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**President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).**

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### Opening of the general debate

1. Mr. NEGRAO DE LIMA (Brazil) (*translated from Spanish*): I should first like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the honour conferred upon you by the peoples represented here in electing you to the high office of President of the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. At this grave juncture in human affairs, your experience, your broad vision of the problems of the day and the trust with which you are regarded in the United Nations permit us to look forward with assurance to the success of our deliberations.

2. In taking the floor in this general debate with which we are beginning the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I feel it would be appropriate for me to give the representatives of nearly all the countries of the world assembled here more information on the new international policy in which Brazil is engaged together with the other American States.

3. Although the movement to infuse new life into our continental unity, the Pan-American Unity Movement, was of regional origin, my Government considers that it goes far beyond those bounds and takes on universal significance and scope, for its purposes correspond to the aspirations and needs of all peoples.

4. Surely the best way to achieve the aims for which States attend the meetings of the United Nations is to deal more intelligently and effectively with the difficulties which urgently require solution in the various parts of the world.

5. It is also obvious that it is easier to deal with matters with which we are closely and directly familiar than to attempt, as effectively, to settle affairs arising outside the areas to which we belong.

6. My Government felt that, in view of the desires and needs of the American peoples made manifest on so many occasions, the time had come to take decisive and energetic action to put an end to the under-development of the American continent. We felt that we could no longer close our eyes to the distressing conditions in which the populations of wide areas of our continent

were living and so cruelly suffering from the evils of under-development. We would have no moral authority for carrying out the international obligations imposed upon us by the United Nations Charter if we could not, at the same time, demonstrate our determination to correct those evils.

7. That is why the Brazilian delegation strongly and enthusiastically joined with those States which at the twelfth session of the Assembly proposed the establishment of an economic commission for Africa. We consider that we should offer the peoples of Africa the opportunity and the means of making a thorough study of their difficulties and the solutions required. A better knowledge of the needs of that continent will undoubtedly help to mitigate the political repercussions of primarily economic and social factors.

8. There can be no doubt that there is a clear connexion between the under-development of certain areas and the local frictions which are jeopardizing peace. Poverty and unrest are a breeding-ground for a policy of despair which once and for all may doom all attempts to establish international harmony. Thirteen years of United Nations experience have shown that under-development is the greatest real threat to collective security, for it always serves as a weapon of mass agitation and of national resentment against more fortunate nations. This state of dissatisfaction leads some nations into the dangerous path of accepting ideologies contrary to their own political and cultural tradition in the illusory hope of finding a satisfactory solution of their problems. If those with the material means to remedy this situation do not hasten to do so, we shall soon see the collapse of those important values of civilization which are essential to the complete fulfilment of the principle of universality of the United Nations; for this will be the consequence of the disintegrating effect of the growing feeling of despair in the hearts of the forgotten peoples.

9. Brazil wholeheartedly supported the idea of a joint and carefully planned programme for the harmonious development of continental economies in the conviction that new prospects would thus be opened for the achievement of peace. Our eagerness to take the first steps in that crusade impels us to put the question here in universal terms. We do so because we are convinced that no one may raise the banner of hope who is not concerned with the anxieties and needs of his own people or who, on the pretext of serving the remote ideals of all mankind, neglects to bring relief to the urgent and immediate evils.

10. It is well to remember what has been said here time and again, namely, that technological development intensifies and aggravates the economic disparities between certain nations. It was with that in mind that the President of Brazil, Mr. Kubitschek, addressed to the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, a letter which was immediately well received and

provoked such a favourable response on the American continent. I should like to emphasize that, by taking that initiative, the Brazilian Government was not seeking political, economic or other advantages for Brazil alone. On the contrary, its desire was to serve the interests of all the nations of the continent, while at the same time remaining loyal to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the basic purpose of which is to promote the well-being of all the peoples of the world.

11. I think I have made it clear that in the mind of President Juscelino Kubitschek the earnest desire for Pan-American unity, although a regional movement, is also one which is a part of the general struggle against under-development. The economic problems which the Pan-American movement hopes to settle are neither new nor different from those being dealt with by the various organs of the United Nations. On the contrary, for some time now, the United Nations has been examining those matters in great detail and in hundreds of studies, solutions and recommendations, which unfortunately have not yet been put into practice. And the reason they have not been put into effect is that there has been lacking until now the creative spirit born of a determined public opinion convinced of the inescapable necessity of victory in the battle against under-development.

12. In view of the favourable response to that idea as shown in statements emanating from government circles and in the Press of the countries which make up the great American community, we believe we can assure this Assembly that there is a readiness in our continent to go beyond the passive acceptance of an injustice and to launch a joint irreversible offensive for the economic betterment of the areas which have been abandoned and for the welfare of their peoples.

13. We also believe that the improvement of the general living conditions of peoples everywhere resulting from the realization of plans such as we are now supporting will undoubtedly bring about a relaxation of prevailing political tensions, thus releasing funds now being used for the sterile purpose of an armaments race in order that they may be applied to speeding the process of the economic and social emancipation of mankind. We shall thus have progressed to an era in which the tremendous power now being diverted to increasing the potential for destruction will be directed towards peaceful competition between the highly industrialized countries for the leadership and rapid improvement of the economically under-developed areas.

14. These days, when scientific conquests far exceed the dreams of our ancestors, when the great Powers are attempting to conquer the polar wilderness and outer space, man must not forget himself; he must rediscover in himself the centre and purpose of his achievements. The economic salvation of man gives a meaning to his life and allows for the complete fulfilment of his personality: that is the supreme benefit it has to offer mankind.

15. Since I have the floor, I should not like to neglect this very special opportunity, in the name of my country, to proclaim our firm conviction that the human spirit will achieve a balance, harmony and understanding among peoples. For this, there must be solidarity among all men of goodwill to accept the principles

of the United Nations, for the United Nations has successfully staved off so many dangers, and has behaved with calm and serenity at the gravest moments when our hopes appeared on the verge of being crushed.

16. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): Mr. President, I wish first of all to congratulate this Assembly that it meets under your presidency. You helped to create this Organization and you have worked with it and for it ever since. Your election to the presidency is a personal tribute that is richly deserved.

17. Let me also congratulate this Assembly on the fact that there has emerged, in the person of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, one who has also demonstrated the qualities that justify his holding high office in this Organization. We particularly recall his recent contribution to the positive outcome of our emergency special session on the Near East.

18. The United Nations, now in its thirteenth year, continues to work constructively for peace and order. It has promoted the peaceful adjustment of sharp political differences. It has advanced the independence or self-government of peoples ready for such responsibilities. It has stimulated economic development and human betterment.

19. But much remains to be done to reinforce peace and to hasten the progress that can then be achieved. I shall speak first of the problems of peace and then of the opportunities for progress.

20. Let me first turn to the situation in the Taiwan (Formosa) Straits area.

21. On 23 August 1958 the Chinese Communists suddenly launched a heavy bombardment of the Quemoy islands. The artillery was largely supplied by the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of shells rained down on those islands during the ensuing weeks, bringing death and destruction, particularly to civilians. This cannonading was accompanied by an attempted naval interdiction of the islands and by calls upon the defenders of the islands to surrender or be annihilated.

