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(CLOSING) MEETING

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Chairman: Mr. Jiři NOSEK (Czechoslovakia).

Report of the Economic and Social Council, chapter II (A/2172) (concluded)

[Item 11]*

1. Mr. LEE (China) stated that the spokesmen of the Soviet bloc countries had agreed to extoll the progress allegedly made by communist China in agriculture, industry and communications. However, the main question was not whether production had actually increased in China and further new construction was really being undertaken, but whether the same objective could not have been attained without subjecting the people to great hardship and a foreign yoke. The example of Formosa, the only part of China which remained free, showed that that was possible. All the Chinese fortunate enough to be outside the Iron Curtain and many of those living under the communist régime considered that it was a cruel irony to assert that the rule of the USSR was in the interest of the Chinese people. According to information from China, agricultural production was dropping constantly because farmers were discouraged by the excessive rate of taxation; the land-owning class had been "liquidated" and revolt was ripe among the peasants. In industry repressive measures bore pitilessly on employers and workers alike. That information, which he had had occasion to communicate to the Committee before, came from neutral and trustworthy observers. He recalled that all the industrial installations in Manchuria, the most prosperous industrial area in pre-war China, had been sent to Russia in 1945 by the USSR Army. The Pauley Mission had estimated the total value of the goods and equipment thus removed from China at \$800 million.

2. It seemed to be true that vast schemes for developing communications were being hurried forward. But, apart from their economic value, roads and railways were immensely important from the military and strategic point of view. The full implications of that consideration should be understood in the light of events

*Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

in Korea and Southeast Asia. The Chinese delegation naturally supported economic development, but economic development which took place in freedom. History was full of examples of stupendous constructions put up by slaves. Even if the information transmitted by the representatives of the Soviet bloc were true — which he disputed — the kind of economic development imposed on the Chinese people was rejected by the Chinese delegation.

3. Mr. CECH (Czechoslovakia) said that, at the previous meeting, a new United States representative, Senator Wiley, in a statement noteworthy for its violence and for the mediocrity of its arguments, had slandered the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. No doubt Senator Wiley, who had been sitting on the Second Committee for the first time, had been unaware that the Committee had been studying serious economic problems which its members, despite their differences of opinion, were trying to solve objectively with the aid of sound reasoning. The Czechoslovak delegation took the strongest exception to the use of methods which, though perhaps current in various United States bodies, were out of place in an international organization.

4. Since the establishment of the United Nations, the United States Government had made a point of hampering its operation and of pursuing a policy in conflict with the Charter and with the principles of peaceful international collaboration. The Mutual Security Act, enacted by the United States Government on 10 October 1951, was the expression of that policy. Under that Act, funds amounting to \$100 million had been set aside for financing the activities of individuals or agencies instructed to carry out sabotage and espionage in the USSR and the People's Democracies. Thus saboteurs equipped with weapons of American manufacture, false documents and large sums of money had been recruited by the United States spy service and introduced into Czechoslovak territory. Those who had been arrested had admitted to espionage and sabotage assignments. Most of them had been ex-convicts and some had be-

longed to nazi organizations, which was not at all surprising since it was the policy of the United States Government to exploit for its own ends the nazis' thirst for revenge against the socialist countries. Terror, espionage, murder and sabotage had become recognized instruments of United States policy.

5. He added that the same United States Senator who had made those slanderous attacks in the Committee had stated, at a Press interview, that the United States Government had been trying through the "Voice of America" to spread propaganda in the People's Democracies.

6. Accordingly, it was not surprising that United States policy should have aroused the opposition and resistance of all the Western European countries where the masses were reacting against American imperialism. It was sufficient evidence to read the inscriptions which covered the walls of the European capitals and which were the spontaneous expression of popular resistance to the imperialistic policy of the United States. The resistance had reached such a pitch that some Americans had been struck by it and had tried to find the reasons for the failure of American propaganda in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

