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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Cambodia) (translated from French): The delegation of the Kingdom of Cambodia has pleasure in presenting its warmest greetings to the new President of the General Assembly, Mr. Charles Malik, whose election to this office is the culmination of a lifetime devoted to international amity, and to our devoted Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the indefatigable and eloquent interpreter of our Assembly's wishes in all parts of the world where peace is threatened.

2. Unfortunately, our present session is opening in an atmosphere of anxiety. The chief problems facing us have so far defied all attempts at conciliation. Neither in the Middle East nor in the Formosa Strait have we been able to break the deadlock.

3. We cannot hide the fact that many of us were deeply disappointed to see the crucial problem of the representation of China held up once again. Even if our lack of realism in this matter does not throw the world into an immediate tragic conflict, we shall be unable to prevent the debate which was evaded from being resumed one day in this Assembly in an atmosphere of increased bitterness. It is not only the prestige of the Organization which is at stake today but the fate of tens and possibly hundreds of millions of human beings.

4. Cambodia is a small, neutral country, friend of all and ally of none, which has succeeded so far in keeping intact its freedom to judge for itself. Although in no way desirous of reading a lesson to countries larger than Cambodia, it would like to indicate the reasons why, in its opinion, international crises are multiplying and becoming increasingly difficult to solve.

5. In our view, our woes have their origin in a failure to observe the spirit of the Charter. Our delegations should conduct their debates with objectivity and serenity, according to the rules of justice, morality and common sense, but for years now they have allowed themselves to be drawn into a storm of ideological and partisan passions. The division of the world not only into blocs but into rival blocs, each seeking

partisans and requiring from them practically automatic voting support, has suppressed all free will and rendered impossible in advance any attempt at reconciliation when a grave crisis arises. This curious notion of solidarity which might well compel us to vote contrary to our convictions is quite unacceptable to us. We want to be able to support any proposal which we regard as just and reasonable, regardless of its sponsors' political complexion. We believe that the truth is not the prerogative of any particular system, but is to be found to some extent in all, and that the most elementary common sense requires us all to recognize this. Thus, recovering our humility, we might be better able to understand the other point of view and to agree to certain mutual concessions which would prevent discussions between Government and Government from becoming a dialogue of the deaf, ending sometimes by a blow on the table.

6. Since listening to these debates between the great Powers and hearing them accuse each other of aggression, in the name of totally opposing moral systems, we have realized that the great Powers, encased in the armour of their own pride and bound hand and foot by their own ideologies, will never admit that they may themselves be at fault.

7. In our opinion, it is for the smaller nations to do their powerful friends the service of pointing out to them, frankly, in the interests of the entire human community, the mistakes which their great Power complexes may lead them to commit and thus bring about some reconciliation of the opposing arguments. If the great Powers become at certain times no longer capable of judging a given situation dispassionately, because they have to some extent become the victims of their own propaganda; if through their own rigidity, they arrive at a complete impasse from which, for reasons of prestige they are unable to withdraw, why should they not then entrust the task of advising them to a commission consisting entirely of representatives of countries free from all suspicion of partiality or commitment, and let that commission suggest solutions which, while not damaging to their just interests, would have the merit of not clashing with justice, right or the conscience of mankind?

8. In these last three years, I have made friendly visits to most of the countries in the Western bloc and in the Socialist bloc, and both points of view have been dinned into my ears. I have always been inclined to believe in the complete sincerity of both sides. Nevertheless, just as any man needs a mirror to see himself from behind, so do the great Powers sometimes need the neutral countries to point out to them the flaws in their own reasoning.

9. This may sound a somewhat presumptuous statement. On the contrary, we make it in all humility. Since we are not bound by any undertaking to any of the great Powers and since we prefer to live poor and apart

rather than sell our freedom to outside interests, our contribution to this work of reconciliation could only be completely disinterested. This guarantees that it would be sufficiently clear-sighted.

10. The importance which we attach to the self-determination of peoples also makes us wish that the various blocs would stop posing, as they are rather too prone to do, as the interpreters of the popular will of any particular country where matters are awry. These countries have their own Governments duly appointed by regularly elected parliaments and it is proper to leave to those Governments, as long as they are in power, the right they indubitably possess to call upon allied troops for assistance and to ask those troops to go or to stay, depending upon the turn of events.