22. I know there are in this situation many complicating factors. But there are two facts that are undisputed and that are decisive.

23. First, the Chinese Communist régime has never during its nine years of existence exercised authority over Taiwan, the P'eng-hu islands, or the islands of Quemoy and Ma-tsu. Secondly, the Chinese Communists are now attempting to extend their authority to these areas by the use of naked force.

24. The issue is thus a simple one: armed conquest.

25. In 1950 the United Nations met that issue squarely. By an overwhelming vote it found that the attack of North Korea to "unify" Korea was armed aggression. It condemned the Chinese Communist régime as an aggressor because of its part in that armed attack.

26. I do not ignore the argument that today's Chinese Communist attack is a so-called civil war operation. Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, representative of the Soviet Union, made a parallel argument in 1950. He told us that the war in Korea was purely a "civil war" and that outsiders who intervened were "aggressors".<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, First Committee, 348th meeting.

The United Nations overwhelmingly rejected that contention.

27. Also, I do not ignore the fact that the off-shore islands are physically close to mainland China. But we can scarcely adopt the view that nations are entitled to seize territory by force just because it is near at hand.

28. The fact is that, when one régime attempts by force to take additional territory which has long been under the authority of another Government, recognized as such by a respectable part of the world community, that is a use of force which endangers world peace.

29. The United States considers that the Chinese Communist armed aggression poses a grave threat, with ominous implications. Surely it demonstrates again, if further demonstration were needed, that the Chinese Communist régime is not "peace-loving"—to use the phrase from our Charter.

30. We believe that a peaceful solution can be found. Talks are going on between the United States and the Chinese Communist ambassadors in Warsaw. We seek a prompt cease-fire and equitable conditions that will eliminate provocations and leave for peaceful resolution the different claims and counter-claims that are involved.

31. The United States reserves the right to bring this matter to the United Nations if it should seem that the bilateral talks going on in Warsaw between the ambassadors are not going to succeed.

32. I turn now to Hungary. There tragedy continues. The whole civilized world is shocked by the cruel measures of terror and reprisal. The grim hangings of former Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy and General Pal Maleter were perpetrated in shameful secrecy, violated assurances of safe-conduct and no reprisals, and defied the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

33. Such reprisals are symptoms of a more basic crime: the continued brutal suppression of the Hungarian people by a puppet régime imposed by Soviet military power.

34. The United Nations cannot let itself be discouraged because its past appeals have been ignored. Every Government that believes in the principle of self-determination, in fundamental human rights, or in the protection of small nations, has a solemn duty to continue to make its position unmistakably clear.

35. The Soviet Government also defies all efforts to achieve the reunification of Germany in freedom.

36. Members of the United Nations that believe in freedom and self-determination for Asia and Africa should equally support it in Eastern Europe.

37. I turn now to the Near East.

38. Just three weeks ago the General Assembly took unanimous action designed to ease a serious situation in the Near East. Significant agreement was reached on three crucial points:

(1) States should respect the freedom, independence and integrity of other States and avoid the fomenting of civil strife;

(2) The United Nations should buttress this pledge of non-interference in the Near East;

(3) United Nations measures to ensure the territorial integrity and independence of these countries would facilitate the early withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

39. It is significant that it was the Arab nations themselves which developed the agreed formula. Thereby they assumed a major responsibility. If, through deeds, the words are given reality, there will be a new opportunity to promote political, economic and social welfare in the area.

40. We are somewhat, although not wholly, reassured by the course of events thus far. It has seemed practicable, in agreement with the President and the President-elect of Lebanon, to withdraw from Lebanon a second contingent of United States forces. Also, the United States expects to discuss with the new President of Lebanon, soon after he takes office next Tuesday, 23 September 1958, a specific schedule for early withdrawal of the remaining United States forces.

41. Our able Secretary-General, who has just visited the area, will shortly make his report, and we hope it will indicate that the objectives of resolution 1237 (ES-III) are being given practical effect, so that a schedule for early withdrawal of forces can be carried out.

42. I turn now to a related proposal made by the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, at the third emergency special session, for the monitoring of inflammatory propaganda [733rd meeting, para. 26].

43. Inflammatory propaganda has been repeatedly condemned by this Organization. Nevertheless, it persists.

44. One of the contributory causes to recent tension in the Near East was broadcasts from certain countries, inciting peoples of other countries to violent acts against the established order.

45. It is our conviction that measures can be taken by the United Nations which will discourage such broadcasts. This would reinforce the solemn commitment of States in the Near East to "respect the systems of government established in the other member States and regard them as exclusive concerns of these States" [General Assembly resolution 1237 (ES-III)].

46. One possibility is a United Nations monitoring system for radio broadcasts from whatever source, crossing national borders in the Near East. Such a system could have a salutary effect. If propagandists realized that their words were being heard in this forum of the world, and being recorded here for possible future action, they might exercise moderation.

47. We hope that the Assembly will consider this problem at the present session.

48. Another matter before this session of the General Assembly is the possibility of creating a stand-by United Nations peace force. This was urged by President Eisenhower when he addressed us last month [733rd meeting, para. 28].

49. The United States suggests the following points for consideration:

(1) We conceive of the "Peace Force" not as a combat force, but rather as a group that would observe and patrol, and by its very presence make visible the interest of the world community in the maintenance of tranquillity. Also, we believe that Members other than

the permanent members of the Security Council can most usefully contribute personnel.

(2) A small planning staff might be created within the United Nations Secretariat to develop stand-by plans for calling into being, deploying and supporting such a "Peace Force".

(3) The planning staff could develop concrete arrangements so that a United Nations decision to employ such a "Peace Force" could be promptly implemented.

(4) The costs of the stand-by arrangements should be kept small, and that should be possible if there is no force-in-being to be maintained.

50. These arrangements should make it possible to bring together on short notice a United Nations group to meet a need which has become evident over recent years. Such a group would be an important bulwark of the objectives of the Charter concerning the pacific settlement of disputes.

51. I turn now to measures which will advance human progress as well as the cause of peace. Most important is arms control to reduce, on the one hand, the risk of war and, on the other, the cost of being ready for it. Today colossal sums which could be devoted to human betterment go into armament.

52. In past months there has been a significant breakthrough on the arms-control front. The United States has long urged that verification techniques were essential to any disarmament agreement. We believe that Governments must have a clear understanding of the practical capabilities of a verification system. The Soviet Union has apparently finally recognized this principle in connexion with a possible arrangement to suspend the testing of nuclear weapons.

53. A technical consensus as to the necessary monitoring system has been reached by qualified experts of different nations. We hope now to begin to negotiate at Geneva a substantive agreement. We do this in expectation that further arms control arrangements will shortly come into effect.

54. The General Assembly may desire, by an appropriate resolution, to give encouragement to the forthcoming negotiations.

55. The best hope for progress in arms control now seems to rest in taking moderate but concrete steps to reduce the dangers of war.

