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President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS
(Netherlands).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

SPEECHES BY MR. SKRZYSZEWSKI (POLAND), MR. COOKE (ARGENTINA) AND MR. KISELYOV (BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC)

1. Mr. SKRZYSZEWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): I should like, at the outset of my speech in the general debate at the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, to greet the delegates to this important international conference and to wish the Assembly every success in its work for the improvement of international relations. The tasks before us are important and we must make a common effort to discharge them equitably.
2. The present session opens at a particularly important stage in international developments. The end of hostilities and the armistice in Korea, the four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin, the Conference in Geneva between representatives of the five great Powers and of the other countries concerned, the armistice in Indo-China, and the final settlement of a number of other disputes have done much to improve international relations.
3. In his annual report, the Secretary-General of the United Nations makes a similar appraisal of the situation when he says [A/2663, p. xi]:
"The bringing to an end of the fighting in Korea and in Indo-China has been, I feel sure, the most important development of the past year for the United Nations and, indeed, in the whole struggle for peace."
4. For the first time for nearly twenty-five years there is no serious armed conflict anywhere in the world. It may therefore be said that the present session of the General Assembly is meeting in particularly favourable conditions and that prospects for fruitful work lie before it. Such a situation makes it all the more incumbent upon the Assembly to make every effort to ensure that its work produces practical results that will hasten the relaxation of international tension. That is

what all the peoples of the world are waiting for and what public opinion in every country demands.

5. What lies behind these events which are likely to improve the international situation? These events have been made possible by the action of all the forces which have determined to remove the danger to the world which is brought about by the policy of preparation for war, the policy of those who seek to poison international relations. Most men are filled with a desire for peace. Their realization of the danger of war has made all peoples strive harder to apply the principle, which is sound and is confirmed by history, that the most stubborn and complicated disputes may be settled peaceably if there is good will and a desire to reach agreement.

6. Many political circles, and even the ruling circles in numerous countries, have become aware of the danger involved in the policy of preparation for war. The settlement of the Korean and Indo-Chinese problems has once again shown clearly that it is possible to reach common solutions. Here I must stress that the common sense attitude of the United Kingdom and French delegations helped to achieve an agreement ending the bloodshed in Indo-China, an agreement which was most promising for subsequent developments in the international situation.

7. These successive victories in the struggle for peace—the Korean armistice, the Berlin Conference and the Geneva Conference—have undoubtedly been made possible by the policy of peace, and the initiative taken by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the peoples' democracies, including Poland.

8. The policy of force is crumbling away. Those who believed that strong-arm policies would prevail over the principles of international co-operation, and that the organization of international co-operation could be replaced by a network of military agreements and aggressive pacts have failed.

9. In an article entitled "America's new strategic situation", the American monthly magazine *Fortune*, in its issue of August 1954, admits that "optimism can no longer conceal the ugly fact that the United States world system of strategic alliances is under serious stress and strain".

10. The fact that the method of negotiation and the search for peaceful solutions produces positive results has been confirmed by experience. This must remain the guiding principle of the United Nations, which was set up to be an organization for co-operation and understanding. Teheran, Moscow, Yalta, San Francisco, Potsdam, where strenuous efforts were made to reach joint decisions without the wishes of any party being imposed by force—these mark the stages by which the allied nations came to establish the United Nations.

11. In spite of the unhappy prophets who claim that the Charter is out of date and who predict the approach-

ing collapse of the Organization, the United Nations can and must play a constructive role in international relations. The ultimate success of the United Nations will depend on respect for the Charter and upon the way in which it is able to put its basic principles—the principle of understanding and compromise—into practice in all international disputes.

12. An analysis of recent successes in the peaceful settlement of international disputes compels the observation that the United Nations has not played the part which it could and should have played and that it has not made its contribution towards the relaxation of international tension. The positive credit balance of the past year and the progress achieved in favour of peace, co-operation and understanding must not blind us to the symptoms and dangerous trends which are still to be observed on the international scene.

13. Forces which are hostile to the relaxation of international tension and seek to poison international relations and prevent co-operation are still active. This is the purpose behind the attempt to maintain the division of Europe and to re-establish German militarism as a major force of aggression. It is also the purpose behind the attempt to re-establish aggressive blocs in South-East Asia, directed against the peace, independence and freedom of the peoples of that continent. It is also the purpose of the Western countries and particularly the United States, in maintaining and intensifying the armaments race and the preparations for atomic war. The peoples of the world must be on their guard: if they are not, the successes already achieved in the cause of peace may prove precarious.

14. In order to assess the dangerous effect of warlike forces on peaceful co-operation, it is sufficient to recall that at the Berlin Conference these forces made it impossible to reach a just settlement of the German problem, that at the Geneva Conference they managed to have the Korean talks broken off at the very moment when the compromise proposals of the USSR and the People's Republic of China had won general support, and that they have been able to keep the United Nations disarmament discussions in a state of deadlock.

15. These forces openly reject the thesis that co-existence and co-operation between different social and political systems are possible; they disseminate a variety of provocative plans for "liberation", using this very rostrum for their purpose, and they engage in war propaganda despite the ban placed on such activities in a General Assembly resolution.

16. There are people who would like to persuade the world that the existence of two blocs with different regimes makes war inevitable and that a collision between those two blocs is unavoidable. Coexistence, however, is a fact which must be taken into account by even the bitterest enemies of one or the other system.

17. From the time when, side by side with the capitalist system, the socialist system appeared in the world, the relations between them have become the key problem in international politics. Different approaches are possible. Coexistence may be denied, as some circles in the United States would like, and the overthrow of the socialist system may be sought by force. Such a course can only plunge the world into another bloody war, which could only end in a catastrophe for capitalism. Anyone who rejects the principle of coexistence is taking the road to war.

18. There is, however, another course. It consists in recognizing the need for coexistence and establishing relations upon the basis of co-operation, non-intervention in domestic affairs, respect for mutual interests and peaceful competition. This course would lead to economic and cultural co-operation to the benefit of both parties, and would open the door to lasting peace. Rejection of this course by certain countries creates additional difficulties for the efficient working of our Organization. The Secretary-General makes this point when he says in his annual report [A/2663, p. xii]:

"At present, the Organization is severely handicapped by the fact that it has to function in a world where the necessity of coexistence is as yet not fully recognized."

19. The experience of history refutes the allegations that the existence of different political systems inevitably leads to war. In Europe, the existence of a single system before the First World War certainly did not prevent the outbreak of that war, while the outbreak of the Second World War had nothing to do with the fact that different systems existed.

20. Indeed, the experience of the Second World War shows that, despite the existence within the Western camp of certain elements hostile to the Soviet Union, States with different systems found themselves united in a coalition against Hitler and striving for one common purpose: the re-establishment of freedom and independence. Within that coalition, the armed forces of the Soviet Union secured, on the battlefield, the future of our civilization and made it possible for this Organization, whose General Assembly is now holding its ninth session, to be brought into being.

21. We must remember the lessons of the past, if only of the recent past. Last September marked the fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, a tragic period in the history of many countries, among which, unfortunately, Poland occupies a leading place.

22. We have no right to forget that the outbreak of the Second World War marked the tragic outcome of the policy of blocs, of the attempts to isolate one of the great Powers, of contempt for the sovereignty and rights of small nations, of guarantees without securities, of the destruction of the then existing international organization, and of the rejection of the principle of collective security in favour of the well-known and condemned principle that might is right. Without Munich and the post-Munich policy which enabled the Hitlerites to prepare their attack on the peoples of Europe, there would not have been the ruined cities of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry and Stalingrad; there would not have been the nightmare of Auschwitz and Majdanek, there would not have been Oradour and the bombing of London. Hitlerite boots would not have trodden the ancient streets of Paris and Athens; there would not have been tens of millions killed and mutilated.

23. Fifteen years ago, the Polish people, isolated and defenceless, fought heroically against the full might of the Third Reich. Sir Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, recognized this fact in his memoirs, when he wrote:¹

"France and Britain remained impassive while Poland was in a few weeks destroyed or subjugated"

¹ Winston Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948, p. 423.

by the whole might of the German war machine. Hitler had no reason to complain of this."

24. Poland, a victim of the aggressive policy of German imperialism, of the policy of support for Hitlerism and of the Western Powers' sabotage of efforts for collective security, is particularly entitled to draw attention to the grave danger of rebuilding the forces of German militarism, of establishing in Western Germany an aggressive base directed against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies and of giving Germany the role of European policeman to watch over its neighbours.

25. The existence of a divided Germany in the heart of Europe will always be a source of trouble and will provide the warmongers with ample opportunities. This situation is brought about by the designs of the United States, which seeks to use the reconstituted Wehrmacht, with its former Hitlerite leaders and war criminals, who have sown death, terror and destruction in Europe, as the instrument of its aggressive plans. This situation is again reflected in the decisions of the London Conference, which would restore German militarism and make the German army the main military force of the Atlantic Pact.

26. That is why I cannot pass over in silence the statement made this morning [487th meeting] by Mr. Lloyd, the leader of the United Kingdom delegation. Its tone differed appreciably from that of most other speeches. He asked the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China to give proof of the sincerity of their peaceful policy. Such an appeal, coming from Mr. Lloyd so soon after the London Conference, is particularly surprising. The very fact, however, that he mentioned it as evidence of the relaxation of international tension shows the importance of the peaceful initiative taken by the Soviet Union and of the beneficial influence exercised by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on international relations.