11. For its part, Cambodia has made provision, in its constitutional law of neutrality, for the possibility, in the case of foreign aggression, of an appeal to the United Nations or, in cases of extreme urgency, to the aid of a friendly Power. If such an eventuality should arise, which God forbid, we could not allow any bloc to call the friends which had answered our appeal aggressors against the Cambodian people.

12. Of course, in Cambodia, the decisions of the Government are directly controlled by the National People's Congress which meets ordinarily every six months and more often if the need arises.

13. But, it may be said, what is to be done when a Government summons its allies to its aid merely in order to impose its own tyranny upon the people? In this case, and when the problem at issue has, without any possible doubt, international implications, for example when it threatens to endanger peace in a specific region, we believe that the only logical solution is to organize a referendum in the country concerned; such a referendum would give a clear and indisputable indication of the popular will, which could not then be distorted or improperly exploited by any outside influence.

14. Some Governments, which can scarcely be said to enjoy majority support, will of course be somewhat unwilling to consult freely with their citizens. Either they will object on behalf of the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention; or they will feign obedience to the wishes of the United Nations and offer it the doubtful results of a prefabricated consultation, at the same time refusing to allow international observers to attend. We believe that such obstacles must be removed; we should like the United Nations to organize and supervise, in countries in which human rights are disregarded and domestic security threatened and which therefore constitute a danger to world peace, popular consultations which would allow the people to make their true opinion known free of all internal or external pressure. Such a course would put an end to the mutual accusations of the opposing blocs and to those discussions and resolutions which have not so far succeeded in freeing any people from their oppressors.

15. The time for narrow nationalism is over. Although we may not be ready yet for world government, we ought to accept willingly the intervention, even if it is only the moral intervention, of an Assembly with wider and more universally respected powers in national cases which might cause international difficulties. Without this, how shall we ever emerge from these difficulties?

16. We proclaim, here and now, that Cambodia accepts wholeheartedly and in advance international inspection and control in any affair in which it may be involved. Since 1955, the International Supervisory Commission set up in Cambodia by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which we are anxious to retain as a witness to the punctilious and faithful manner in which we are carrying out our undertakings, has been able to keep a constant check on the chief aspects of our national life, for example our elections, and to see where the right lay when disputes have put us at odds with our neighbours.

17. We might perhaps be allowed to point out to the members of the Assembly that so far we have done our best to settle for ourselves such serious matters as repeated violations of our frontier or the prolonged occupation of one of our most ancient historic monuments in defiance of international treaties. We did not want to add to the difficulties of the United Nations by bringing these matters before it. In order to repay the Organization for the honour which it did us in admitting us to membership, we have agreed to enter into negotiations with those who have wronged us, despite the unhappy atmosphere created by propaganda campaigns and hostile demonstrations and even the closing of the frontier on the very eve of the arrival of our delegation in a neighbouring country.

18. We have also made every effort to practice genuine non-intervention in our relations with other Asian countries. Although we have not entered into any military alliance, even in the form of a defensive pact, and have not agreed to the establishment of foreign bases on our territory, we have fully respected the decision of neighbouring countries to practise an entirely different policy, and to adhere to joint defence organizations, to harbour foreign military units and to organize spectacular manoeuvres on our frontiers. We believe that this is part of their inalienable right to act as they see fit in what they regard as their own interests. Despite this understanding and tolerance, however, we have been accused in certain quarters of constituting a base for Communist infiltration and aggression threatening their security, for the sole reason that under our policy of genuine neutrality, we maintain the same good relations with the East as with the West.

19. I should like to point out to those Members who have perhaps already heard this accusation that, unfortunately for our accusers, Cambodia has no common frontier with any Communist State. If the Chinese or North Viet-Nameese wanted to infiltrate into Cambodia, they could do so only through Thailand or South Viet-Nam, which are manifestly anti-communist, or through Laos which, according to the present Prime Minister's own statement, is at once neutral and pro-Western. Suspect elements in the Chinese and Viet-Nameese colonies in Cambodia are kept under strict and constant police supervision and we would have no hesitation in expelling any foreign agitator, whatever the colour of his politics, who tried to injure a neighbouring Government.