56. I recall that, some months ago, the Soviet Union complained in the Security Council of Arctic flights by United States military aircraft.<sup>2/</sup> The United States, denying that any such flights had occurred, nevertheless proposed the establishment of an inspection zone in the polar regions.<sup>3/</sup> Such a zone would increase security because it would lessen the possibility of great surprise attack across the top of the world. This constructive proposal received wide acclaim and the world was shocked when it was vetoed by the Soviet Union.<sup>4/</sup>

57. In any event, we will continue to press for worldwide measures to reduce the danger of surprise attack. There is now a prospect that technical talks in this field may start in Geneva in November 1958.

58. I turn now to economic development. President Eisenhower, at the recent third emergency special session, made a significant proposal looking to more rapid economic growth in the Near East. The United States hopes that conditions in that area will lead to the effective fulfilment of that proposal.

59. Economic development is, of course, an aspiration shared by all peoples. In the newly independent nations, and indeed in many which have long been independent, there is a burning desire for economic and social progress, for higher standards of living, and for freedom from the slavery of poverty.

60. Much has been accomplished. The people of the United States admire the vigorous efforts of the leaders and the peoples of less developed countries to help themselves. Yet much remains to be done.

61. The United States believes that the time has come for the nations of the world to take stock of accomplishments to date and to chart anew long-term courses of co-operative action. We propose that the nations dedicate the year 1959 to these purposes.

62. Let me mention some of the major steps that the United States would be prepared to take or support in the coming year, subject, of course, to action by our Congress as appropriate:

(1) The United States will carry forward its existing development-financing programmes on a vigorous and effective basis.

(2) The United States will undertake increased efforts to emphasize the constructive role that private initiative can play in economic development. We hope that other nations will also explore these important potentialities.

(3) The United States will consider how we might co-operate with regional development programmes, where this is desired by the countries of the region. The wish for a regional approach should be clearly manifested and supported by the Governments of the areas concerned, and there should be evidence that a regional approach has advantages over a bilateral approach.

(4) The United States will suggest that consideration be given to the advisability of increasing the capital of the World Bank and the quotas of the International Monetary Fund.

(5) The United States is prepared to consider the feasibility of creating an international development association, as an affiliate of the World Bank, under conditions likely to assure broad and effective support.

(6) The United States is prepared to provide vigorous support for technical assistance. It will do so through its own programmes, through the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and through a substantial initial contribution to the United Nations new Special projects Fund. This will greatly enlarge the technical-assistance activity of the United Nations.

(7) The United States will seek to enlist the assistance of our universities and scientific institutions, joining with those of other co-operating countries, to

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1958, document S/3990.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., document S/3995.

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., Thirteenth Year, 817th meeting.

achieve scientific and technological break-throughs on problems of particular concern to less developed countries.

(8) The President of the United States will seek funds from the Congress for international health programmes.

63. We hope that other countries may, during the coming year, also chart long-term programmes to assist economic growth. In thus paving the way for sound, continuing action by many countries, 1959 could become a year of outstanding initiative in the long-term process of economic growth.

64. The great challenge of poverty and disease can only be met through vigorous, realistic action. The United States stands ready to play its full part in this great peaceful crusade.

65. The major obstacle to maximum economic development is, of course, the ever-present danger of direct and indirect aggression and the consequent staggering cost of armament and of collective security. Whenever there is an outburst of military activity, as now in the Taiwan Straits, that is a set-back not merely to peace, but to economic progress as well.

66. The United States, for example, feels obligated to devote to defence programmes some \$45,000 million a year, and that will lead us, this year, into a large budgetary deficit.

67. But despite this fact we are determined to move forward in this field of international economic development.

68. Major strides in man's conquest of his newest and most exciting frontier, outer space, have taken place during the past year. How shall outer space be used? That question is of intense interest and importance to all mankind. We must make every effort to dedicate outer space exclusively to constructive pursuits. To this end, the United States, in January 1957, had already proposed that interested countries should seek to develop an international system.<sup>5/</sup>

69. We recognize that the problems involved in establishing such a system are very complex. Also, we cannot await a comprehensive disarmament programme. Meaningful steps can now be taken, at least to assure that the exploitation of outer space results in maximum benefit to humanity.

70. Ten precious years were lost in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy because full international co-operation was not promptly begun. We cannot afford a similar delay in this vast new dimension of human experience which offers perhaps an even greater challenge and opportunity than the splitting of the atom.

71. The United States believes that the United Nations should take immediate steps to prepare for a fruitful programme of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. We suggest that a representative committee be established to make the necessary preparatory studies and recommendations.

72. The United States is submitting to this Assembly a draft resolution with the following significant operative paragraph:

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, First Committee, 821st meeting, para. 13.

### "[The General Assembly]

"1. Establishes an ad hoc committee consisting of [certain nations to be appointed] and requests it to report to the General Assembly at its fourteenth session on the following:

"(a) The activities and resources of the United Nations and its specialized agencies relating to outer space;

"(b) The nature of specific projects of international co-operation in outer space which could be undertaken under United Nations auspices;

"(c) Useful United Nations organizational arrangements to facilitate international co-operation in this field."

73. The United States hopes that this draft resolution will find unanimous approval. As we reach beyond this planet, we should move as truly "united nations".

74. Mr. President, I have discussed some of the current problems now confronting this Assembly. Before closing, I should like to refer to a major concern of the United States which stems from the fact that our membership seems sharply divided in its attitude towards this Organization.

75. Most Members of the United Nations look upon our Organization sincerely and genuinely as a means to promote world order, and they are willing to adapt their national policies to this great goal. But there are a potent few who seem to participate in the United Nations only as it gives them opportunities for manoeuvres that will advance their own narrow nationalistic purposes, even at the expense of world order. Otherwise, they flout the United Nations.

76. In the Security Council eighty-five vetoes have been cast by one of the permanent members. In most of these cases, the veto vote was the only negative vote and the vetoed proposal was objected to only because it would have interfered with some ambitious objective of the State in question. It is difficult to reconcile that conduct with the spirit of our Charter.

77. In the General Assembly there is a similar pattern. Most of the Governments here give great weight to the recommendations of this Assembly. But there are others which defy those recommendations when they interfere with national policies. Hungary is an example.

78. In consequence, there is no uniformity in the acceptance and application of our Charter and our processes. There are two different standards of conduct.

79. The United States believes that this double standard is incompatible with the basic purposes of our Organization and that it poses a challenge which we shall have to meet.

80. A related concern is the apparent reluctance of some nations to support those basic principles of the Charter which outlaw aggression, direct or indirect. Our Charter, in Article 1, paragraph 1, calls for "suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace". This represents international law that all should recognize and that all should seek to enforce.

81. After the First World War, the United States, like other States, failed adequately to support world order.

But during the Second World War and ever since, the United States has strongly supported that concept.

82. President Truman, speaking in April 1951, said "If history has taught us anything, it is that aggression anywhere in the world is a threat to peace everywhere in the world." And President Eisenhower, speaking on 11 September 1958, called upon us "to defend the principle that armed force shall not be used for aggressive purposes. Upon observance of that principle depends a lasting and just peace."

83. But the teachings of history tend to be forgotten and there is some evidence that we are forgetting those lessons here. We have our Charter and our implementing resolutions. These, when they were adopted, clearly represented the will of the world community, which this Organization was prepared vigorously to support. But is that still the case? If not, that would mark the beginning of the end of this Organization and its efforts to achieve world order and world peace.