27. On the other hand, Mr. Lloyd completely ignored the statements of a number of United States politicians and military leaders who demand a preventive war, mass bombardments and the use of atomic weapons. He also disregarded the fact that military bases are being constructed around the Soviet Union and the countries of the peoples' democracies. From whom then should Mr. Lloyd demand evidence of sincerity in the matter of peaceful intentions?

28. The rebirth of German militarism presents a mortal danger for peace. It is no good being lulled by the illusion that a rearmed Germany would threaten only those countries situated to the east of its frontiers. History has already proved to the short-sighted instigators of the Munich policy that no tanks or bombers have yet been invented which move only in one direction: towards the East.

29. Already the tone of Adenauer and his friends shows that their demands are much greater than the so-called "eastern claims". The Bonn ministers do not conceal the fact that they are already hankering for certain parts of France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Adenauer's present supporters may one day have an unpleasant surprise, for the rebirth of German militarism has always led to war, which, in spite of the desires of its instigators, has spread not only to Eastern Europe, but also to Western Europe, and the whole world. The ruling circles of the United States and their European partners should bear this in mind. Politicians

who seriously believe in the guarantees so widely proclaimed by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom should recall the bitter experience of the pledges made during the Second World War. In this respect Poland's experience was particularly painful.

30. The lessons of two murderous and bloody world wars have taught people to recognize the real reason for their outbreak. Nations have come to understand that they can avoid war by their own efforts if they take into their own hands the task of maintaining peace. The peoples of Europe are opposed to the rebirth of German militarism. They do not want Europe to continue to be artificially divided into hostile blocs. Rejecting the prospect of a destructive war brought about by the division of Europe and the remilitarization of Germany, all the nations of Europe are endeavouring to find a system of collective security within which, on a basis of mutual co-operation they will together guarantee each other's independence and sovereignty, eliminate the danger of war and establish the foundations of political, economic and cultural co-operation. This system of collective security opens to the peoples of Europe the prospect of a genuinely united Europe, within its natural frontiers, a Europe linked together by the common bonds of destiny and history, culture and civilization. Such ties are stronger than agreements between general staffs, banks and stock exchanges. The struggle for a European system of collective security is the key to the struggle for the peace of the world.

31. Basing itself on past experience and with the deep conviction that only a genuine system of collective security can defend Europe and preserve it from a new armed conflict, the Polish Government fully supported the proposals submitted by the Government of the Soviet Union to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin. These proposals provide a concrete and realistic basis for the drawing up of a pact that would be consistent with the interest of world peace and that, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, would embrace all the European countries and would safeguard European peace.

32. The settlement of the German problem is essential for European security. Germany must be unified in accordance with democratic and peaceful principles which guarantee the German people the right to self-determination. Germany must cease to be a trump card in the hands of the warmongers. The unification of Germany according to democratic principles will allow the German people to make its contribution to the cause of European peace and international co-operation; it will also create the conditions necessary for peaceful co-operation.

33. On the other hand, the remilitarization of Germany, in any form whatever—according to the Brussels or London plan, the Atlantic Pact or any other form—will sow seeds of a new war. Germany's neighbours have understood this very clearly, as is shown by the resistance of the European peoples to any attempt to restore German militarism. This resistance was reflected in the rejection by the French National Assembly of the European Defence Community. This fact was yet another factor in the relaxation of international tension. Throughout the countries of Europe, including Germany, people are more and more convinced that the time is ripe to reconsider the German problem at a four-Power conference and to allow the German people to decide their own future.

34. The United Kingdom's attitude to the European treaty for collective security, as Mr. Lloyd described it to us today, is astonishing, to say the least. Mr. Lloyd contests the need for a European system of collective security on the grounds that the United Nations is a sufficient basis for European co-operation.

35. In spite of the existence of the United Nations, the United Kingdom participates in numerous agreements and organizations. Some of them, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the South-East Asian Treaty Organization have clearly aggressive purposes and run counter to the United Nations Charter, particularly to Articles 33 and 51, which the United Kingdom representative quoted. On the other hand, the European treaty of collective security is in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and contributes directly to the achievement of its aims. It is incorrect to maintain that this treaty maintains the division of Germany. On the contrary, it provides ample possibilities for the unification of Germany, and even for the immediate participation of the German people in the efforts of the European peoples to ensure their mutual security. Within the framework of this treaty, Germany would be sovereign. The Bonn agreements and the decisions taken at the London Conference actually deprive Western Germany, for decades to come, of its right to independence and a foreign policy of its own.

36. Basing itself on the principle that the danger of aggression as a result of German militarism is a threat to all Germany's neighbours, the Polish Government has offered France, with whom we are linked by a traditional friendship, an alliance which could become an important factor in European security. Our policy is based on the view that France, as a great Power, has a special part to play in restoring genuine unity to Europe and establishing a system of collective security for the European peoples.

37. In establishing friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic—the first peace-loving State in the history of the German people—Poland has set a practical example of co-operation with the German people. Thanks to its treaties with the German Democratic Republic and in particular to the agreement fixing the present frontier between Poland and Germany on the Oder and Neisse Rivers, the foundations have been laid for Polish-German relations on the principles of friendship and co-operation.

38. I have dwelt, to begin with, on the problems that are nearest to the Polish people, that is, the security of Europe and its central issue, the German question. I should like to add that we fully appreciate, too, the importance of Asian problems, the more so in that my Government has undertaken important international obligations in connexion with the armistice in Korea and in Indo-China. History has shown that peace is indivisible. That is why the machinations of warlike American circles in Asia constitute a threat to world peace. In spite of numerous defeats, the United States foreign policy has not given up its methods of force and continues to foment war in the Far East, seeking to deprive Asia and its peoples of the right to decide their own future.

39. The cessation of hostilities in Korea and Indo-China does not represent a complete success. We still have to achieve a final settlement of the Korean problem. Moreover, the freedom and independence of the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula are still being

subjected to serious attacks by the United States. Adventurous circles in the United States have not given up hope of starting war again in the Far East. We have to face a strategy which embraces in its warlike plans the whole territory of Asia and first and foremost, the People's Republic of China.

40. The Polish Government is fully aware of this danger and for that reason it approaches with all due seriousness and in a spirit of responsibility, the tasks entrusted to it and to other States, by virtue of the agreements reached at Panmunjom and Geneva, of supervising the putting into effect of the terms of the armistice. We realize that the Commission in Korea and Indo-China have a very difficult task to perform and that the armistice agreements are seriously threatened. South Korea has become the scene of numerous provocations, and the Syngman Rhee clique threatens openly, and with increasing frequency, to resume hostilities. This threat is all the greater because this clique enjoys the support of influential circles in the United States. As for the peaceful solution of the Indo-Chinese problem, already during the Geneva Conference, United States representatives tried to undermine the armistice and even to extend the war in Indo-China; and when the armistice had been signed, they tried to sap the people's confidence in the agreement.

41. The United Nations must take immediate steps to safeguard the peace in Asia. It must enable the commissions in Korea to function normally and it must do everything possible to prevent the outbreak of a new war in that area.

42. The problems of peace in Asia is closely connected with the recognition of the People's Republic of China as a great Power, as is due to it. The People's Republic of China has made a positive contribution to the cessation of hostilities in Korea and in Indo-China. It has shown how it is possible to settle its relations with its neighbours peacefully. Proof of that can be found particularly in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, which are based on the principle of respect of sovereign rights and mutual interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; reciprocal benefits, equality and peaceful co-operation. These relations provide convincing proof that coexistence and co-operation between States belonging to different systems is possible; they strengthen the possibility of maintaining peace and they express the determined will of the peoples of Asia to prevent their continent from being used to foment wars and conflicts and to poison international co-operation.

43. Contrary trends, however, were evident at the recent Manila Conference. As the peoples of Asia have quite rightly realized, the South-East Asian Treaty Organization is aimed directly against peace and security in Asia, against the liberty and independence of peoples who no longer wish to live under a colonial yoke. The South-East Asian Treaty Organization is a flagrant violation of the armistice agreement in Indo-China. The people of India are making a valuable contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia and in the world. Poland warmly welcomes the efforts of the peace-loving people of India, who have done much to solve Asian problems.

44. The last few months have brought out the position of the People's Republic of China as a great Power more forcefully than ever before. Our Organization cannot function normally without the People's Republic of China. The submission by the United States of draft

resolutions which preclude the discussion of this question is a manoeuvre which cannot conceal this fact. To sabotage the question of giving the People's Republic of China its rights as a great Power in the United Nations is tantamount to sabotaging peace.

45. In connexion with the Chinese problem, I should like to touch briefly upon the question of Taiwan. It is obvious to any impartial observer that the American occupation of Taiwan is a grave threat to peace in Asia. Taiwan is an integral part of China. This fact has been recognized by international agreements, such as the Cairo Declaration of 1943. It is an indisputable fact that Taiwan belongs to China. The occupation of Taiwan by United States troops at the time the United States embarked upon the war in Korea was a flagrant violation of the rights of the Chinese people. Only by the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its sovereign rights over the island of Taiwan will the threat to peace in the Far East be eliminated.