20. Without going so far as to recommend the installation of permanent international missions of inspection in certain countries where the situation is dangerous, we should be in favour of establishing international emergency observation teams under the authority and at the disposal of the Secretary-General, which would respond immediately to any appeal from a Member

State and would draw up a preliminary report on the real state of affairs there, for the information of other Members of the United Nations and of the Security Council, if it was seized of the matter. In that way, a small country could avoid being devoured by a larger one before the United Nations was even informed of the case, pending the setting in motion, which naturally takes time, of the machinery provided for in the Assembly's rules of procedure.

21. Quite recently, the Press of certain neighbouring States has launched a lively campaign of vilification against us. It is true that technicians and engineers from Communist China have recently arrived in Cambodia to set up factories and prospect for minerals on our behalf. Some of these experts went to a frontier province to prospect for limestone. This was all that our neighbours needed in order to discover in them the vanguard of the Communist army, sent to establish a base for aggression against them. But—and I mention this to make the story complete—our accusers would be outraged if anyone were to be the least suspicious of the experts, technicians and engineers of the other bloc, of whom they have a great many and who, of course, are always moving about.

22. These are the tragi-comic results of the cold war between the two blocs. We are getting further and further into a labyrinth where tolerance and the respect for truth are banished. What remedies can we suggest?

23. Firstly, as I have already said, we should all decide unanimously to give the United Nations wide powers, similar to those of a world parliament; but these should be powers of supervision and censure and would therefore be moral rather than military. At present, our Organization is obviously becoming a forum for propaganda where discourtesy prevails a little too often for our taste.

24. Secondly, let the great Powers give an example of the virtues which they preach to the small Powers: an example of calm, tolerance, good manners, flexibility, a willingness to make sacrifices and concessions. Never fear, the small Powers will follow unhesitatingly and eagerly on that happy path.

25. Nowadays, when the world is dominated by nations which occupy whole continents or sub-continents and have populations of several hundred millions, international good behaviour—and peace also—depend on these super-nations. They have only to wish and our present difficulties, which appear to be insurmountable, will disappear as though by enchantment.

26. Another great problem that cannot escape our vigilant attention is the trial of strength in the Strait of Formosa which opposes with renewed acuity the People's Republic of China and the China of Taiwan, with its United States allies. We are old friends of the United States and we are also friends of the People's Republic of China, whose Government we have just recognized. The dispute between these two great peoples is the fruit of a series of tragic misunderstandings and it is our fervent hope that, in the interests of the whole world, the United States and China will, through mutual concessions, achieve a rapprochement, which would be welcomed with relief everywhere, and particularly in Asia.

27. The United States of America, undeniably sincere in its attachment to certain democratic principles

which it believes to be the only principles for the salvation of mankind in freedom and dignity, has frequently aired its grievances against the People's Republic of China. Its argument is too well known for me to repeat it here. The Chinese Communists, on the other hand, told me when I visited Peking recently that the only question dividing them from the United States was that of Taiwan (Formosa); once that problem was settled, there was nothing to prevent them and the United States from becoming friends.

28. May I at least express the hope that the greatest possible number of Member States in this Assembly will concentrate their efforts on paving the way to an understanding between these two great nations, instead of supporting unconditionally one or other of the opposing Powers, thus making the situation increasingly complicated? The delegation of the Kingdom of Cambodia considers that this is an urgent necessity.

29. We also feel that the cause of the present crisis must be attributed to the fact that the People's Republic of China is still excluded from the United Nations. Its exclusion has produced a feeling of frustration in China and has certainly been largely responsible for the stiffening of China's attitude to the West.

30. The Cambodian delegation, like other non-communist countries, has supported the candidature of the People's Republic of China because it considers that keeping China out of our Assembly does more harm than good. We explained our reasons yesterday [754th meeting] and will not repeat them now.

31. An objection of form has been brought forward which nevertheless is worthy of consideration. Certain very influential Members have said that the General Assembly should not be considered as a sort of universal super-parliament or one tending towards universality, but as a club of peace-loving countries to which only nations applying certain ethical principles and fulfilling certain conditions can be admitted.

32. It would seem that it is in the Assembly's interests to prevent any confusion in peoples' minds regarding this fundamental aspect of the Organization, which governs the whole conception of its mission, and that the Assembly should decide as soon as possible what it really is. It is only after we have made this essential decision that we can settle the matters which always arise in connexion with the admission of new Members. But, if the United Nations were to decide that it was a club of peace-loving nations, it might be wise to consider not only what would make nations ineligible for admission but also when countries which were already Members should be disqualified from membership on account of their policies or warlike activities.