7. In the course of his statement, the United States representative had accused Czechoslovakia of violating its obligations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Nothing was further from the truth; statistics showed that, as early as 1947, United States exports to Czechoslovakia had begun to decline as a result of the restrictive measures adopted by the United States Government. The United States had taken the initiative in taking action to discontinue the branches of American companies in Czechoslovakia. The United States representative had also claimed that his Government had been badly informed about the Czechoslovak market. Actually, nothing had prevented United States companies from making offers to Czechoslovak companies; there was nothing secret about the conditions of trade with Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, the documents published by competent United States agencies, particularly the report of 16 July 1951 to the House of Representatives, showed that the United States Government had been applying a general export control since 1948. The changes which had occurred had been due to the development of United States policy. According to the report, the United States was to favour alliances and neutralize the countries about which it was uncertain. Nor had the Secretary of State hidden his intention of establishing the economic foundation necessary for a policy of strength. That was what had caused the United States Government to apply a policy of discrimination towards the countries which had rid themselves of exploitation by national and foreign capital and had won their economic and political independence. For the same motive it had taken discriminatory action against Czechoslovakia after having, towards the end of the war just before the liberation of the country by the gallant Russian army, bombed Czechoslovak industrial installations.

8. In conclusion, he wished to make it clear that the statement of the United States representative could not in any way influence the unfaltering friendship binding Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union, which had steadily granted its generous technical assistance to Czechoslo-

vakia since the latter's liberation. The Czechoslovak people was actively employed, in a peaceful atmosphere, in building up its socialist economy. Czechoslovakia's production was steadily expanding, its national income was increasing, the standard of living of its population was constantly rising. He quoted figures showing the progress made in the matter of wages and added that in a socialist economy work was not a form of slavery but a right guaranteed by the Constitution, by virtue of which every citizen could participate in the development of the national economy. For that reason the Czechoslovak people was proud to co-operate with the Soviet Union and rejected, as it had done in the past, all attacks upon its political sovereignty and economic independence.

9. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that at the Committee's previous meeting the presence of a new United States representative had aroused his interest and curiosity. He had thought that Senator Wiley would make an original speech to the Committee illustrated by many new facts and arguments. Unfortunately, that speaker had merely reiterated familiar arguments; he had repeated the speech made by Mr. Kotschnig at a previous session of the Economic and Social Council. Presumably the United States delegation would make the same speech again at the Council's fifteenth session and at the General Assembly's eighth session.

10. The United States representative had shown little moderation in his statement, and his boasting had recalled a famous character: Tartarin de Tarascon. Being unable to deny certain facts, he had interpreted them in a very personal way.

11. Senator Wiley had claimed that the USSR was speeding up its armaments production and thus constituted a threat to the United States. He had attempted in that way to dissimulate his own country's preparations for war and to justify its policy of aggression. Reactionary circles in the United States were attempting to plunge the American people into war and, by armaments production, to enable business men to make large profits.

12. The United States representative had maintained that American banks belonged to everyone who deposited savings in them. The least intelligent school-boy knew that in no country could a depositor be considered as the owner of a bank. The same speaker had spoken of American monopolies and had again claimed that they belonged to the people. If that were so, it might be wondered why Congress had set up a commission to limit the power of monopolies. After several years' study, that Commission had published its conclusions and had emphasized the leading part played by monopolies in American economic life. Moreover, the United States Government had begun judicial proceedings against some monopolies such as Dupont de Nemours and General Motors.

13. The United States representative had appealed to religious feeling and had quoted from the Bible. Unfortunately, he had not succeeded in making out a good case. The financier Rockefeller had once said that God had given him his fortune. It could reasonably be asked why God had not extended His blessings to the workers in the slaughter-houses of Chicago or to the agricultural labourers on the plantations in the south of the

United States. Capitalists could not justify their profits, reaped through the exploitation of workers, by expressing kindly sentiments.

14. The United States representative had elaborated on the freedom which existed in his country. But his views were not shared by all his fellow citizens. In July 1952, Mr. Herbert Hoover had spoken of the progressive suppression of freedom in the United States and added that the establishment of a large army was leading to the militarization of the country and constituted a threat to liberty. Senator Wiley, while disparaging in every possible way the social achievements of the People's Democracies, had said nothing of the so-called advantages due to freedom in the United States. He had made no mention of the concentration camps which the United States Government intended to set up. In that connexion, Mr. Arkadyev quoted an extract from the newspaper *Action*, according to which the United States Department of Justice had decided to speed up the construction of concentration camps in Arizona and Oklahoma. For the construction of those camps it was employing convicts in Federal prisons. The President of the United States had recently asked the United States High Commissioner in Germany for particulars of the organization of the chief Nazi concentration camps and to send to the United States a group of Germans who had taken part in the establishment of those camps. It might be wondered why the United States representative had not mentioned those facts.