46. In dealing with Far Eastern problems I cannot disregard a question which is of direct concern to Poland and at the same time contributes to international tension. Since the United States occupied the Island of Taiwan, the Pacific has become the scene of a number of piratical acts against merchant vessels which were carrying out their peaceful missions. Kuomintang bands, assisted by the United States air force and navy, have seized a number of ships, which they escorted to ports on the island of Taiwan, holding their crews by force and plundering their cargoes. British, Dutch, Danish and Greek merchant ships, and those of a number of other countries, too, have fallen victim to such attacks. The Polish merchant ship *Praca* was attacked on 4 October 1953, and the *Prezydent Gottwald* on 13 May 1954. On 23 June 1954, the Soviet tanker *Tuapse* was stopped. Despite the protests addressed to the United States Government, under whose protection and direction the Kuomintang units carry out their activities, the vessels have not been returned, and there is no guarantee that peaceful shipping will be safeguarded from such attacks in the future.

47. These illegal activities on the part of the United States authorities and the Kuomintang gangs, violating the freedom of navigation on the high seas, violating the rights of foreign flags, violating universally recognized principles and customs of international law, are an additional threat to peaceful relations in the Far East. Our Organization must take energetic action in this connexion in the interests of international peaceful co-operation. It is for that reason that the Polish delegation supports the proposal of the Soviet Union delegation that this question should be included in the agenda of this session, so that it can be discussed and the necessary measures adopted to ensure the freedom of navigation in the Far East and to facilitate peaceful and normal trade relations.

48. There is one problem which requires a special effort on our part at this session: it is that of removing the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction and achieving an effective reduction of armaments. The American policy of preparing an atomic war and the armaments race contribute to international tension. History has proved many times that the stockpiling of weapons leads to armed conflict.

49. At the present time this question is all the more pressing because weapons of mass destruction have been perfected to such a degree that they are a threat to mankind. Bomb explosions, from Nagasaki and Hiro-

shima to the tests carried out this year, the tragedy of the Japanese fishing boat *Fukuriu Maru* and its crew, give us some idea of the threat that these weapons of mass destruction mean to the world and to every living thing.

50. During the past few months there has been an upsurge of world public opinion, to a degree hitherto unknown, against the threat of atomic war which hangs over us. The recent American tests were followed by a wave of resolutions of protest, demanding an international agreement prohibiting nuclear weapons. This wave surged through the world, from Japan across India and the other Asian countries, until it reached the countries of Europe: Italy, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom; it also reached the American hemisphere. At this time it is appropriate to recall the recent resolution on the prohibition and control of nuclear weapons adopted by the World Council of Protestant Churches, which met at Evanston. Nobody can maintain that it is impossible to reach an understanding on this problem.

51. Ever since the United Nations came into being, the Soviet Union has constantly taken the lead in proposing the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes; it is continually submitting new proposals to serve as a basis for an agreement and for joint action. The present proposals of the Soviet Union, which reflect the will to reach an understanding on this vital problem, prove once again that agreement is possible.

52. It is the action of the United States that stands in the way of an agreement. The United States, which originally thought that it possessed a monopoly, and later a commanding position, in the field of atomic energy, refuses to co-operate in any action whatever that might mean the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. The United States shows no inclination to reach an understanding or compromise. The real United States position with respect to weapons of mass destruction is typified by the fact that United States military leaders and politicians, such as Radford, Baruch and others, regard the atomic weapon as a conventional weapon of the United States Army.

53. Today nobody can say that the Soviet Union proposals are prompted by that country's desire to deprive the United States of its superiority in atomic weapons. The Soviet Union, moreover, is in the forefront of the countries which are undertaking research in the field of atomic energy; it has shown the world, by practical examples, the possibilities that the peaceful use of atomic energy open up for mankind. The atomic power station which was recently put into operation in the Soviet Union marks the beginning of a new era that brings to mankind, not death and destruction, but well-being and happiness for all. The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the Soviet Union has aroused hope in the hearts of millions of people; it has strengthened them in their conviction that it is possible to eliminate the threat of an atomic war.

54. During the discussion it was stated that the lack of international confidence made it difficult to reach agreement on the subject. This way of stating the problem is not correct and is only a pretext for shirking any agreement.

55. The American politician James Warburg emphasizes this point in his article in the *Christian Science Monitor* of 16 August 1954, entitled "Wanted: A New Look at Disarmament":

"But it is in our interest, if possible, to wipe out of existence the inhuman weapons which we have created and which history has now turned against us. To say that we cannot contemplate such a step 'until tensions are relaxed' is to put the cart before the horse. Tensions will not relax appreciably so long as man's greatest scientific advance serves merely to threaten the human race with extinction."

56. The "atomic pool" plan submitted by the United States Secretary of State during the general debate on 23 September [475th meeting] completely ignores the problem of the use of atomic energy for military purposes, and consequently it cannot solve the basic problem that this question presents in present conditions. Even Mr. Patterson, the United States representative in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, commenting on President Eisenhower's proposals, stated on 15 June 1954 that they would not prevent the continued stockpiling of fissionable war materials. Moreover, the plans for the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, submitted by the United States Secretary of State, sound rather strange in view of the fact that he considers the atomic weapon to be "the great shield, the supreme deterrent" in United States strategy.

57. It is obvious that today the questions of the prohibition of atomic weapons and the peaceful use of atomic energy cannot be separated. These two questions are interdependent and closely linked. The Polish delegation will consider the United States proposal in detail, and will submit its opinions on the subject during the discussion in committee.

58. The threat of a war in which atomic weapons would be used is not, however, the only danger that hangs over the world and stands in the way of international co-operation. The armaments race in conventional weapons undoubtedly presents a grave danger. The armaments race is a burden which weighs heavily upon the nations and makes their economic development still more difficult. In 1953, the countries of Western Europe spent over \$11,000 million on armaments; apart from any other considerations, that sum is double the amount that they spent for the same purpose in 1950. There is a significant statement in that connexion issued by the *Commission des comptes et des budgets économiques de la nation*, whose President at that time was Mr. Mendés-France, the present Prime Minister of France. In its report for 1954, this Commission comes to the conclusion that the country is concentrating on a military, and therefore unproductive, economy. As a result of this policy, sources of great wealth in the countries of Western Europe are being diverted to unproductive ends, owing to the steady growth of armaments production. Taxation accounts for one-third of the national revenue.

59. The problem of disarmament is linked also with the question of liquidating the military bases maintained by the United States on the territories of other States, which threaten the security of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the peoples' democracies, and the independence and sovereignty of the States on whose territories they have been established. War hysteria and war propaganda whipping up hatred against other nations are other grave factors which aggravate international tension. The United States information agency and its subordinate bodies are particularly active in this field. Such an atmosphere is a fur-

ther obstacle to the settlement of the important questions for which United Nations bodies are responsible.

60. This session of the United Nations General Assembly has before it some constructive proposals submitted by the Soviet Union, which go to the very heart of the problem of the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the reduction of armaments, and thus open up new possibilities for the United Nations in this field. The USSR proposals are for the conclusion of a convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction; they specify the proportion of reduction, and lay down time limits. They are based on the present armaments situation and take into account the development, within the last few years, of various types of weapons of mass destruction, which makes the problem of prohibition a matter of even greater urgency. They provide a definite programme of work for the Disarmament Commission, on the basis of which, provided there is good will, it will be possible to reach full agreement, particularly among the great Powers. To put the principles of disarmament into effect requires, first and foremost, agreement among the great Powers.

61. The USSR proposals take fully into account the stage reached in the work of the United Nations on disarmament problems and on the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. They are simply a continuation of the efforts which the Soviet Union has made hitherto in this connexion, and they are designed to break the deadlock in the Disarmament Commission. At the same time, they take into consideration the positions of other parties, so that agreement can be reached more easily and more rapidly. The adoption of the USSR proposals would enable the Disarmament Commission to start work immediately, and on the basis of such broad and specific programmes of action, to reach a decision in the hope of achieving positive results within a comparatively short time.

62. The USSR proposals provide that in the course of six months or one year, States shall reduce their armaments to the extent of 50 per cent of the agreed levels from the strength existing on 31 December 1953. In the present situation, when the armaments burden is particularly heavy, this reduction would have an immediate effect on the life of the people in the countries engaged in the armaments race.

63. The USSR proposals are not confined to the problem of reducing armed forces and armaments but are designed also to end the armaments race; they provide for a corresponding reduction in military budgets. They strike at the very heart of the problem of weapons of mass destruction by providing for the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons in armed conflicts, for the prohibition of the production of weapons of mass destruction, and for the use of all existing atomic materials for peaceful purposes. The USSR proposals provide for an effective control to ensure the strict observance of the articles of the convention and to prevent any violation or abuse with respect to disarmament or the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

64. The Chairman of the United Kingdom delegation expressed certain doubts this morning concerning the drafting of the USSR proposals, adding that he would nevertheless study them in detail when they were discussed in committee. The Polish delegation hopes that a closer study of the USSR proposals, which bear

witness to a profound desire to reach agreement, will induce the United Kingdom delegation to give them its wholehearted support. The hope with which the troubled world welcomed the USSR proposals, which was reflected during the general debate of this session, will be an argument in favour of their adoption.