84. The United States, as one of the so-called great Powers, continues to stand ready to dedicate that power to world order. That is an asset which, I suggest, ought not lightly to be thrown away.

85. Fellow representatives, the future of the United Nations, and indeed the prospect for the successful building of a peaceful world, depend upon the way in which all of us here in this Assembly discharge the solemn obligations of the Charter. We have the two great purposes which I have discussed: namely, the maintenance of a just peace and the development of human betterment in the world.

86. We need to see more clearly that progress in raising living standards and in extending freedoms all around the world is being held back because of aggressions engineered to advance the expansionist urges of certain countries. The treasures and the energies of the nations are largely being directed into a tragic and vain search for armed security in a world where aggression is not yet effectively outlawed. Every aggression is a threat, not only to the fragile barrier that stands between us and a general nuclear war, but also another set-back for the human aspirations of mankind.

87. May we not hope that, if only the minds and efforts of Governments were to be concentrated more fully upon the welfare of their own peoples and upon creative tasks of universal import, the issues that divide the world may fade away and the "cold war" become a thing of the past.

88. Mr. FUJIYAMA (Japan): <sup>6/</sup> I am glad to express at the outset my sincere congratulations to Mr. Charles Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, on his election as President of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, with his great knowledge and rich experience in the United Nations, our new President will fully carry out the heavy responsibilities he has assumed.

89. At the same time, I wish to express the satisfaction and appreciation of my delegation to Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand. As President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly and of the

third emergency special session, he has fulfilled his heavy responsibilities with great tact and efficiency. It is my earnest hope that, whatever the field of endeavour he may enter in the future, he will continue to work in the interests of world peace and international understanding.

90. Respect for the principles and purposes of the United Nations has consistently been the basis of my country's foreign policy. In line with this basic policy, we have on every occasion contributed our efforts to strengthening the United Nations and to raising its prestige and authority. In their strong aspirations for peace, the people of my country fully support these efforts. It is my Government's resolve to continue them.

91. At the opening of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I should like to present the basic views of my delegation on some of the problems confronting the United Nations.

92. A most urgent problem facing the world today is the present situation in the Taiwan Strait. It is a disturbing situation over which we cannot but entertain grave apprehension and concern, for any serious development in the area affects us by reason of our geographical propinquity.

93. The parties immediately concerned may stand on different positions and have different views on the issues involved, but this is natural in the light of the historical background of these issues. However, quite apart from whether these views are justified or not, we should not under any circumstances condone the use of force as a means of settlement, for appeal to arms poses every danger of provoking a major world conflict.

94. It is urgent and essential that the situation in the Taiwan Strait be settled peacefully. I therefore welcome the efforts that are now being made at the Warsaw talks, which began only a few days ago, to seek a peaceful means of settlement. It is Japan's hope and expectation that both parties will refrain from the use of force and seek a reasonable settlement such as would ensure future stability and peace in the area.

95. I welcome the Warsaw talks because I believe that efforts to settle disputes by negotiation should first be made by the parties concerned and that only in the event that such efforts failed should the United Nations be called upon to take them up. In view of the fact that talks are now in progress at Warsaw between the parties concerned, we should, in discussing the situation in the Taiwan Strait here in the United Nations, exercise care and restraint so as not to jeopardize those talks. For this reason, I should like to confine my remarks for the present to what I have said. But because we are seriously concerned over the situation by reason of our geographical location, the Japanese Government reserves the opportunity to express its view in the future should the situation become an issue in the United Nations.

96. At the Twelfth session, I pointed out in this Assembly that the common aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa are to secure their national independence and to achieve economic and social progress so as to ensure their political independence [680th meeting, para. 85]. As a member of the Asian

<sup>6/</sup> Mr. Fujiyama spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



community of nations, the people of Japan wish again to express their wholehearted sympathy for the efforts of these peoples to build a bright future for themselves in the face of many difficulties. At the same time, I hope that all countries will regard the legitimate aspirations of these peoples with friendly understanding and give them full support and co-operation in the fulfilment of their aspirations. The aspirations of peoples to consolidate their national independence and to achieve economic and social progress will surely be attained as an inevitable development of history. Hence, it is our hope that peoples who are now in the process of achieving political and economic independence will, on their part, avoid narrow-minded thinking and extreme actions and, with confidence in their future, steadily consolidate and strengthen their independence in a spirit of fairness and moderation.

97. I believe it was most significant that a constructive resolution on the Middle East problem [General Assembly resolution 1237 (ES-III)], initiated by the Arab countries themselves, was unanimously adopted at the third emergency special session thanks to an attitude of understanding shown by all the Members of the United Nations. Our high respect is particularly due to the Arab countries for their demonstration of the spirit of mutual concession and compromise which served to inspire such a means of settlement.

98. At the same time, I must express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, for his continued dedicated efforts to carry out the purposes of the resolution. The Japanese delegation, together with other delegations, eagerly looks forward to the report which the Secretary-General is expected shortly to make to us. We earnestly hope that, through the efforts made by the Secretary-General, the way will be opened to ensure peace and stability in Lebanon and Jordan and thereby facilitate the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from these countries. Furthermore, there is need for long-term measures to establish peace and stability in the Middle East on a durable basis and, as I said at the recent emergency session, I hope that the Assembly, at its thirteenth session, will give its earnest attention to this point.

99. I have expressed my views on the problems of peace and stability in various areas of the world. I should now like to touch on the question of suspension of tests of nuclear weapons and on the problem of disarmament as a means to removing the threat of a world war.

100. At the twelfth session of the General Assembly, my delegation submitted a draft resolution proposing that nuclear test explosions be suspended and on such a basis that disarmament talks be facilitated [A/C.1/L.174]. Unfortunately, our draft resolution failed to win the support of the majority. But in the year since then, major changes in the situation have occurred. That is to say, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom have in turn announced the suspension of nuclear tests and from 31 October 1958 they will enter into negotiations for an agreement on suspension of tests. The Japanese people and Government have followed these developments with profound gratification.

101. In view of the unknown injuries that will be brought upon mankind now and in the future by the effects of radiation caused by nuclear tests, as indicated in the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838], I wish to reiterate the unchanging view of the Japanese Government that an early agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests should have priority and be reached in advance of other disarmament measures. My Government hopes very earnestly that, with such an agreement as a basis, the ultimate objective of permanent suspension of nuclear tests will be attained.

102. From the standpoint of general disarmament, the suspension of nuclear tests is no more than a first step. The danger of thermo-nuclear war will remain until and unless general disarmament, including the prohibition of the production, stockpiling and use of thermo-nuclear bombs, is effectuated under effective international supervision. It is, therefore, my earnest hope that measures to suspend nuclear tests will be instrumental in creating a greater mutual trust and a peaceful climate between East and West and thereby serve to facilitate negotiations in the general field of disarmament.