33. Moreover, in addition to the discussion of principles, there is a question of common sense. We could not seriously think of settling the Formosa affair and its dependencies without the participation of the Peking Government or by inviting it to discuss the matter in the waiting-room. We could not really put an end to the testing of nuclear weapons as long as China, considered beyond the pale and not responsible to anyone for its actions, could offer the help of its scientists and a refuge in its immense territory for the research or experiments which a friendly Power might request it to carry out.

34. It is obviously in our interest in every way for China to undertake to respect the rules of our Organization, for the countries which have not been able or have not wished to enter into international commitments have usually had nothing to lose and everything to gain by not doing so. One of our neighbours, by refusing to sign the armistice agreements in Geneva in 1954, was able to ban the Communist party in its country without being open to criticism. We, who signed the agreements and always respect the undertakings we have signed, have had to allow a Communist group to operate legally in our country. Allow me to say that the loyalty to the throne and the national spirit of our people have provided a most effective barrier against the activities of our "Reds", who have not been able to get a single one of their party members elected to Parliament and obtained only a negligible number of votes—not even 1 per cent of the votes cast at the last elections in March 1958—as compared with 3 per cent in September 1955.

35. We flatter ourselves that our attitude, which is to examine every question without preconceived ideas and make our decision according to our conception of justice, is fully in harmony with the ideas of the architects of the United Nations. We are too small and too weak to dare to undertake a crusade for the restoration of freedom of choice; but we believe that that freedom could greatly ease this continued tension, which may well be fatal to humanity. And in conclusion, let me express the hope that other Powers which are more important or carry more weight in international affairs will take the initiative of a campaign, in the highest interests of peace, for tolerance and wisdom against divisions and hate; we shall support them with all our energy.

36. Mr. ZORLU (Turkey): Mr. President, I would like to join the other speakers who have preceded me by extending to you the heartiest congratulations of the Turkish delegation on your election as President of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. I consider your distinguished career, your experience in the work of the United Nations and your eminent personal qualities of statesmanship, impartiality and moderation as valuable guarantees for the successful conduct and conclusion of our deliberations during this session of the General Assembly.

37. We also see in your election a tribute to your country, Lebanon, which has a brilliant record in its attachment to the Charter of the United Nations and its constructive efforts within our Organization.

38. Another eminent personality to whom the General Assembly showed its confidence and respect at the opening of our session is His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Sudan, Mr. Mahgoub. My delegation wholeheartedly supports the tribute paid to him from this rostrum by other speakers.

39. On this occasion, I also wish to pay tribute to the retiring President, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, who conducted our work, during a particularly important and tense period in the annals of our Organization, with wisdom and distinction and in a manner which has done honour to him and to his country.

40. The General Assembly was confronted by a number of highly important questions during the twelfth session as well as during the special emergency session of this summer. In spite of the complexity of many

individual issues and the conflicting views maintained by those whose vital interests were concerned, I believe that we may consider certain results obtained by our common efforts as valuable contributions in the general direction of international conciliation. The guiding principles which have been reaffirmed in some questions by recent resolutions of this Assembly, given adequate and sincere implementation, may come to constitute solid foundations upon which future progress may be based.

41. On the other hand, a number of outstanding problems, some of which have a direct bearing on the destiny of mankind, still face us grimly at the opening of our present session.

42. Today, the direct and positive influence of the United Nations in the present course of many political, economic and social trends is accepted by all as an indisputable fact.

43. It must, however, also be recognized that policies and actions manifesting themselves beyond the present scope and control of our Organization confront us with the realities of a world situation which dominates and overshadows our work in this Assembly.

44. The world today is still plagued with fear, distrust and insecurity. The use or the threat of force, the resort to violence in pursuit of political or ideological ambitions and intervention in the internal affairs of other States or territories have not been eradicated, as it is prescribed by our Charter.

45. This state of affairs in the present-day world situation naturally has a direct bearing on our work in the United Nations. It limits the scope of our activities. It hampers the solution of vital problems like disarmament and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful instead of warlike purposes. It renders many questions of more or less local and particular interest insoluble by injecting partisan propaganda and polemics in their discussion.

46. Thus, the shortcomings of our Organization today spring mainly from the defects of the world situation in a period in which such a large number of vital issues demand an early solution.