65. The Polish delegation fully supports the USSR proposals, deeply convinced that the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction will remove from the international scene a serious obstacle to international co-operation and remove a factor which aggravates international tension. We are convinced that the adoption of the USSR proposals will open the way to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and will unfold new prospects for economic development and international trade.

66. Last July, the People's Republic of Poland celebrated the tenth anniversary of its establishment. On this tenth anniversary of its independence, the People's Republic of Poland took just pride in its achievements, which fully testify to the peaceful aspirations of our Government and our people.

67. The power of the people has enabled Poland to develop. It has transformed our country, which was backward economically, into a country in which industry and agriculture are developing apace. Our Government's primary concern is to satisfy as fully as possible the needs of the population and to raise constantly its standard of living. We are achieving this aim by means of an industrial production which is four times as high as it was before the war, enabling our agriculture and our consumer goods industries to develop rapidly.

68. Hand in hand with the economic development of the country and the reconstruction and development of our towns and villages destroyed by the war, we are expanding our activities in order to satisfy the cultural needs of the workers. These efforts are characterized by the total elimination of illiteracy, the extension of the network of elementary, secondary, vocational schools and universities and by the opportunity afforded to millions of people to benefit from the cultural achievements of our country and the artistic and cultural wealth of other countries. Thousands of persons, representing the public opinion of other countries, of various professions and various political beliefs, may see for themselves the development and the improvement in the standard of living of our country and the great progress the Polish people has made during the last ten years.

69. Apart from its extensive cultural exchanges, Poland maintains very broad trade relations with many countries, irrespective of their political systems. Suffice it to say that during the period from 1949 to 1953, the five years during which United States economic discrimination was at its height, we concluded with capitalist countries 126 agreements and trade pacts for a total sum of over 11,000 million roubles.

70. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Poland is closely linked with its conciliatory internal policy and is a direct result of it. Our policy is based on our desire for peace. Our relations with other countries are founded on the principle of mutual respect and co-operation. The friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union was born of and strengthened by the tragic experiences of the war. The Soviet Union's disinterested and fraternal assistance has made it pos-

sible to speed up the reconstruction of our country, and has enabled us to achieve a level of development which we never knew in the past. The friendship between the Polish people and the Soviet peoples has been strengthened by our common struggle for peace. We have extended and strengthened our relations with the People's Republic of China, the peoples' democracies and the German Democratic Republic. We should like to see the close co-operation which existed between the Allies in the struggle against fascist aggression during the last world war continued in the United Nations. We are convinced that, if such co-operation continued, the United Nations could become an instrument for achieving lasting peace and a forum for friendly co-operation among peoples.

71. We are doing everything within our power to make our contribution to the cause of peace as great as possible. Our foreign policy is based on the principle that the Polish people is not alone in its desire for peace, but that this desire is universal, irrespective of the systems under which nations live. We are convinced that peaceful coexistence is a historical necessity, corresponding to the interests of the development of humanity as a whole, in spite of those who devote all their efforts to poisoning international relations.

72. The present international situation provides the United Nations with the opportunity of achieving positive results on the questions on the agenda of the ninth session. We have the possibility of settling several controversial problems, which would undoubtedly contribute to a relaxation of international tension and would enhance the authority of our Organization.

73. During this session, the Polish delegation will do everything in its power to contribute to the strengthening of the principle of negotiation and spirit of understanding in order to ensure the fullest possible co-operation in the accomplishment of the work awaiting the United Nations.

74. Mr. COOKE (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): I have particular pleasure in congratulating the President on his election because my country supported his candidature from the first as a further expression of the unshakable friendship between our two countries, one of the most recent manifestations of which has been the raising of our respective diplomatic missions to the rank of embassy. I wish him every success in conducting the deliberations of this august assembly.

75. Despite the anxiety that is reflected day after day in the newspapers of the world, there has undoubtedly been an improvement in the relations between the great Powers in recent months, the most positive expressions of which have been the continuation of the Korean armistice and the conclusion of an armistice in Indo-China. Although we appreciate the complexity of the host of problems facing the great Powers, frankness compels us to say that our satisfaction at the steps leading to more peaceful relations between peoples has been somewhat diminished by the failure, at the time of reaching agreements, to use the United Nations as the normal channel for the solution of problems.

76. The United Nations cannot be made a forum for the academic discussion of either political or economic problems; we cannot allow it to become a place

where problems are discussed interminably, only to be settled outside the Organization when the time comes. This attitude and actions of this kind encourage scepticism about the effectiveness of the United Nations and give the public the impression that the Organization has failed.

77. International co-operation, the basis of good neighbourly relations and coexistence, the fundamental principles of the Charter, cannot be a mere form of words used to describe a special situation created by conflicting ideologies. International co-operation, as the smaller countries see it, means genuine dedication to the solution of the most pressing problems of all mankind, without distinction on grounds of political or philosophical belief, because nations have the right to full development within the international community in the same way as individuals in the national community, and because in the international scale of human values mankind come first, then the peoples, and finally individuals.

78. In this belief and in the belief that the nations have an international purpose and that the rights of the international community are confronted by the free will of the nations composing it, our Government considers, in accordance with a policy sanctioned by the decision of the Argentine people, that international peace and harmony in the community of nations can be achieved only through absolute respect for each of those nations and, in particular, through respect for their inalienable right to social justice, economic freedom and political sovereignty.

79. On the basis of these premises, which make man the highest reality of the community while recognizing his obligation to fulfil his social functions in the service of his country and mankind, and in discharging its international duties as a member of the community of nations, Argentina reaffirms its support of the principles and purposes for which the United Nations was founded and its hope that the United Nations will do its part to enable men to live a decent life free from fear of mutual destruction and in accordance with the laws of God, who created man in His image.

80. As the President of my country, General Perón, has said, Argentina's historic policy and the geographical factors that create a common destiny indissolubly unite us with our sister nations of the American continent. Argentina's international policy is directed towards closer union of the peoples and nations of America on the inviolable basis of complete respect for the sovereignty of the nations of the continent. Moral forces, expressed in incontestable facts, have created my country's fraternity with the other American countries, strengthening the indissoluble ties based on community of origin, of language and of the religion in whose name the continent was settled. Argentina's good neighbour policy has been yet another expression of its unchangeable and irrevocable purpose to live in peace with all nations of the earth, in particular with the countries of the American continent.

81. With our elder sister, the United States of America, we have maintained a traditional friendship, which we wish to make even closer, to the advantage of both our countries, and of America, the continent of which we are part. We realize the importance of the United States in the concert of nations and in

the future of our continent, but by the very fact of its political, economic and military greatness, a genuine inter-American spirit will have to be embodied in deeds if its great power is not to arouse suspicion and mistrust among the smaller nations.

82. Only thus will it be possible to achieve lasting co-operation founded on mutual respect for differing ways of life based on differences of ethnic origin, in economic and social conditions and the consequent differences of culture, civilization and progress. And, it should be added, as an expression of the trend of Argentina's international policy, that our fraternal ties with the countries of the Americas are not incompatible with our determination to live in peace and friendship with all the nations of the earth and to join in the common effort to achieve in the United Nations the great ideals on which the Organization is founded.

83. Our profession of faith in America justifies our enthusiastic support of continental unions and regional agreements, the most complete, concrete and important expression of which is, in our opinion, the Organization of American States. Nevertheless, we consider that the existence of regional arrangements does not mean that they or the agencies created under them take precedence over the United Nations, or that the United Nations should refrain from discussing or endeavouring to settle problems submitted to it by a government representing a Member State.

84. We recognize that there may be cases in which it can legitimately be maintained that the regional and world organization have concurrent jurisdiction; but to hold that the regional organization has exclusive jurisdiction would in our view lead to the absurd position that a State Member of the United Nations which was a party to a regional arrangement would be at a disadvantage as compared with other States which for some reason were not members of regional agencies. We cannot accept a legal argument that would involve a discriminatory situation in regard to the United Nations Charter, and which would make the security of a country depend on the special political characteristics and circumstances of regional arrangements.

85. The Argentine Republic cannot accept a view that might deprive it of the right, as a Member of the United Nations, to request the United Nations to consider or settle any international problems affecting it.

86. We consider that the present provisions of the Charter are perfectly clear in this respect and that no other construction can validly be placed upon them. At the same time we feel that the interpretation and clarification of the relevant provisions should be one of the subjects examined when the possible revision of the Charter is considered next year. While it is not our intention to bring before the Assembly political issues that can be regarded as settled, we wish to express our misgivings regarding the establishment of a precedent that might result in legal obstacles.

87. The harmony and cohesion of the United Nations would be seriously impaired if instead of removing any doubt in this connexion the impression were allowed to remain that the Organization involved obligations that were without effect so far as the rights of States Members are concerned. If the United Nations exists solely to comply with the suggestions and deal with the problems of the great

Powers, there will be no reason for surprise if many countries eventually decide that there is no point in making sacrifices to maintain a body which forgets that it was founded to embrace and protect the rights of all alike.