103. In this connexion, we should note the fact that the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, which met at Geneva in July and August 1958, succeeded in reaching agreement on the technical aspects of a monitoring system. Not only does this make easier the suspension of nuclear tests, but I think it can be said that the experience of these experts suggests the possibility that similar meetings of experts on supervision and inspection relative to other disarmament measures would also succeed in their endeavours, and it has opened a new approach toward facilitating disarmament negotiations in the future. In other words, if a conference of experts can be called to reach a separate agreement on such aspects of disarmament as, for instance, inspection measures to prevent surprise attack, the future of disarmament negotiations may well become more hopeful.

104. In this sense, we welcome the report that a meeting of experts of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union will begin in Geneva on 10 November 1958 to study methods of preventing surprise attack.

105. I believe you will recall that, during the twelfth session of the General Assembly, and since, the Japanese Government took every opportunity to try to bring about the resumption of the disarmament discussions in the United Nations. These efforts of ours were made out of our deep concern over the fact that disarmament discussions in the United Nations were completely stalemated as a result of the Soviet declaration not to participate in the Disarmament Commission.

106. Disarmament is again an item on the agenda of the present session. I would like to see a more active and serious study made of this problem by all the Members. It is the desire of my delegation to contribute its full share to such an effort.

107. Recently the question of creating a United Nations peace force has again come to the fore. It goes without saying that this is a question that requires

careful study and discussion. If, fortunately, such a force is created, not with any specific area in mind but as an organization to serve anywhere in the world, and if it becomes capable of performing its functions, it may well enable individual countries to reduce their arms. At the same time, arms reduction by individual countries may enable them more easily to contribute to the building of the United Nations peace force. In studying the problem of creating this force, I think that consideration should be given to its inter-relationship with the problem of disarmament.

108. I wish next to refer briefly to a few questions which for some years continue to remain pending in the United Nations.

109. Although thirteen years have passed since the Second World War, Korea, Viet-Nam and Germany continue to be divided States. In expressing to these countries my deep sense of sympathy, I wish to express my earnest hope that they will soon be unified in peace and by democratic processes.

110. Another pending question is the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which continues to be unresolved. It is desirable that the countries directly concerned should demonstrate their wisdom and patience, and exert every effort to settle their differences peacefully in a climate of reconciliation.

111. Still another problem discussed in the United Nations is the problem of Hungary, to which I referred at the twelfth session of the General Assembly [680th meeting, para. 76]. The unfortunate developments that have ensued from the Hungarian incident, especially the tragedy that has already befallen or may soon befall those who were connected with the incident, warn us that the problem of Hungary is not a thing of the past. I believe that it is incumbent upon us to do whatever can be done to rectify the situation in that country.

112. World economic stability is a basic factor in the maintenance of international peace. But what is the situation today? The growth and development of the world economy is being impeded by dollar shortages, by chronic difficulties in the balance-of-payments positions of many countries and by the creation of artificial trade barriers. The disparity in economic development between the advanced industrial countries and the under-developed countries goes on widening. If this situation is allowed to continue, it may well become a cause for international political instability.

113. In order to meet such a situation, there is no real solution—as has been stated and restated on many occasions—other than for all countries to meet the challenge squarely and further strengthen their mutual co-operation to the end of liberalizing trade and developing the economies of under-developed countries. While constant efforts should continue to be made to lower or eliminate trade barriers, serious study should be given to removing the causes which hinder freer economic exchange as a result of shortages of convertible currencies.

114. In connexion with liberalizing international trade, the Japanese Government believes that it is necessary to effect such steps as would promote economic exchanges between the democratic nations and the communist nations, while recognizing the differences in political and economic structure between these two groups of countries.

115. With regard to the development of the economies of under-developed countries, the efforts made by the Members of the United Nations in past years have borne fruit and the United Nations Special Fund for economic development is shortly to begin to function. This is a welcome development as it signifies a step forward in the effort to promote the economic growth and expansion of under-developed countries. Furthermore, in the Middle East, the establishment of a regional economic development fund of considerable size is being considered by the countries concerned, while in Latin America, I am informed, a similar plan is being pushed forward. The countries concerned should be congratulated for exercising their initiative in bringing about a more active consideration of their plans for regional development.

116. I must emphasize here that the need to create a fund for regional economic development and for the promotion of economic development plans is as great in South-East Asia as it is in the Middle East and Latin America. It is my earnest hope that by positive co-operation among the countries concerned a fund for regional economic development will be established in South-East Asia at an early date.

117. In view of the serious blow suffered by the under-developed countries since last year when the prices of primary commodities dropped as a result of the impact of the economic recession, my delegation believes that it is necessary that the advanced industrial countries which are the principal importers of these commodities should change their hitherto passive attitude to a positive one and in earnest revitalize international co-operative efforts to effect long-term stabilization of the prices of these primary commodities.

118. Among our various countries, there are those which suffer from lack of manpower resources. If these countries should make organized efforts to import necessary technology and manpower from countries which have them in abundance, they would be able further to develop and expand their economies. Such efforts would be most desirable from the standpoint of promoting the health of the world's economy as a whole. At the twelfth session of this Assembly, I expressed the hope that the United Nations would serve as an intermediary in solving the problem of population [680th meeting, para. 93]. I would like here to renew the hope that, with the understanding of all countries, these efforts will be made.

119. There is one final point which I wish to make. It is an undeniable fact that the foremost cause of international tension has been the confrontation between the free world and the communist world, intensified by the expansion of international communism. In order positively to resolve this conflict, not only should the big Powers engage in meaningful talks with each other, but also all Member States should build up the United Nations as an effective arena for discussion and as a body which could co-operate in enabling these talks to achieve results. It is in this role of the United Nations that all mankind, in its yearning for lasting peace, places its high hopes and expectations. For this purpose, all Member States must, in the spirit of the Charter, endeavour to settle constructively and without prejudice all issues brought before the United Nations with tolerance and understanding. It is the intention and resolve of my country to make positive



contributions to the work of this Organization so that it may fulfil such a role and truly become in name and in fact a "world parliament" for the peaceful settlement of all problems.

120. I have presented the basic views and hopes of my delegation on some of the problems which confront the United Nations. Mr. President, in expressing the hope that this session under your presidency will reap a large measure of success, I wish to give my assurance that the Japanese delegation will contribute its full share toward the fulfilment of this hope.

121. Mr. MORENO (Panama) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, in the name of my Government and of the delegation of Panama and on my own behalf, I have the greatest pleasure in congratulating you most warmly on the honour conferred on you by this Assembly in electing you President of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, which has just opened.

122. The honour of speaking from this rostrum imposes on us inescapable obligations, the first of which is to come here with great serenity of mind, as this is indispensable if we are to consider impartially and with a determination to be just the questions which affect the nations which have placed their trust in our Organization, whether or not they are seated in this Assembly.

123. The determination to be just means that individual interests must be subordinated to the general interest of all peoples, which is to live in peace and to establish and maintain for the good of present and future generations an international juridical system based on common standards which are both worthy of respect and respected by all; a juridical system which must be universal and a firm guarantee of peaceful relations as good neighbours based on respect for the sovereign equality of States, regardless of their political, economic or social structure.

124. We must therefore come to this rostrum firmly resolved to keep an open mind and to see the needs and problems of others in an understanding spirit, as though they were our own, to weigh the demands of others, and accept them in so far as they are reasonable, disregarding selfish motives.