47. My Government recognizes these short-comings and limitations which are unfortunately reflected in the United Nations at this stage of its development. In spite of this fact, attachment to the United Nations and respect for the Principles and Purposes of the Charter have been and will continue to be the cornerstones of Turkey's foreign policy. The Turkish people and the Government of Turkey have placed their hopes and their confidence in international co-operation within the United Nations and in regional arrangements as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations for reducing as far as possible the dangers which confront humanity today and for co-ordinating efforts towards their gradual and complete elimination. Therefore, as in the past, my delegation will consider itself happy to participate in the deliberations of this Assembly in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation with the aim of contributing in every possible manner to the cause of international peace and understanding.

48. I now wish to present briefly certain views of my delegation on some problems which are outstanding at the opening of our session.

49. Foremost among our preoccupations in our efforts to reduce international tensions and the danger of war should be to eliminate the use of force as a method of settlement of international disputes. The resort to force, except in legitimate individual or collective self-defence, is outlawed by the Charter. Violence, as a technique of national or ideological policy, has constantly defeated its own purpose as it carries in it the germs of counter-violence. In the present tense situation in the world and in view of the existing destructive capacity of modern armaments, the resort to force as a method for the unilateral solution of international disputes brings forth a potential of danger for all mankind which has never been paralleled before. For these reasons, whenever an element of force is injected into a conflict in any corner of the world, the Members of the United Nations must feel duty bound to counsel the party which has taken an initiative in this direction to follow the path indicated by the Charter.

50. At present the situation in the Taiwan Strait is causing concern and apprehension all over the world. In that area one of the parties has resorted to a flagrant use of force in trying to impose its solution to a problem by aggressive methods in violation of the Principles of the Charter to which I have referred.

51. An aggression committed upon the territory of a Member of the United Nations must be considered a matter of concern to all other Members, no matter what reason may be advanced for such an action. Under such circumstances the efforts made by one of the Members to render assistance to the country confronted with aggression must be considered as praiseworthy.

52. For our part, we hope that the use of force will be eliminated in the solution of this question as it should in all international disputes. For this reason, my delegation welcomes the efforts which are now being made in Warsaw for a peaceful settlement of this question. We hope that these negotiations will be successful. At the same time we must reaffirm the principle that world peace depends on avoiding the use of force and that aggression cannot be allowed to prevail.

53. In this connexion, I wish to express our conviction that the Members of the United Nations will not fail to exert efforts for the solution of this problem in conformity with the rights of a Member State and without a resort to force as it is prescribed by the Charter.

54. Some weeks ago the special emergency session of the General Assembly dealt with certain important questions related to the Middle East. Turkey being a member of the Middle Eastern family of nations, the Turkish people are imbued with particular sympathy, understanding and interest for all problems affecting this vital area in the world. The strengthening of friendly relations in this area, the settlement of any divergencies in a manner harmonious with the interests of all concerned and the progressive development of the peoples of the Middle East in the political, economic and social fields, constitute the cherished hopes of the Turkish people for the entire region of which they themselves form a part.

55. It is in this spirit that my delegation gave its full support to the resolution proposed by all the Arab Members of the United Nations. That resolution re-

affirmed the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. It further requested the Secretary-General to consult with the Governments concerned and to make practical arrangements for upholding the Principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan, thereby creating the necessary conditions for facilitating the withdrawal of foreign troops.

56. We would be most gratified to see the provisions of that resolution adequately implemented to the satisfaction of all concerned. At this stage, I wish to reiterate the confidence of my Government in the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, and in his devotion to the Principles of the Charter. We are confident that he has spared no efforts in complying with the important duties which were mandated to him by the General Assembly. We hope that his report will soon give us encouraging indications concerning the implementation of the General Assembly resolution.

57. As to the problem of Algeria, it is with deep sorrow that we witness our inability to help towards an equitable solution while human misery continues to prevail in that unhappy country. Before the situation deteriorates even more, all efforts favouring conciliation should be wholeheartedly encouraged.

58. Among the political questions on the agenda of this session, the Cyprus question is of particular concern to my country because this Non-Self-Governing Territory lies in the immediate proximity of the Turkish mainland and because part of its population is Turkish. The Turkish Cypriots, in their deep anxiety for the preservation of their very existence, have been addressing pressing appeals to my Government urging us in distress to inform the Members of this Assembly about the intolerable plight which has befallen them through the actions of terrorists encouraged from the outside. They request us also to make known their determination not to be deprived of their most elementary human rights by being placed under a new alien sovereignty which they do not desire and which they have valid reasons not to desire.