15. According to an article in *The New York Times* in November 1952, the United States representative on the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour, which had met in Geneva, had stated that, in his country, 3,800,000 people were working in conditions equivalent to slavery.

16. Senator Wiley had claimed that the USSR would be an ideal country for millionaires. Mr. Kotschnig had already said the same thing to the Economic and Social Council. It might be wondered how the United States representative explained the fact that the chief millionaires lived in his own country. According to a bulletin published in June 1952 by the National City Bank of New York, 102 undertakings alone owned property of an aggregate value of \$62,000 million. The most important of those undertakings were the Dupont de Nemours Company, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors and the United States Steel. The United States representative had claimed that those enormous undertakings were the property of small stockholders. But it was well known that the majority of the shares were concentrated in the hands of a few families who in that way controlled the boards of directors.

17. Senator Wiley had declared that the United States was ready to defend all the countries threatened by the USSR. The United States had long set itself up as a universal saviour. It was thus easier for it to force itself on those it meant to save. Mr. Malenkov had emphasized that such a champion of friendship was merely attempting to enslave its weakest allies. The attitude of United States ruling circles enabled them to deceive public opinion in the country and to pocket more easily the profits resulting from armaments production.

18. The United States representative had maintained that his country wished to help the Russian people.

But what kind of help was involved? No doubt assistance which would appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars for subversive activities in the People's Democracies. As the USSR representative in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee¹ had emphasized, Senator Wiley himself had stated that the United States should undertake propaganda against the USSR. It was to be hoped that God would save the USSR from such friends.

19. Senator Wiley had recalled that in the last war his country had provided the USSR with war supplies. That was true, but it was equally true that the United States had asked the USSR to return all the supplies it had given it. It should not however be forgotten that it was the USSR Army which had crushed Hitler's and thus saved the American Army.

20. The United States representative had claimed that the USSR and the People's Democracies did not wish to maintain commercial relations with the rest of the world. The United States had done all in its power to hinder trade relations between East and West. It was the USSR which, in all sincerity, had submitted proposals for the development of commercial relations. Moreover, the USSR and the People's Democracies maintained trade relations with certain countries in other parts of the world. Hungary carried on trade with Indonesia and the USSR with Pakistan. Such relations could only be established in so far as those countries were still free from United States influence and control.

21. Recalling the adoption, by the First Committee, of the Indian draft resolution on the war in Korea [610 (VII)], he emphasized that in Korea the United States bombers had annihilated whole villages and massacred women and children. That was why the incensed Korean population had risen in revolt. The United States was responsible for the aggression in Korea. The peoples of the world knew that, just as they also knew who had voted against the proposal for a cease-fire in Korea. In the eyes of history the United States would bear that heavy responsibility.

22. Mr. DE SEYNES (France) said that, at the previous meeting, the USSR representative had painted a very dark picture of France's economic situation, especially of its iron and steel industry. It was not the first time that that representative had resorted to the method of quoting a number of carefully selected figures and taking a chance on the credulity of the audience. However, at the very moment when the USSR representative had been speaking, Mr. de Seynes had had before him certain data which would have added an interesting finishing touch to the picture painted by Mr. Arkadyev. The information in the French delegation's possession showed that, of the eighty branches of production in the iron and steel industry, only a small number were experiencing difficulties, others were thriving; the export of office machinery had doubled in a year; the export of engines was yielding twice as much foreign exchange as in 1951; and the export of oil heating apparatus had increased tenfold since 1939.

23. He did not attach any more importance to Mr. Arkadyev's type of refutation than, no doubt, Mr. Arkadyev attached to the figures he had just quoted. The USSR representative, however, and the Czechoslovak representative, during the current meeting, had

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, 44th meeting.*

endeavoured to portray France as the main victim of the aggressive intentions of the United States. That argument had been in use for some time, with ever-changing variants. In the final stage of a session — a session otherwise notable for the quality of the discussion — the Czechoslovak representative had not hesitated to mention, as a last resort, slogans written on walls: that representative knew the source of the writing; he also knew France and so could perhaps picture without too much difficulty what the feelings of the vast majority of French people — including those who engaged in writing on walls — would be if the United States were to obey the injunctions on the walls and the American troops were to leave French soil.