88. Our respect for the obligations we have undertaken in the inter-American sphere with regard to the maintenance of peace where regional action is possible and the settlement of disputes of a local nature through regional organizations is not less sacred than our respect for the right of Members of the United Nations to demand that the Security Council should do its duty of intervening *per se* in every situation which might lead to international friction or endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. We consider that, as the Charter states, the Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize regional agencies for enforcement action but that such action must always be under its authority, since no enforcement action can be taken without its authorization.

89. In short, the less local a dispute and the more obvious it is that enforcement action may be needed, the more necessary is the intervention of the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

90. It is time that the chief and most responsible Members of the Organization, who reserved for themselves the right of veto—despite the unanimous opposition of the Latin-American countries—when the Organization was founded, understood that if the absence of the fifteen or so nations not permitted to join the Organization is aggravated by the exodus of many disillusioned present Members, the effort to consolidate the rule of law in international affairs may well suffer a shattering and possibly fatal setback. We who support the principle of the universality of the Organization in the belief that a community of nations of the civilized world cannot function in the absence of so many countries, must continue to work for the solution of the thorny problem of the admission of new members at this session.

91. The action of the United States in proposing to share its atomic knowledge with other countries with a view to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has been received with great satisfaction in Argentina. The proposal is completely in line with our own views as stated by the President of the Republic, General Perón, and reflected in the work of our research organizations, which have been primarily concerned with the use of atomic power for the humanitarian purposes of general progress.

92. We cherish the hope that the great nations of the earth will arrive at an agreement to prohibit the use of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. We are also optimistic about the possibility of agreement on measures that will lead gradually to universal disarmament. This is not the time to analyse, however briefly, the characteristics and immediate prospects of the various proposals that have been made. We simply believe that Governments and peoples cannot be swayed by a suicidal spirit which is bound to lead to mutual destruction. We note with pleasure that the positions of the various parties are less rigid and that there is perceptible a narrowing of the gap between their points of view.

93. Although no final settlement has been reached, since the central issue remains to be solved in both cases, we believe that the maintenance of the armistice in Korea and the recently signed armistice in Indo-China are essential preliminaries to the development of a policy that will lead to a final peaceful settlement. In accordance with our profoundly democratic sentiments and our belief in the self-determination of peoples, we hope that the unification of Korea will be achieved through the will of the people themselves, who deserve a happier life. We also hope that the peoples of Indo-China may be able freely to determine their own future.

94. My Government wishes to restate here its position in regard to colonies, a position which was reaffirmed at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas by the will of the nations of this continent. The Conference proclaimed the solidarity of the American Republics in regard to the just claims to territories occupied by non-American countries, and stressed the need for those countries to press on with the completion of measures to enable the peoples of their present colonies to exercise their right of self-determination.

95. The Argentine Republic has proclaimed its sovereignty over the maritime shelf contiguous with its coastline and accordingly endorses the thesis of other Latin-American countries that the continental shelf and the waters covering it belong to the riparian State. My country therefore supports the statements of Chile, Ecuador and Peru regarding fishing rights in their waters, based on the principle of the sovereignty of the riparian State over the waters adjacent to its coasts.

96. The most fruitful activity of the United Nations is undoubtedly international co-operation for the accelerated economic development of the under-developed countries. The Argentine Republic's position on this issue is well known: we have consistently argued in the Assembly that the community of nations should assist the peoples of the world to attain the conditions without which their efforts—the mainspring of their progress—cannot be reflected in rising income and higher standards of living. In essence, our basic proposal seeks to order international economic relations in such a way as to correct the existing imbalance between the highly industrialized nations and the under-developed countries by the creation of appropriate conditions.

97. Unfortunately, the reception accorded to this basic idea, which should govern the policies of the community of nations, has not so far been encouraging. On the contrary, all the basic proposals to achieve this essential goal have been set aside, one after the other, sometimes owing to lack of understanding and sometimes because it was felt that the proposals were in conflict with other, more immediate aims and must therefore be postponed to a more appropriate time. This continual and repeated postponement of action to deal with the needs of the majority of the world's peoples cannot continue to be the rule in our discussions if, as we hope, the United Nations is to play a positive role in achieving peace and justice in international relations. We trust, therefore, that past frustrations will serve as a lesson and help us to create the understanding without which great undertakings cannot succeed.

98. We wish to emphasize once again that the Argentine Republic considers that economic development primarily depends on the sustained effort of the people themselves. But, just as the individual in society is to some extent dependent on his environment, the economic development of the under-developed countries can be stimulated by a series of external factors that facilitate and promote it.

99. It is gradually becoming generally recognized that the economic growth of the under-developed countries requires the planning of economic activity to channel investment into the more productive undertakings. National action of this kind can be facilitated by external action in the form of technical co-operation and the investment of foreign public and private funds to offset the shortage of local capital. In this connexion, I would emphasize that in co-ordinating the efforts of national private enterprise—the basis of economic development—governments and labour can be usefully assisted by the external financing of development to make up for the deficiencies of the present rate of capital formation.

100. I mention these topics in order to emphasize how much remains to be done internationally to establish a determined and vigorous international economic development policy as a matter of the highest priority to canalize and encourage the efforts of the men and women of the under-developed nations. What is needed is financial co-operation, rather than grants and subsidies; an international commercial policy that recognizes development needs, as opposed to ideal mechanisms based on the outmoded conceptions of classical theory; relative stability of prices of primary commodities, as opposed to the sway of market prices, which has been a factor in the backwardness of the under-developed areas; and finally, positive technical assistance in every field of development. Such would be the cornerstones of a well-ordered programme of international co-operation.

101. In this connexion it should be recalled that the Charter states that one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character". Such international co-operation, which is essential and which is the basis of the United Nations, can best be expressed in joint action to facilitate the necessary changes in the world's economic structure.

102. The peoples are fully alive to the need for social justice and economic independence as well as for political freedom to exercise their right of self-determination and to shape their own destiny. Economic development, besides being a fundamental requirement of growth, is a basic social need and an essential factor in the attainment of the other purposes of the United Nations, including world peace. We trust that the hard facts and the force of the argument I have just outlined will make possible a substantial advance in the right direction in the near future.

103. A suitable occasion for making a promising first step will, we believe, be furnished by the Conference of Ministers of Finance or Economy to be held at Rio de Janeiro on 22 November. The meeting is being held under the auspices of the Organization of American States; but because of the importance of the

proposals to be considered, the implications of the discussions will go far beyond the geographical boundaries of the American continent so that the Conference will, we feel, serve as a precedent for other regions and provide a basis for comprehensive general solutions. The Inter-American Economic Conference to be held at Buenos Aires later, and the efforts being made in other fields, will lay down the basis for plans and proposals to reorganize the regulating machinery of international trade and the world economy in order to facilitate and stimulate the accelerated integral economic development of the under-developed countries. As we have said on previous occasions, these preliminary operations would culminate in a world economic conference, at which approval would be given to the agreements embodying the proposed reorganization.

104. Argentina has taken the initiative in the effort to find ways and means of overcoming present deficiencies of the world economic structure. One result of our action and of the positive thinking of a great many nations in a similar position is General Assembly resolution 623 (VII). Under that resolution, which may be regarded as the starting point of a new and fruitful stage in the discussion of these important topics, various studies have been prepared and have underlined the urgent necessity of attaining the proposed objectives. I should like in particular to refer to the report on *Commodity Trade and Economic Development*.² The report, which was prepared by a group of acknowledged experts, is in general agreement with the position of our delegation.

105. In United Nations discussions, particularly in the Economic and Social Council, we have noticed that the views of the majority of Member States regarding primary commodity prices seem to meet with considerable misunderstanding and a certain unwarranted resistance. It has been argued that an attempt is being made to establish controls over commodity trade so that parity systems or price mechanisms can be used to subsidize one group of nations at the expense of others. Nothing could be further from my country's intentions. We advocate a change in international relations in this respect in order to solve a problem that affects all nations to a greater or lesser extent and has considerable bearing on the possibilities of the more rapid economic development of the under-developed countries. The justice we seek will be of benefit to all because the problems resulting from the instability of commodity markets affect all nations alike. Despite the resistance and lack of understanding, which we hope will weaken and disappear in the near future, we obtained majority support in the Economic and Social Council for the establishment of the Commission on International Commodity Trade. It is encouraging that we have been able to make this progress towards our goal, and we trust that all States will assist the Commission in dealing with the important problems before it. In this connexion, we welcome the constructive attitude of certain important countries which can contribute much to the solution of those problems.

106. In view of the serious problems created by the heavy surpluses of certain primary commodities, my Government has prepared a series of emergency proposals for the protection of world commodity markets.

² E/2519. United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 1954.II.B.1.

When they were first considered by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, we were greatly disappointed to find that both producer and consumer countries apparently prefer to leave the commodity markets in a state of unprecedented and unjustified anarchy. International co-operation for the benefit of the community, which is so necessary in emergencies, is passed over in favour of opportunist expedients or policies based on the special circumstances of a few Member States.