59. Plans for the annexation of Cyprus to Greece have been pushed forward, sometimes under the name of enosis, at other times as "self-determination" and occasionally as "independence". As a matter of fact, there is no distinct Cypriot nation. There is an independent Turkey and there is an independent Greece, and there exists the territory of Cyprus on which there are two national communities. Part of the population of Cyprus is composed of Greeks, whose leaders desire union with Greece. The other part of the population is composed of Turks, who wish to join Turkey and who do not accept to be placed under Greek rule.

60. For all these reasons, independence is not a workable solution for the Cyprus question. The slogan of independence has been brought forth occasionally by Greek extremist elements as a means for achieving the annexation of the entire territory of Cyprus, including the Turkish Cypriots, to Greece.

61. Recently the Government of the United Kingdom has announced a new plan for Cyprus. This plan certainly does not constitute a completely satisfactory solution for the Turkish Government and for the Turkish population of Cyprus. However, this plan offers the advantage of at least preparing the ground for co-

operation among the two communities and the Governments that are concerned with the Cyprus question. Such common efforts for the solution of international questions are prescribed by the Charter and conform to accepted practices in international relations. It must be recognized that the United Kingdom has made great efforts to prepare the foundation for endeavours in this direction. We should not wish to assume responsibility for wrecking these possibilities. At the same time, the new plan has the merit of introducing possibilities for democratic administration for both communities in Cyprus. In a period when bloodshed and tragedy prevail daily on Cyprus and when the horrible prospect of civil war faces the two communities on the island, my Government has weighed carefully the grave responsibility which is involved between giving a fair chance to these intermediate measures or taking a negative attitude. We have decided and the Turkish Cypriots have decided to give these intermediate measures a fair chance.

62. As regards the Turkish Cypriots, their democratic progress in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations has been retarded up to now because for a great many years extremist elements in the Greek community have refused to co-operate with any reforms if they do not include the possibility of the annexation of the entire territory of Cyprus to Greece. Now the Turkish Cypriots have decided to co-operate in establishing democratic institutions as far as their own affairs are concerned. If the Greek Government and the Greek community in Cyprus act in the same manner, the entire territory of Cyprus may enter a new phase leading to further progress in the path of the ideals embodied in the Charter. We ardently hope that this will be the case.

63. Indeed, it is a matter of record that the Turkish Government has up to now spared no efforts for reaching a democratic, peaceful and just solution in conformity with the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. We have favoured negotiation, conciliation and compromise. We have done so because we believe that safeguarding on an equal footing the legitimate aspirations of the Greek Cypriots and the legitimate aspirations of the Turkish Cypriots is not and should not be rendered incompatible with the preservation of friendly relations between Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom, to which we attach great value.

64. My delegation will discharge its duties in the interests of justice, of peace and of respect for human rights during the discussion of this item in the First Committee.

65. One of the fundamental problems to which the General Assembly has to give its continual attention is the vital problem of disarmament. Up to the present, the guidance provided by the General Assembly in dealing with this essential problem has been only partially successful in overcoming certain obstacles which block the way to any appreciable progress. During the last period of our activities, the recommendations of the General Assembly, which were supported by a very substantial majority of the Members, have not been implemented, as the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee were prevented from convening.

66. My country, like all peace-loving countries represented here, attaches a paramount importance to

the question of disarmament. The people and the Government of Turkey have no other ambition, no other aspiration, but to devote the energy and the resources of their motherland to economic, social and cultural development. Moreover, the Turkish people are a profoundly peace-loving people. For all these reasons, the Turkish Government will spare no efforts to bring its contribution towards any progress, even if it may be only partial progress at the initial stage, in the direction of a universal, general disarmament, including provisions for nuclear as well as conventional weapons, such disarmament to be enforced by effective international controls.

67. In this line, we welcome as encouraging the results of the summer meeting held in Geneva among the experts of eight Member States to determine the technical possibility of detecting violations of an eventual agreement to suspend tests of nuclear weapons. We further welcome the two important meetings projected for November in Geneva on the possibilities for reaching agreement on the subject of banning tests of nuclear weapons and for technical studies on the problem of surprise attacks. We hope that we may all be able to rejoice at news of successful results before the end of this session of the General Assembly.