24. The Czechoslovak representative had portrayed France as the country most resistant to the free world's rearmament programme; he had said that France had given in to the United States Government, without specifying the nature of the pressure exerted upon it. The historical facts, however, showed that all France's recent efforts in the diplomatic world had been designed to ensure United States participation in the defence of Western Europe. It had been said that the generous aid received by France at times led to reactions that were out of place. That was to be deplored, but at the same time those reactions could not deceive anyone as to the real feelings of the French people. If the Czechoslovak representative wished to know what was compelling France to rearm, he would do better to look nearer home. According to the information available, there were at present 175 to 180 divisions on a war footing in the USSR and over 70 in the People's Democracies. A country like France, which had so often experienced invasion, could not afford to overlook those facts.

25. The CHAIRMAN announced the closure of the discussion on chapter II of the report of the Economic and Social Council. As item 16 of the General Assembly's agenda had been transferred to the First Committee, the Second Committee's agenda was exhausted.

Completion of the Committee's work

26. Mr. ABDELRAZEK (Egypt) recalled that, at the beginning of the session, his delegation had supported the nomination of Mr. Nosek for the office of Chairman of the Second Committee. It was a pleasure to pay tribute to the impartiality with which Mr. Nosek had conducted the business of the Committee which, during the session, had adopted a series of resolutions that would forward the interests of the under-developed countries. Although there had been differences of opinion, the Committee had done useful work.

27. He wished, however, to place on record that faith in the fundamental human rights and the principles of equality between great and small nations had somewhat weakened since the end of the Second World War. The under-developed countries were not responsible for, but rather the victims of, that state of affairs. Warnings were audible in certain countries; they were an expression of popular feelings, the aspirations of peoples eager

to exercise their right of direct possession and their right to exploit their own national resources. That should be interpreted simply as the desire of the peoples of the under-developed countries, and the coloured peoples, to make their contribution to a harmonious civilization. They were not expressions of fanaticism, but of pure patriotism; the nations demanded justice and demanded that might should be subordinated to right. It was the function of the United Nations to define the just and equitable relationships that should govern international affairs.

28. In conclusion he repeated his congratulations to the Chairman of the Committee and also congratulated the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, whose competence did honour to the Arab countries. Lastly, he expressed his thanks to all the Secretariat staff.

29. Mr. ELAHI (Pakistan) thanked the Chairman who had conducted the Committee's proceedings with complete impartiality. He was glad that, under Mr. Nosek's skilful guidance, the Committee had been able to take action for promoting the economic development of the under-developed countries and alleviating the hardships of the peoples of those countries.

30. In conclusion he thanked the Secretary of the Committee and the Secretariat of the United Nations for their part in the Committee's work.

31. Mr. ARKADYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was glad that the representative of a country friendly to the USSR had presided over the Committee. He congratulated the Chairman for the skilful way in which he had conducted the discussion, and for his tact and organizing ability and thorough knowledge of the problems. He also thanked the Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur, the Secretary of the Committee and all the members of the Secretariat who had assisted the Committee in its work.

32. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq), Mr. KAZEMI (Iran), Mr. BUNGE (Argentina), Mr. JUNG (India), Mr. ANDERSON (United Kingdom), Mr. SASTRO-AMIDJOJO (Indonesia), Mr. BAUER PAIZ (Guatemala), Mr. YAFTALI (Afghanistan), Mr. LUBIN (United States of America), and Mr. VANER (Turkey) associated themselves with the statements made by the previous speakers.

33. On behalf of the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur, and on his own behalf, the CHAIRMAN sincerely thanked the members of the Committee for their kind words. He expressed his gratitude to the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur for the help they had given him in the conduct of the debates. Lastly, he sincerely thanked Mr. Georges-Picot, Assistant Secretary General in charge of the Departments of Economic and Social Affairs, Mr. Blough, Mr. Weintraub, Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Dumontet, Mr. Varley and all the members of the Secretariat, who had discharged their duties throughout the session with the greatest efficiency.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.