125. As a consequence of the foregoing we must accept another obligation, that of making a positive contribution to a solution of the questions before us. In this obligation no distinction should be made which would place a heavier burden on some States than on others. The maintenance of world peace depends on the settlement of the disputes which are disturbing the world's conscience and on the measures taken to prevent the appearance of new causes of friction.

126. In these circumstances, no excuse can be offered to escape the responsibility which must be borne by all countries, the great and the small Powers, the weak and the strong, in carrying out this task. If, as we believe, the benefits of peace are the rightful heritage of all, then all must contribute to the defence and maintenance of peace.

127. It must be admitted that the small Powers are not in a position to make war, at least not on the scale on which a new world conflict might be expected to be fought. Such a possibility is all the more remote because they have neither the economic capacity to sup-

port a war nor the modern weapons which the development of nuclear science has made available to rich and powerful nations.

128. However, friction between weak nations may well serve as a pretext for unleashing a conflict on a world scale if the great Powers feel that such friction is a cause of instability in a region in which they have interests they intend to protect and that such a situation jeopardizes such special interests.

129. As a contribution to peace and for the protection of their own existence, the small Powers should seek a settlement of their disputes through peaceful means so as to preclude intervention by powerful States, which might infringe their sovereign rights and set off a third world war.

130. The Charter of the United Nations provides procedures for reaching peaceful, honourable and just settlements of disputes. Let us take advantage of them and order our international relations according to these wise precepts. The Charter establishes a system of law which is our strongest safeguard. The great Powers can afford to trust for their existence to force, either in the form of wealth or in the form of military potential. The small Powers, on the other hand, base their existence on law, on respect for the rights of others, which, as a logical consequence, gives them sufficient moral authority to insist on respect for their own rights.

131. We must not allow the violation of any rule of law which would react to our prejudice or to the detriment of others, but neither may we violate the law ourselves for our own benefit. In this two-fold principle of respecting the rights of others and demanding respect for our own lies the key to international security and peace between nations.

132. On the other hand, the small Powers are in a position to be factors for peace. The mere desire to maintain their territorial integrity and their independence is enough to show them their obligation to make a real contribution to the defence and consolidation of international peace and security.

133. For the satisfaction of the small Powers and as a well-earned tribute of gratitude, we should like to say a few words about the valuable contribution which they have all made to the cause of the United Nations.

134. Allow me to recall, in particular, the contribution which the Latin-American countries have made ever since the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco in 1945, when the Charter was being framed. Many of the Articles of the Charter bear the lasting imprint of our participation, for they confer force of law upon various principles of American public law, the efficacy of which has already been proved in the relations between the States which share the great continent of America.

135. The records and other documents which tell the story of United Nations achievements in political, economic, social, humanitarian and scientific questions contain irrefutable evidence of our participation in the work of this Organization from the very beginning.

136. The foregoing considerations lead me to comment on a point which I think it important to analyse.

137. During the recent crisis in the Middle East, when consideration was being given to the proposed meeting of the Heads of the Governments of the States members of the Security Council, there was a tendency to use the common classification of States "directly concerned" and those "indirectly concerned" in order to preclude certain States from making any contribution to the study and solution of the problems of the moment.

138. Far be it from me to deny the force of these terms in legal terminology. I should like to point out only that, in some cases, they should be applied with greater elasticity and consistency. We sincerely believe that, in view of the interdependence which is characteristic of all international relations in our century, the classification I have mentioned is sometimes rather restricted and even, we might say, inconsistent.

139. We recognize that, at any given moment in the initial stage of a dispute, some States may be regarded as "directly concerned", or rather "affected", if their interests are in any way jeopardized because of geographical proximity or any other specific reason. But when the affair has become so serious that, if it persists, it may lead to a disturbance of the peace and cause a world war, it is no longer possible to disregard the contribution which any State may be able to make to the solution of a serious international dispute and to keep rigidly to the classification of States "directly concerned" or those "indirectly concerned", to which we have already referred. This is particularly true of a State whose interests might be affected or whose material and spiritual links with the region justify its concern and apprehension.

140. We must also say, equally sincerely, that in our opinion whenever a United Nations organ, such as the Security Council, has an international situation before it for consideration, it is impossible to disregard the concern of all the States represented on that organ in the consideration of the affair.

141. The recognition of the sovereign equality of States, which prohibits any claim to hegemony by any State, is itself part of the very foundation of our Organization and the surest guarantee of lasting international harmony.

142. Article 1 of the Charter lays down the purposes of the United Nations and Article 2 provides that the Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with certain principles, the first of which is: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."

143. The principle of the sovereign equality of States involves, of course, international respect for the freedom of all States to organize their own internal political systems and to direct their own foreign policy, subject only to those requirements which are essential to the maintenance of international harmony based on mutual respect.

144. If the Charter could contain any limitation of the sovereignty or of the principle of the independence of States, it would be a limitation of form rather than of substance. Our Organization would be a mere mockery if it were not composed of sovereign States with equal rights and equal obligations.

145. To quote the words of the famous Chilean international jurist, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez:

"Today, States are increasingly inter-dependent and, consequently, do not, as in the past, comprise a mere community, but rather an organized international society. This society in no way restricts the independence or sovereignty of States, or their legal equality, but it limits this sovereignty and the rights emanating therefrom for the greater benefit of the general interests of that society."

146. Although it may be admitted that, as a result of the development of international law, the classic conception of sovereignty, rigid and absolute, has had to be modified, the conception still embraces those attributes which are the true essence of sovereignty, without which it is inconceivable.

147. It is well to point out that, through international agreements freely entered into by the contracting parties, States can reach agreements of a jurisdictional character which do not affect their sovereignty in any way.

148. Under a convention signed in 1903, <sup>7/</sup>my country, exercising its sovereign rights, conferred upon the United States of America certain powers of jurisdiction over a strip of its territory for the specific purpose of facilitating the construction, maintenance, cleaning and protection of an interoceanic Canal. In that zone, Panama retains its inherent sovereignty, as in the remainder of the territory of the Republic, because it has never ceded and even less renounced it.

149. The indissoluble bonds of friendship which have always existed between our two countries are due primarily to the fact that our great northern neighbour has respected this right. We hope and trust most confidently that our relations will continue to be based on this mutual respect, which is a source of understanding and affection between peoples.

150. It is a universally recognized principle that every State has the right to organize its internal affairs and plan and direct its foreign policy in conformity with its national interests provided that, in exercising this sovereign right, it does not violate the rights of other States or disturb international peace.

151. This principle precludes any claim on the part of one State to intervene in the internal or foreign affairs of any other State. This is recognized in the Charter and on several occasions the United Nations has given the world proof of its loyalty to this precept, which is stated in unmistakable terms in the fundamental statute of our Organization.

152. For Panama, as for all the republics of the American continent, the principle of non-intervention is sacrosanct. We have supported it ever since our institutions were founded and have defended it, both separately and collectively, in a consistent and steadfast manner. Within this Organization, the Latin-American delegations—and as a son of Latin America, I recall this with great satisfaction—have always maintained a firm and unvarying attitude towards this principle.