107. We trust that in the United Nations the pressure of the common interest is sufficient to make possible a thorough discussion of proposals which, like ours, seek to promote genuine international co-operation. The appropriate organ to study the proposals will undoubtedly be the Commission on International Commodity Trade, which is to meet for the first time in January 1955.

108. Another line of action we have developed and to which we attach great importance is the conclusion of economic unions with sister countries on the American continent. The establishment of common markets, with the consequent increase in interregional trade, combined with the co-ordinated planning of the economic development of the countries concerned, is, we believe, fundamental to an international policy for the accelerated economic development of the underdeveloped countries.

109. The growth of regions in the early stages of development must be supported and encouraged so that the gap that separates them from the more developed countries can be gradually reduced. It is essential that international co-operation should be directed to that end instead of being designed, as so often in the past, to support and stimulate the already advanced economies of certain regions. We know that the measures that have been discussed in this connexion form a coherent whole which promises well for the future. We trust that the resulting action will usher in better times for the United Nations.

110. In concluding my remarks on specific agenda items, I wish to refer to budgetary questions and to express our satisfaction at the substantial savings the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, has achieved without, as he says in the Introduction to his annual report [A/2663], impairing the efficiency of the Organization. His policy and proposals deserve our encouragement and support.

111. I feel that this is a suitable opportunity to refer to Mr. Hammarskjöld's interest, co-operation and active and direct participation in the work of the Economic and Social Council, over which I have the honour to preside. The Secretary-General's valuable contribution and his close understanding of the Council's views and activities are bound to produce good results which will undoubtedly help to increase the effectiveness of the economic and social activities of the United Nations.

112. Historical tradition and the unalterable sentiments of our people have made the Argentine Republic an essentially peace-loving and genuinely democratic country. Our deeds and the international legal instruments to which we are parties are evidence of the consistency of the policy we have pursued in the world community of nations. Expressing our opposition to the alteration of frontiers by the use of force, we have from the earliest days of our independ-

ence rejected any territorial expansion not based on the canons of justice and of law. Argentina has settled frontier questions with neighbouring countries by arbitration, demonstrating its intention to live in sincere friendship and harmony with its sister nations.

113. My country can point with legitimate pride to its substantial contribution to the establishment of the fundamental principles and doctrines that regulate relations between nations and to the formation of positive international law in America. Argentina has steadfastly supported its essential principles and laid the basis for some of its most solid achievements. These moral forces are deeply rooted in our history and are based on the recognition of the self-determination of peoples, the juridical equality of States and an ethical international policy, the main feature of which is the obligation to refrain from direct or indirect intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries; they are the expression of Argentina's unswerving purpose, reaffirmed by President Perón on memorable occasions, of living in peace with all nations.

114. This background and these purposes, uncompromisingly expressed at international meetings, give authority to Argentina's appeal to all nations beset by problems which may lead governments to wage war to settle their differences within the framework of the United Nations and thus to save their peoples from death and destruction on an unimaginable scale.

115. Throughout history it has been found that the dislocation of war and post-war periods is social rather than political and is accompanied by the transformation of hitherto established economic, legal and moral principles. The need for reconstruction of the bases of contemporary society is becoming increasingly evident, since the foundation of all harmony, whether in individual or collective life, is justice. Without social justice there can be neither economic stability nor independence, and the political sovereignty of peoples is therefore merely a form of words that does not define a genuinely sovereign personality.

116. At this time of international anxiety, the Argentine Government accordingly resolutely reaffirms its determination to contribute as a peaceful and democratic State to the fulfilment of the aims of the United Nations so that we may usher in a just and Christian era for mankind. In doing so it speaks for all the Argentine people. This age belongs to the peoples, and the governments that represent them must serve them unswervingly.

117. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): Nine years have passed since the end of the Second World War and the signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco. It is common knowledge that the peoples of the world placed high hopes in the United Nations, and expected it to take practical and effective action in the cause of peace. Unfortunately, it must be recognized that the United Nations has failed to fulfil those hopes.

118. Even in the earliest days of United Nations activity, it became obvious that the governments of some States did not intend to implement those provisions of the Charter which are designed to promote the defence and the strengthening of peace and security throughout the world.

119. Important proposals for the strengthening of peace have been rejected by a rubber-stamp majority.

As a result, the United Nations has been unable to settle such serious problems as disarmament, the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, and other vital questions.

120. The authority of the United Nations as a universal and international organization has been undermined by the abandonment of the concerted policy pursued by the Allies during the war, a policy aimed at the achievement of an enduring peace, and by the establishment within the United Nations of a bloc of aggressive states.

121. At the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Malenkov, the head of the Government, said:

“The United Nations should revert to the course set for it by the Charter. It is the direct obligation of the United Nations to promote the settlement of international problems and prevent the possibility of aggression by any Member State against other States. In so doing it will receive the full support of the Government of the Soviet Union.”

122. The Soviet representatives in the United Nations have been and continue to be guided in their proposals by the desire to strengthen world peace and security; and, in spite of great difficulties, they have worked in the United Nations for the adoption of effective decisions calculated to reduce international tension, avert war and enhance the authority of the United Nations.

123. The whole world knows of the Soviet Union's proposals on disarmament and the prohibition of devices for the mass destruction of human beings and material resources, and its proposals on measures to reduce tension in international relations and to strengthen international peace and security.

124. The common people throughout the world still count on the United Nations for effective action to reduce international tension and avert the threat of another world war. The United Nations owes a tremendous responsibility to the common people; accordingly, it is the Organization's duty to address itself with greater attention and seriousness to the consideration and solution of the problems confronting it, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, in order to prevent any new aggravation of international tension.

125. In his statement of 27 September 1954 before the 479th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the representative of the Philippines stated that Member States should be more receptive to proposals for the revision of the Charter of the United Nations, no matter how radical they might seem. He proposed that the scope of domestic jurisdiction and of the concept of the sovereignty of States should be restricted, that the principle of unanimity in the Security Council should be limited or abolished, that permanent membership in the Security Council should be done away with, and that the United Nations should be given the means to enforce decisions affecting international peace and security. He felt that this could only be achieved by a desperate frontal assault on the problem of international organization.

126. That statement represents a continuation of the campaign to undermine the basis of the United Nations Charter, the principle of unanimity—a campaign initiated by the ruling circles of the United States

many years ago. And that is understandable, for the aim of achieving world domination, with its consequent efforts for expansion and aggression, cannot be consistent with the preservation of that principle free of all qualification. If the principle of the unanimity of the five great Powers is preserved, the Security Council cannot be transformed into a weapon of the policy of some Powers against others. Those who attack that principle are trying to turn the United Nations into that institution of unhappy memory, the League of Nations, which had neither the right nor the means to prevent aggression; they are trying to free their hands and turn the United Nations into an instrument of war.

127. If it adopted such proposals, the United Nations would lose all resemblance to an international organization and would in essence become the servant of a State or a group of States. The General Assembly should not entertain such proposals. It should create all the conditions necessary to enable the Security Council—which in actual fact has now become a secondary and inactive organ, as may be seen from the report of the Security Council [A/2712], which was submitted for our consideration—to become an organ capable of ensuring the pacific settlement of disputes and dangerous situations, and of ensuring the elimination of all obstacles to the strengthening of friendly relations among States in the cause of peace.

128. It is a fact that the United Nations is undergoing a crisis, and that its authority is waning in the eyes of world public opinion. However, the view expressed by Mr. Pearson, the representative of Canada, that the Soviet Union is responsible for the impasse in which the United Nations finds itself, is completely unjustified. The United Nations is in this position because it has as yet been unable—through no fault at all of the Soviet Union—to find a proper solution to such fundamental international problems as the limitation of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The United Nations has often engaged in fruitless debate on questions which are in no way related to the maintenance and preservation of peace.

129. It must also be pointed out that the United Nations is not yet a universal, international organization; for many countries have still not been admitted to its ranks. It is entirely improper that for five years the United Nations has refused to admit the representative of the 600 million-strong Chinese nation, the representatives of a great Power, the People's Republic of China, which has recently celebrated its fifth anniversary. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations not only detracts from the Organization's authority, but also prevents it from finding successful solutions to a number of international problems of extreme importance, particularly problems affecting Asia and the Far East.

130. We meet at a time when there has been some relaxation of international tension. In 1954, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, important international conferences of the five great Powers took place in Berlin and Geneva, and resulted in some reduction of international tension. Those conferences proved that where there is good will, international negotiations can be fruitful.

131. On the other hand, we have to recognize the fact that there are aggressive forces in the world

whose aim it is to prevent any reduction in international tension. These aggressive forces are attempting to prevent the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and weapons of mass destruction, and are conducting a frantic armaments race, thereby preventing any relaxation of international tension.

132. The Soviet Union has consistently attempted to reconcile the position of the great Powers on a number of highly important problems, particularly the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. If the great Powers were to renounce the use of atomic weapons, men would be able to breathe freely, and the threat of atomic war would largely be removed—and with it one of the most fundamental causes of international tension. We must strive to strengthen co-operation on the honourable and businesslike basis among States with different social systems.

