atomic Energy Commission.

146. One might legitimately ask the reasons for that situation. Who were the people who, instead of reducing armaments, were encouraging the armaments race, concluding the North Atlantic Treaty, setting up a Western Union for military purposes, violating in the most flagrant manner the fundamental Articles of the Charter and endeavouring to use the United Nations for their own ends? They were the leading circles in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, beset with the morbid idea of world domination.

147. In his statement of 21 September (222nd meeting), Mr. Acheson, United States Secretary of State, had attempted to justify the policy of his country in that field. He had stated that that policy was in entire conformity with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Facts, however, proved exactly the contrary. It was common knowledge that it was in Washington that the North Atlantic Treaty had been signed and later ratified. It was in that city that conversations were at the moment going on for the conclusion of Mediterranean and Pacific treaties. At the head of the countries which were increasing their armaments was the United States which, by means of the so-called peace-time lend-lease, intended to supply armaments to countries signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty. In the light of such facts, it was not surprising that Mr. Acheson should have said that there was no immediate prospect of universal agreement as to the regulation and reduction of armaments. Delivery of United States war material to western Europe was to continue on a scale sufficient to enable American firms to obtain orders for thousands of millions of dollars. American capitalist monopolies were obviously endeavouring by those processes to obtain new dividends.

148. The morbid dream of world domination, the fear of the impending economic crisis, the desire to pile up war profits—such were the motives which led the controlling circles in Wall Street to pursue a policy of ever increasing military expenditure directed towards the unleashing of a new war. Those who controlled American monopolies were deliberately creating an atmosphere of anxiety and alarm in international relations.

149. According to data given in the information bulletin of a New York bank, the profits of the 525 leading United States companies in 1948 had reached the highest level yet known. Those profits had been from 18.8 to 23 per cent of invested capital, amounting to 35,600 million dollars, as against 9,300 million in 1940 and 22,400 million in 1945.

150. History seemed to have taught nothing. The total defeat of Hitlerite Germany, which had been the embodiment of the forces of reaction, should have served as a lesson to those who aspired to world domination. Nothing of the sort had happened. It was obvious that the United States had become the main centre of threats to the peace and security of peoples.

151. Despite the assertions of leading circles in the United States and the United Kingdom, the North Atlantic Treaty was plainly contrary to the interests of the United Nations. Its purposes were in opposition to the principle of peace among nations. It was an aggressive military alliance entered into by a group of Member States and directed against another group of Member States. A number of United States senators had agreed, during the debate in the United States Senate, that the treaty was incompatible with the obligations of the United States as a signatory to the Charter and that it was designed to encourage war rather than to contribute to the maintenance of peace. And the *Wall Street Journal*, an organ of American financial circles, had stated in its issue of 5 April 1949 that the North Atlantic Treaty in fact nullified the principles of the United Nations.

152. Quite logically, the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty had been followed by a frantic arms race, the creation of a vast network of military, naval and air bases and an attack on the standards of living and democratic rights of the masses.

153. While all mankind was anxiously following the warmongering policy of the United States and of certain other countries, all those who wished for peace had rejoiced at the pacific attitude adopted by the Soviet Union.

154. Mr. Kiselev went on to speak of the economic situation. The Economic and Social Council had failed to solve the fundamental problems before it and had devoted itself to those of secondary importance. Thus it had failed to solve the important question of full employment which had been raised by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Instead of adopting concrete recommendations to fight unemployment and to improve the lot of millions of workers, the Anglo-American majority had merely referred the question to the International Labour Organisation for study. It was well known, however, that during the thirty years of its existence the ILO had faithfully defended the interests of the employers. The matter of trade union rights had suffered the same fate. The question of equal pay for equal work for men and women had also remained unsolved.

155. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considered that the Economic and Social Council had failed to take the necessary steps to develop trade relations between Members of the United Nations without infringing the fundamental principles of the equality and sovereignty of all States. It had failed also to take the necessary steps to

assist in the economic development of countries devastated by the war.