<sup>7/</sup> Convention for the Construction of a Ship Canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, signed at Washington on 18 November 1903.

153. This is an historical heritage which we are obliged to respect. From the earliest days of our independence, we have been conscious of the danger to our territorial integrity and our very existence constituted by the attempts at foreign intervention which were a constant threat during the first few decades of our existence as free and sovereign States. We then rejected any alleged right to intervene in our internal affairs and were united in our own defence.

154. The period from the Congress of 1826 at Panama, which saw the birth of Bolívar's ideal of inter-American co-operation and solidarity, to the Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá in 1948, is the record of progress towards the final consecration of the principle of non-intervention.

155. At the Seventh International Conference of American States held in Montevideo in 1933, the Convention on Rights and Duties of States laid down the principle of non-intervention by one State in the internal or external affairs of another State.

156. In 1948 this principle was confirmed by article 15 of the Charter of Bogotá which established the Organization of American States; this article emphatically reaffirms that no State or group of States has the right to intervene directly or indirectly for any reason whatsoever in the internal or external affairs of any other State.

157. This denial of any claim to the right of intervention is categorical and allows of no exceptions. No plea of justification may be put forward nor may there be any intervention by force or by indirect means. This is made clear by the same article, which goes on to say that the foregoing principle excludes not only armed force but any other form of interference or any action against the personality of the State or its political, economic or cultural elements.

158. It should be noted that this position, one of scrupulous defence of the principle of non-intervention in any sphere of domestic policy, was already laid down in a significant manner in the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, signed at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at Buenos Aires in 1936. Article VI of this Convention reads as follows:

"Nothing in this convention shall be construed by the High Contracting Parties as obligating any one of them to interfere with the independence of its institutions of learning or with the freedom of academic teaching and administration therein."

159. The delegation of Panama is glad to note that the United Nations has strictly observed the principle of non-intervention as established in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

160. In the same spirit that inspired the above-mentioned provisions of American international law, the United Nations has declared against any intervention in economic affairs. General Assembly resolution 200 (III), relating to technical assistance for economic development, lays down that technical assistance shall not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and shall not be accompanied by any considerations of a political nature. This principle was confirmed in resolution 222 A (IX) of the Economic and Social Council.

161. We therefore consider that intervention constitutes an act of aggression, which may be direct or indirect according to its character and the means used, and that the only intervention which is legally justified is collective intervention as authorized by Chapter VII of the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

162. My country, as a small Power, cannot ignore the dangers arising from disregard of the principle of non-intervention. In accordance with our traditions, I can affirm from this tribune that the Republic of Panama will not hesitate to comply with its duty to oppose any act or threat of intervention from wherever it may come, against any State, whether or not it is a Member of the United Nations. My country will also co-operate in adopting and carrying out any measures that the United Nations may adopt at any time to check or repel an act of aggression, from wherever it may come and wherever it may take place. The attitude of the delegation of Panama in the Security Council is in full agreement with the sentiments of the people of Panama in that respect.

163. The annual report submitted to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General emphasizes the decisive influence of the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] in maintaining international tranquillity in the area in which it has carried out the delicate task entrusted to it [A/3844, pp. 11-12].

164. We share the opinion that as time goes on there is growing recognition that UNEF represents an experiment of great significance in the development of methods for the attainment of peace.

165. The success of the patrol work done by UNEF gives support to the repeated desire expressed in this Assembly by many voices of great authority that the United Nations should have at its disposal a police force whose services could be made available without loss of time whenever circumstances so required. The existence of such a police force would enable the Organization to forestall aggression or to take immediate action to prevent its continuation or extension if it had already occurred.

166. I venture to say, with the deepest conviction, that the use of such a police force, once it has been set up, with the wisdom and prudence so far shown by this Organization, will never give grounds for believing that we are exceeding our powers and still less that we are guilty of improper intervention.

167. Public opinion cannot censure us if the use of this police force is justified by the need to prevent or repel aggression in the interests of international peace and security, if it arises from the existence of aggression or the threat of aggression by one State against another, duly verified and declared by the competent organ of the United Nations, if the police force is present in the territory of a sovereign State with the consent of that State and if its use has been authorized by this Organization on the basis of respect for the conditions laid down as a minimum.

168. All this naturally refers to a police force exercising preventive or supervisory functions, as distinct from those which would be exercised by a force of a coercive character set up in accordance with the much wider terms laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter.

169. I will now turn to one of the most delicate prob-

lems of the present time—perhaps the most delicate of all, I refer, naturally, to disarmament.

170. The subject of disarmament is not new to this Assembly. Hence it would be superfluous to recapitulate its history unless it be to stress the aspects which must always be borne in mind in seeking for a satisfactory solution to it.

171. We cannot be unaware that the very nature of this problem, which directly affects the security of nations, and also the international tension of the post-war years, oblige us to be less severe in judging the attitude of the great Powers and the delays to which this attitude has led in reaching agreement on disarmament. Nevertheless, the urgency of coming to an agreement on this question, which, more than any other, affects the life and happiness of mankind, also explains the impatience of the peoples for a satisfactory solution of the disarmament problem and their disillusionment in the face of the failures so far encountered.

172. We agree that the disarmament problem must be solved within the United Nations. It is for the Security Council, the organ on which the Members of the Organization have conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to draw up, in accordance with the terms of Article 26 of the Charter, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments. In accordance with Article 11, the General Assembly may also consider the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

173. My delegation feels, however, that we should not underestimate the benefits which might be derived from the consideration, through diplomatic channels, of those circumstances which seriously affect the negotiations concerning disarmament.

174. We are by no means in favour of reviving the old practices of diplomacy behind closed doors. But we are convinced that there are problems which are so delicate and which so closely affect the interests of States that they should be treated in direct conversation and with certain reservations between the Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned or, where circumstances render it desirable, between the Heads of Government of those countries.

175. It would in no way affect the authority of the General Assembly or of the Security Council, or the prestige of the United Nations, for the parties whose agreement is crucial in questions of disarmament to reach a satisfactory conclusion by means of direct negotiations. The United Nations endorsement of the agreements so reached would ensure compliance with them on the part of States—not only the great Powers, but all the Members of the Organization.

176. Economic development, and international co-operation for the attainment of such development, are not only necessary if world peace is to be achieved, but also represent important means of cementing it and making it durable.

177. It is imperative, therefore, that a concerted international policy should be adopted covering all branches of the world economy, considered as a single body the various aspects of which are intimately re-

lated. Economic interdependence is an undeniable reality and its influence inevitably extends to political and social affairs.

178. Social tranquillity and national political stability depend on economic development and on the benefits which the peoples derive therefrom, as do also a better understanding among the nations and international harmony; all these are indispensable for world peace.

179. Long before the military victory in the Second World War, the leaders of the great Powers, with a clear vision of the future, considered the policy which would have to be adopted to reconstruct a peaceful world. International economic co-operation was given a prominent place in that policy.

180. It is worth repeating that peace does not depend entirely on the solution of political controversies, however satisfactory such settlements may be. The internal tranquillity of States, and hence international harmony, are linked in a relationship of cause and effect with economic development and with the solution of social and humanitarian questions.