133. It is a matter for deep regret that the Geneva Conference failed to take any decisions on the Korean problem, which is still a cause of anxiety to the peoples of the entire world. As we know, the United Nations devoted a great deal of time to the Korean question, but failed to achieve any positive results. The question remains one of those international problems whose equitable solution is vital for the strengthening of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

134. In his statement to the Assembly of 28 September [482nd meeting], Mr. Munro, the New Zealand representative, referring to the discussion of the Korean question at Geneva, said that the cause of Korean unification had suffered a serious setback. He placed the blame on the so-called "Communist delegations". This assertion is not consistent with the facts and is entirely without foundation. It is in fact the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that have consistently advocated a peaceful and just settlement of the Korean question, and still do so. An entirely different policy is being followed by the Government of the United States of America and its allies. They and they alone are to blame for the fact that, first in the United Nations and later at Panmunjom and Geneva, an impasse was artificially created in order to prevent the armistice in Korea being transformed into a lasting peace and to prevent the unification of Korea on a democratic basis.

135. Moreover, statements advocating the disruption of the armistice in Korea have recently been heard more and more frequently in reactionary circles in the United States. Particularly noteworthy are the redoubled efforts of the Syngman Rhee clique to wreck the Korean armistice. For example, Pyun Yung Tai, the South Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs, said on 1 June 1954 that the armistice agreement was no longer valid, and that Syngman Rhee's Government was no longer bound by any commitments it may have entered into under the armistice agreement. That was a provocative statement. Syngman Rhee, according to a Reuters dispatch of 17 June, said that there would be no more negotiations; that he had reached an understanding with the United States that there would be no further negotiations with the Communists after the Geneva Conference. "We are on the threshold of the greatest crusade in history", he told the *New York Journal-American*. The facts prove that Syngman Rhee and his protectors not only do not desire a

peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but are attempting to rekindle the flames of war in that area and are doing everything possible to exacerbate to the utmost the situation in Asia, which had improved somewhat after the Geneva negotiations. Some of these mettlesome warriors should be reminded of the lessons of the recent past—particularly the dismal failure of the three-year war of aggression against the freedom-loving people of Korea.

136. It is the duty of the General Assembly to take measures to settle the Korean question once and for all, to restore the national unity of Korea as an independent, democratic State, and to achieve that enduring peace which the entire Korean people await and which is so vital to the interests of the peoples of Asia and the whole world.

137. Mr. Lloyd, the United Kingdom representative, speaking to the General Assembly this morning [487th meeting], took considerable pains to give a distorted interpretation of the statement made by Mr. Vyshinsky, the Chairman of the Soviet Union delegation. Mr. Lloyd's statement was not aimed at achieving a further reduction in international tension; its purpose was entirely the opposite. We might venture to ask the United Kingdom representative why he saw fit to refer once again to the long-discredited myth of the "iron curtain", and why he distorted the Soviet Union's position on a number of highly important international issues, and slandered certain Asian countries by alleging that a policy of neutrality is imposed on them by Moscow and Peking. It may be noted in passing that Mr. Vyshinsky made no reference in his statement to the United Kingdom and its foreign policy. Mr. Lloyd's remarks by no means served the interests of the British people; they served the interests of those groups who do not desire the settlement of the most important international issues but wish to exacerbate still further the relations between States.

138. It is evident from Mr. Lloyd's statement that he is in fact opposed to the unification of Germany as a single, democratic, peace-loving State. By his talk of free elections in Germany, Mr. Lloyd attempted to conceal the policy of opposition to the unification of Germany as a single State. He deliberately passed over the Soviet Union's proposals on the German problem. He cited imaginary figures for the armed forces of the German Democratic Republic, figures that have been published in the British Press in the past for libellous purposes.

139. As is known, the Western Powers at the Berlin Conference rejected the USSR proposal to fix the size of the police forces in the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic. The United Kingdom representative knows that. Mr. Lloyd purposely said nothing of the rearmament of West Germany, in which the United Kingdom is playing no minor part, as numerous facts show, in particular the recent nine-Power Conference in London. Mr. Lloyd asked for courtesy; he asked for deeds, not words. But before he makes these demands of others, Mr. Lloyd should make them of himself. There is a proverb to the effect that people in glass houses should not throw stones.

140. We may justifiably say to the representative of the United Kingdom and to those on whose behalf he speaks here: Stop creating aggressive military alliances and blocs in Asia and Europe; give the Ger-

mans the chance to settle the fate of their own country; do not make Anglo-American cannon-fodder of them; stop the rebirth of German militarism and fascism, the worst enemy of the freedom of the peoples of Europe; show by deeds your desire for peace and not for the preparation of a new war, your desire to lessen, and not aggravate, international tension.

141. In this connexion I should like to make some observations on the remilitarization of West Germany, a question which perturbs us because twice in a quarter of a century German militarism has laid waste Byelorussia and other European nations.

142. Only nine years after the capitulation of Hitlerite Germany, the West German militarists are emerging once again as a real threat to European security. Let me cite some facts concerning the militarization of West Germany. On 26 February 1954, the West German Bundestag adopted as an addendum to the Bonn Constitution an act permitting the introduction of universal military conscription in West Germany. The Adenauer Government has already worked out detailed plans for the formation of West German armed forces.

143. The details of the plans for creating West German forces were reported in an interview given to the United Press by Mr. Blank and published in the London *Star* of 16 March 1954. It was stated that the size of the initial West German contingent of the "European Army" is to be 500,000 men. In the next two or three years, it is intended to increase that number to 800,000; steps are being taken to create 12 divisions, but these will later be increased to 60 divisions. Tank units are planned, as the core of the new revanchist German army. West Germany is to have an air force of 86,000 men equipped with about 1,500 modern planes. It is proposed to create a navy, with 50,000 men. The formation of the army is exclusively in the hands of former fascist generals such as Kesselring, Manteuffel, Ramcke, Heusinger and others.

144. It must also be noted that, with the encouragement and assistance of the United States, a war industry has again come into being in West Germany. At the end of 1953, there were more than 400 plants and factories working on war production. The very same persons who financed the Hitlerite army and supplied it with weapons—people we know of old, like Krupp, Flick, Schacht, Abs, Pferdmenges and others—have seized control of the West German economy. Thus, facts and figures show that, in defiance of the vital interests of the European countries and of the German people, the rulers of the United States are doing their utmost to bring about the rebirth of German militarism, the deadly enemy of the peoples of Europe.

145. The policy followed by the Soviet Union on the German question is diametrically the opposite. World public opinion showed tremendous interest in the Soviet Government's notes of 24 July and 4 August 1954 concerning collective security in Europe. These notes were a new manifestation of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and of its desire for the lessening of international tension and the strengthening of peace and international co-operation. The creation of a system of collective security in Europe would bring with it more favourable conditions for the settlement of the German problem, thereby removing the serious obstacles to German unification created by the policy of remilitarizing West Germany.

146. The Byelorussian people are conscious of the new threat from German militarism, and therefore oppose the policy of remilitarizing West Germany. The Byelorussian people yearn for peace, and consequently support with all their strength the policy of the Government of the Soviet Union, a policy aimed at settling the German problem on a peaceful, democratic basis.

147. Many representatives who have spoken in this debate devoted considerable attention to the atomic problem. The importance of finding a solution for this problem of our time is obvious to all. Yet it has to be noted that international discussions on this problem have been going on for eight years without achieving any positive results.

148. The facts show that in the United States preparations for atomic warfare are being carried out on an unprecedented scale; and to this end military air bases and atomic stockpiles have been established in every part of the world. The land, air and sea forces of the United States are being trained to use nuclear weapons in offensive operations. New types of bombs of increasing destructive power are devised and accumulated, and the production of weapons of mass destruction of all kinds is being expanded.

149. Leading American political and military figures make no secret of their plans for the unrestricted use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Admiral Radford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, stated on 12 March 1954 that the United States would use atomic weapons if that was to the advantage of the United States.

150. In line with this policy, steps have been taken to ensure that this year's appropriations for atomic and hydrogen weapons production and for the air force are higher than at any other time since the war. The appropriation for the Atomic Energy Commission for the fiscal year 1954-55 amounts to \$2,425 million. The atomic production development plan for the period up to 1958 allows for a tenfold expansion of atomic weapons production in comparison with the 1952 level.

151. Because of the destructive power of these weapons, the atomic and hydrogen weapons race which is being carried on constitutes a tremendous threat to humanity. In this connexion, an article in *The New York Times* of 1 April 1954 deserves attention. According to this newspaper, the explosion of the hydrogen bomb detonated on 1 March 1954 on Bikini Atoll was 600 to 700 times more powerful than that of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The appeal addressed to the members of this General Assembly by the million inhabitants of Hiroshima, who experienced all the horrors of atomic bombing, is fully justified. It declares that all experiments with thermonuclear weapons should be prohibited, as should the production or use in any way of such weapons.

152. The use of thermonuclear weapons in war would bring untold suffering to the peoples; it would mean the mass annihilation of peaceful populations and the destruction of the great cities that are the centres of modern industry and culture. The danger of war is a matter for legitimate anxiety, particularly on the part of the peoples of Asia and Europe, who were so recently the victims of the Second World War.