156. At its ninth session, the Council had examined the question of the development of the economically under-developed countries. It was known that that problem was of interest to a number of countries in which industry and agriculture were at a very low level, and in which the masses lived in destitution. That situation existed mainly in countries which for many years had been, or still were, subjected to ruthless exploitation by colonial Powers.

157. There was an attempt in some quarters to represent the United States plan of technical aid as one devoid of imperialistic aims. It was quite clear, however, that the plan was nothing more than an attempt by American monopolists to secure a political and economic hold on other countries, to ruin their domestic industries and to flood their markets with American goods. They sought to gain control of the resources of strategic raw materials with intent to use them for military ends. Thus, for example, the United States had bought up nearly all the supplies of raw materials in the Belgian Congo. American companies were ruthlessly exploiting the population of that region. Mr. Kiselev gave another instance in support of his argument: according to official statistics, to be found in the Trusteeship Council's report,¹ only three of the 331 industrial undertakings in Ruanda-Urundi belonged to the Native population. Those three companies were concerned with the manufacture of pottery, basket-making and tanning.

158. It was essential to take steps to prevent American monopolists from enslaving economically under-developed countries under cover of the United Nations. Generous aid must be granted to under-developed countries, provided that such aid

allowed them to promote their national economy and to progress towards political and economic independence.

159. Mr. Kiselev then alluded to the statement by Mr. Santa Cruz, representative of Chile, whom he accused of using the forum of the United Nations in an attempt to distract the attention of the General Assembly from the Soviet Union's proposals (226th meeting) for the achievement of world peace. The Chilean representative had used doubtful arguments, had maintained that the USSR proposals were simply ironical and had thus sought to confuse a perfectly clear issue. Slander on the part of the Chilean representative was nothing new. Everyone was equally familiar with the fact that it invariably came to nothing. There was no need to stress the point further.

160. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wholeheartedly supported the proposals put forward at the 226th meeting by Mr. Vyshinsky. The Member States of the United Nations could not disregard the anxiety of all the nations of the world to prevent another war. They must develop close co-operation among themselves. They must take concrete steps for the speedy solution of such international problems as the control and reduction of armaments and of armed forces, the prohibition of the atomic weapon, and the use of atomic energy solely for peaceful ends. War-mongering must be forbidden and all preparations for a new war must be stopped.

161. In appealing to the great Powers to conclude a pact for the strengthening of peace, the Soviet Union had sought to free the peoples of the world from the fear of another war and to bring to fruition the highest hopes of humanity, which craved only security and a lasting peace.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York, on Monday, 26 September 1949, at 10.45 a.m.

President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO (Philippines).

General debate (*continued*): speeches by Mr. Clementis (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Kardelj (Yugoslavia), Mr. C. Malik (Lebanon), Mr. Tsaldaris (Greece), Mr. Pearson (Canada)

1. Mr. CLEMENTIS (Czechoslovakia) said that, in surveying the achievements and failures and in analysing the problems which had concerned the United Nations during the past year, one important and positive fact had come to light, particularly when those achievements were compared with those of the preceding session of the General Assembly. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report for the year 1949,² had rightly stressed that the fear of war had decreased, and he was partly right to consider the breaking of the Berlin deadlock as the main factor contributing towards that improved situation.

2. Thus it had once more been clearly proved that the peaceful development of the world depended on the co-operation of the leading great Powers, and on the widest and most frequent application of the principle of unanimity, especially to the solution of post-war problems. There was no doubt that, if another meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers were held at the same time as the General Assembly, as had happened in 1946, in order to solve further problems, there would be a relaxation of tension throughout the world and it would have far-reaching effects upon the results of the Assembly's deliberations. That would further prove to those who sincerely strove for the success of the United Nations in the spirit of the Charter, but who so far had not been realistic enough to recognize and respect the real prerequisites for that success, that the co-operation of the leading Powers was a *sine qua non*.

3. The daily practice of the United Nations supported that thesis. In cases where one of the great

¹ See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 4.

² See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1.