181. The Charter provides us with guiding lines for the solution of such problems by means of co-ordinated collective action. That is the origin of the work done by the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies in achieving this end.

182. The United Nations has paid special attention to the economic development of the under-developed countries. None of its activities is so well known and appreciated as that accomplished by means of technical assistance with a view to encouraging national programmes in the under-developed countries by the exploitation and utilization of their natural resources, the result of which has been an improvement in the living conditions of the peoples of those countries. It is only fair to recognize that fact. Nevertheless, the truth is that, in comparison with what has been done, we have before us a tremendous task the completion of which is most urgent.

183. The countries of Latin America have benefited by the technical assistance supplied by the United Nations through the specialized agencies. I am glad to say that my country has learned by experience how effective this assistance is in the areas it covers. Nevertheless, Latin America needs further assistance and is capable of making use of it. Its peoples and its Governments have unceasingly demonstrated that fact.

184. The majority of the under-developed countries share common characteristics which, if studied and analysed separately, might lead to conclusions applicable to most, if not all, of them.

185. First and foremost, their economies are still in the agricultural stage or are only now taking the first tentative steps towards industrialization. As a result of this, the peoples have a very low level of living, since production is mainly for internal consumption and the majority of manufactured articles needed for the most elementary necessities of life have to be imported. These countries suffer from unfavourable balances of payments and they are subject to the evils of inflation.

186. This picture, which may seem simple and limited, nevertheless places us before a tremendous reality which calls for immediate and definite remedies.

187. The effort to improve living conditions in the

under-developed countries must be directed towards raising them from the agricultural and cattle-raising stage to that of industrialization, through processes which must of course be adjusted to suit the special conditions of each country or region.

188. The first requirement is technical assistance in the preparation of programmes of economic development on a scientific basis and the training of national personnel. Next comes the necessity to find means for financing such programmes.

189. We know very well that it is the economically under-developed regions which possess the greatest sources of wealth. Their abundant natural resources have not been worked or have been worked only by primitive and inadequate methods and have therefore not yielded the hoped-for results. Together with the copious bounties of nature, these insufficiently developed countries have always possessed a dense population; under the direction of specialized technical personnel, their peoples would become a human capital of incalculable value.

190. There is no more baseless myth than that according to which there are peoples who are unwilling to work and whose productive capacity is inferior to that of others. There are no peoples characterized by "tropical sloth", as has often been claimed in order to obscure the real reason for the ills which afflict a large sector of humanity. The truth is quite otherwise: there are peoples whose potentialities are undermined because their strength is squandered in ill-paid work; because they lack the conveniences and the means to withstand the inclemencies of nature; because they have not the modern equipment which would increase their productivity; because they are plagued by endemic diseases and because their diet is insufficient and inadequate.

191. All these problems must be attacked and remedied by means of international co-operation. What is needed is the solution of fundamental problems common to the great majority of the peoples, which have originated in the indifference to the needs of others, which for generations has characterized international relations, and in the absence of well-founded social justice.

192. Economic development must be combined with continuous health campaigns designed to improve the health of the peoples, with the expansion of educational programmes which will train a larger number of citizens and enable them to contribute to the progress of their communities and with the special attention which the State should give to the encouragement of cultural progress and the promotion of social welfare work.

193. The improvement of social conditions is closely connected with economic progress. Following the increase in productivity there will be an increase in the purchasing power of the workers and an improvement in the level of living of the population as a whole.

194. Permit me to refer in particular to my own country. My Government has concentrated its attention on the problem of economic planning in Panama. Interesting studies of great scope have been carried out by national and foreign experts and the various Government departments concerned are now proceeding to put into practice the recommendations which are the outcome of the studies made in this matter.

195. The Government of Panama, presided over by Mr. Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., has since the beginning of his administration been concerned with the development of various programmes for the stabilization of the national economy. If in this endeavour we could reinforce our own financial resources, which are of course very limited, by a larger contribution of foreign capital, we should be able to increase the speed of our economic and social growth.

196. While speaking of the special conditions of our national economy, I should like to make it clear that the Panamanian nation wishes to receive all the economic benefits to which it is entitled owing to the operation of the Panama Canal, which is situated on the Republic's territory.

197. The Panamanian State is deeply concerned to ensure that every worker, in accordance with our Fundamental Charter, should enjoy the economic conditions essential to a decent existence. Our national legislation provides for effective protection of the right of every individual to financial security in case of disability. Our social security service is entrusted to autonomous bodies which assist contributors in cases of illness, maternity, family allowances, old age, retirement or disability.

198. In accordance with this policy of protection of the interests of the working classes, my Government has taken a particular interest in the situation of thousands of Panamanians who are serving in the Canal Zone.

199. In order to fulfil certain contractual obligations laid down in the agreements between Panama and the United States of America signed in 1955, the United States Congress adopted the corresponding complementary law, which went into effect in June of this year.

200. The Panamanian nation is confident that the administration of this law will implement the principles embodied in the Memorandum of Understandings Reached attached to the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Co-operation signed at Panamá on 25 January 1955, according to which Panamanian citizens working in the Canal Zone are entitled to equal treatment and equal opportunities.

201. The abolition of all discriminatory practices in employment in connexion with Panamanian employees and workers in the Canal Zone would be the starting point for a new era which would promote the strengthening of friendly relations between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America.

202. It behoves all Members of the United Nations to guard the prestige of the Organization and contribute by every possible means to its strengthening. To this end, the first requirement is to see that our actions comply with the requirements of the Charter and to carry out in good faith the resolutions adopted here to ensure international peace and security.

203. Obviously, it is important for the good name and success of the United Nations that its principal organs should adopt unanimous decisions, since unanimity will ensure their implementation by all the Member States.

204. We must emphasize that if we wish to ensure the establishment of world peace, it is essential to es-



establish a legal order which will be a guarantee for all nations, regardless of any considerations of military or economic power.

205. Peace cannot be won in a day, nor in ten years, nor can it be achieved through the activity or the genius of a single man, no matter how wise he may be. Peace must be achieved through patient and steadfast effort in which not only one, but several, generations must take part. It is a work of education and understanding: education, because the peoples must learn to live under a new international legal system in which the rights of rich and powerful nations will no longer prevail over those of small and weak ones; understanding, because the experience gained through time and events has made it clear that it is impossible for us to close our eyes and turn a deaf ear to the needs and sufferings of others, since we live in a world of nations which are interdependent in all things.

206. The triumphs of modern science and the development of means of transport and communications have

abolished distances and today there are no peoples which cannot be regarded as neighbours. Peace demands the harmonious coexistence of neighbouring peoples. We are all neighbours, though geography may have divided us into separate continents.

207. Peaceful coexistence, of which so much is said, will not come into being unless the solution is found to the problems which divide world public opinion.

208. We must prove to the peoples that the world must not remain divided into hostile groups on account of the prevailing divergent political philosophies nor on account of irreconcilable interests, and the proof can only be the peaceful settlement, within the strictest justice, of the serious situations which we have inherited from the post-war years. Only thus can we succeed in reviving international confidence and so peace will cease to be a mere aspiration and will become a blessing common to all the peoples of the earth.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.