153. The facts convincingly refute the assertion made by Mr. Dulles in his statement to the plenary meeting

of the General Assembly, that the ruling circles of the United States are vitally interested in peace, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the observance of the United Nations Charter. By repeated use of the word "peace", Mr. Dulles tried to throw dust into the eyes of ordinary people and convince them that the rulers of the United States detest war and are concerned only to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Mr. Dulles declared that the United States proposals proclaimed on 8 December 1953 [470th meeting] could help to dispel "the darkest cloud that hangs over mankind."

154. However, it must be pointed out that the United States atomic pool proposals of 8 December do not dispel this "darkest cloud that hangs over mankind"; indeed, they in no way hamper States that are in a position to produce atomic and hydrogen weapons. The plan is based on the idea of setting aside some small amount of atomic materials for peaceful purposes, while the mass of nuclear materials is directed, as before, to the production of more atomic and hydrogen bombs.

155. Even Mr. Pearson, in his statement before the General Assembly [475th meeting, para. 18], admitted that "international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy cannot in itself remove the dangers of atomic destruction". Thus, the United States plan of 8 December does not envisage atomic disarmament, and in no way restricts an aggressor in the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons at any time or for any purpose. The plan cannot help to reduce the real danger of atomic war. Its aim is to weaken the vigilance of the peoples with respect to the problem of atomic weapons.

156. The real path to the prevention of the use of atomic energy for military purposes and its use for solely peaceful ends has been shown by the Soviet proposals. Agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes would be of great significance. It is in the interest of all peoples throughout the world to ensure that atomic energy is used exclusively for peaceful construction, and not applied to the mass destruction of peoples, to wholesale devastation and annihilation.

157. It is known that the Soviet Union has repeatedly submitted important proposals, and amendments and additions to those proposals, designed to facilitate agreement on the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and the reduction of armaments and armed forces. At this session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union has submitted proposals [A/2742 and Corr.1] recommending that the United Nations Disarmament Commission should be instructed to prepare and submit for confirmation by the Security Council a draft international convention (treaty) designed to strengthen peace and increase international security and providing for the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and their elimination from the armaments of States, a substantial reduction in armaments and the establishment of international control over the implementation of these decisions on the basis of the French and United Kingdom proposals of 11 June 1954.

158. The carrying out of the measures set forth in the USSR proposals, it is proposed, should be completed not later than the carrying out of the measures taken for the reduction of armaments and armed

forces referred to in paragraph 2 (a) of the draft resolution, and the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons should cease immediately, as soon as a start is made with the reduction of armaments, armed forces and appropriations for military requirements in respect of the remaining 50 per cent of the agreed standards. For the supervision of the implementation of the convention (treaty) on the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, the discontinuance of the production of these weapons and their elimination from the armaments of States and the reduction of armaments, armed forces and appropriations for military requirements, the Soviet proposals provide for the creation of a standing international supervisory organ. This international organ would have full powers of supervision, including the power of inspection on a continuing basis to the extent necessary to ensure implementation of the convention by all States.

159. In connexion with the proposal concerning the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons except in defence against aggression in the French-United Kingdom memorandum of 11 June 1954 [DC/53, annex 9], the General Assembly would instruct the United Nations Disarmament Commission to study and clarify this question and submit its recommendations.

160. The Soviet Union has always striven and still strives for the adoption of proposals that are really designed to ensure international peace and security. The continuation of the armaments race not only subjects the peoples to an unbearable burden of armaments, but brings in its train a further aggravation of international relations, and leads to the creation of military groupings. That is why agreement on the question of the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction is a matter of particularly great importance.

161. The representatives of Brazil, Ecuador and Ethiopia, in their statements on 1 October before plenary meetings of the General Assembly, said that the Soviet Union's new proposals on the conclusion of an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction encouraged the hope that an agreement would finally be concluded and that atomic energy would be directed to peaceful purposes.

162. The Byelorussian delegation entirely agrees with these statements, and considers the Soviet proposals a new effort, a new and important contribution to the solution of the problem of completely eliminating and prohibiting all weapons of mass destruction. They open up possibilities of ending the armaments race, removing the threat of atomic and hydrogen warfare, lightening the tax burden on the people, and strengthening peace and friendship among nations. They contribute to the relaxation of international tension and offer prospects for the large-scale use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the welfare of all mankind.

163. The Byelorussian people warmly support the Soviet Government's proposals; they consider that atomic energy, that great invention of the human genius, should be used not against civilization, but for the progress of civilization in every field; not for mass annihilation, but for peaceful purposes to promote the welfare of all the peoples of the world.

164. The campaign of propaganda for a new war, which is being carried on in a number of countries, is a serious threat to peace and to the peaceful settlement of international problems. That campaign is compounded of war hysteria and malicious slander against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the peoples' democracies; indeed, it goes to the extent of open incitement to rebellion against the existing governments of those countries.

165. In the United States and certain other countries, the General Assembly Resolution 110 (II) of 3 November 1947, condemning propaganda "which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression", is being trodden underfoot.

166. At the present time, after the Berlin and Geneva Conferences, when the peoples of the world have been offered the hope of a continued relaxation in international tension, it is quite obvious that influential circles in certain countries are resolved by fair means or foul to increase tension in international affairs once more. These circles artificially maintain the atmosphere of war hysteria; they threaten the world with atomic and hydrogen bombs and openly proclaim a policy of "positions of strength" and the prolongation of the "cold war", constantly resorting to methods of threat and intimidation.

167. In their speeches, the political and military leaders of the United States go so far as to call for the continuation and intensification of subversive, diversionary and terrorist activities against the USSR and the peoples' democracies. In the American Press and on the radio, propaganda is carried on for a variety of plans involving the use of military bases for the preparation of attacks upon the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the peoples' democracies. It is openly stated in the Press that United States air bases have been planned for the destruction of Soviet industry, and that an atomic attack could be made from these bases on any target of importance in the Soviet Union.

168. The United States Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Carney, in his speech in New York on 27 May 1954 at a meeting of the National Security Industrial Association, called for a preventive war with the Soviet bloc. The time had come, he said, for an immediate trial of strength with the Soviet Union. The reckless character of this propaganda and of all this trumpety American boosting of plans for aggression must be obvious to every sober-minded person.

169. These bellicose statements by the unbridled propagandists of a new war are not just fortuitous. The reduction of international tension which has recently taken place has not been to the liking of the American monopolies, they see in the resumption of normal international relations, which would render the armaments race pointless, a threat to their profits.

170. Such propaganda is rightly condemned by world public opinion. The General Assembly should hearken to the voice of the common people throughout the world and call upon the governments of a number of countries to take decisive action to put an end to the propaganda being carried on in their countries, propaganda whose purpose is to create enmity and hatred amongst the nations and to prepare for a new

world war. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR entirely and unreservedly associates itself with this lawful and timely demand of the common people throughout the world.

171. The Byelorussian delegation feels compelled to call the attention of the General Assembly to the aggressive activities of the Kuomintang clique, which have found expression in violations of the freedom of merchant shipping in the area of the China seas and the illegal seizure of merchant ships of the USSR, Poland and other countries. As is well known—Mr. Skrzyszewski, the chairman of the Polish delegation, has already spoken on this subject today—the Polish merchant ships *Praca* and *Prezydent Gottwald* and the Soviet tanker *Tuapse* have been victims of piratical acts of this kind. The ships seized by the Kuomintang clique have still not been released, and their crews are being subjected to flagrant coercion, insults and terror. Such piratical acts are a gross violation of the universally recognized principle of freedom of the seas, and can only be regarded as deliberate acts of provocation intended to disrupt peace and tranquillity in the Far East and throughout Asia. These aggressive activities are taking place under the protection of the United States Seventh Fleet. They have caused rightful indignation among the peoples of Asia and the whole world. The General Assembly should put a stop to these criminal acts and categorically condemn both the Kuomintang clique and those who encourage it.

172. The present juncture in international relations is one of particular importance and responsibility. We all know well that the peoples of the entire world yearn for peace and loathe war. What is more, they are aware that the Soviet Union has pointed out ways to preserve and strengthen peace. The Soviet Union has consistently based its policy, and still does, on the conviction that the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems is not only possible, but absolutely essential.

173. It is our duty to contribute to the settlement of international disputes, and to see that the recent improvement in the international atmosphere does not give way to a new increase in tension. We must try to bring the United Nations back to the path planned for it in the Charter, the path of assisting in the pacific settlement of all international disputes on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of all nations. The peoples of the world look to the United Nations for effective and constructive action to strengthen international peace and security. Hundreds of millions of peoples trust and hope that there will be a further decrease in international tension. It is our duty to justify these noble hopes.

174. The Byelorussian people, like other peace-loving peoples, are vitally interested in preventing any further exacerbation of international relations. The Byelorussian people, who suffered the onslaught of Hitler's armies, wish to ensure that mankind is not plunged once again into the abyss of a new world war.

175. The United Nations must carry out its duty and do everything possible to find positive solutions for such basic problems as the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, and for other important problems relating to the strengthening of peace and international security.

176. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR warmly supports the USSR delegation's proposals and urges the delegations to the ninth session of the General Assembly to adopt them. Their sole and exclusive purpose is the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace throughout the

world. In adopting these proposals, the General Assembly will be fulfilling its duty in its task of removing the threat of a new world war and alleviating international tension.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.