68. Pending more concrete results in the general field of disarmament, my Government is ardently willing to co-operate with all other Members of the United Nations in maintaining and further strengthening both the principles and the effective machinery at the service of collective security.

69. Indeed, the very pillar of our Organization, as envisaged in the Charter, is collective security. The spirit of the Charter must constantly be adapted to new situations and new necessities in the light of our experiences, of our successes and our failures. In this manner, a series of decisions adopted by the Assembly in 1950 under the title "Uniting for Peace" have already proved their effectiveness in a number of cases in which the Security Council was prevented from exercising its primary responsibilities. I am convinced that even those Member Governments which were opposed to these measures at their inception have by now recognized their usefulness. My Government regards the establishment of a permanent United Nations force as a natural and indispensable sequence of the measures already adopted for the consolidation of collective security. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will bring substantial contributions in this direction.

70. Among the most important world problems demanding our constant attention is the fact that the German, Korean and Viet-Nameese nations, each one of which had hitherto lived as one people, unified in one country and in one State, still continue to be artificially divided although thirteen years have passed since the end of the war. For many centuries the Turkish people have had the closest cultural, scientific and economic relations with the German people and they feel great sympathy and understanding for them in their present plight. I wish to express the ardent hope of my Government that these countries will be reunited by democratic and peaceful means.

71. One of the most important problems facing the world today is the furtherance of co-operative action in support of the efforts made by the under-developed

countries to advance their standards of living and the establishment of collaboration between the more and the less advanced countries on a larger scale.

72. In spite of the existence of numerous bilateral, regional and multilateral programmes for advancing economic, cultural and social standards in vast areas of the world, a great deal remains to be accomplished within the United Nations. The present disparity between the more and the less advanced areas in the world should be considered as inadmissible in an age in which we are so readily inclined to boast about man's unparalleled technological achievements.

73. In the field of international co-operation for economic development, during the period immediately preceding our present session we have welcomed the formation of an Economic Commission for Africa and the prospects for establishing a regional economic organization among the Arab countries concerned. Recently we have had good news about the prospects of development fund organization for the countries of Latin America. We wish them success in their commendable endeavours.

74. In this field, we welcome the statement made in this Assembly a few days ago by the Secretary of State of the United States [749th meeting] as an encouraging indication of a new phase in international economic co-operation.

75. During the coming deliberations of this session, my delegation will spare no efforts to co-operate with all the other delegations in the struggle which the United Nations must continue to undertake against poverty, disease and illiteracy. Along this line, we shall support all efforts aimed at accelerating the pace of progress towards the achievement of higher standards in under-developed countries.

76. In concluding my statement, I wish to reiterate the hope of my Government and of the Turkish people that this session of the General Assembly may be highly successful in carrying forward the cause of international understanding, of peace and security, and that it may, under the President's able guidance, achieve substantial progress towards the solution of important problems which at present still command the anxious attention of the peoples of the world.

77. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. In the many years during which you have represented your country at the General Assembly, we have all been able to appreciate the intellectual, diplomatic and personal qualities which have earned you so high a place at the United Nations. Ethiopia, which has so long enjoyed relations of traditional friendship with the people of Lebanon, congratulates you and your country on this great honour. I would also, on this occasion, express the appreciation of the Ethiopian delegation for the high-minded and impartial guidance which the very distinguished representative of New Zealand, Sir Leslie Munro, brought to the deliberations of the twelfth session of this Assembly.

78. In predicting notable achievements for the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I am mindful of the period of activity which preceded the convening of this session. Fellow representatives will recall the historic events which transpired between the tenth and eleventh sessions, when the Assembly was called into

special session. We all remember the debates on that occasion and the equally momentous decisions to establish a United Nations police force for the areas subjected to crisis. Similarly, the thirteenth session is convening on the heels, so to speak, of the special session which has, with such notable success, dealt with the recent crisis in the Middle East. It is to be hoped that the representatives at this thirteenth session will impress with their energy and intelligence the discussions which lie before us and which are so important to the peace of the world at this time.

79. The gratifying enhancement of strength and prestige of the Organization, in the opinion of my delegation, has been largely due to the growth in membership of the United Nations in recent years. In point of fact, during the last three years the Organization has increased in size by approximately one-third through the addition of new Members, nearly all of which were small countries, most of which had recently attained the status of independence. In other words, this Organization, during the post-war period, has worked tirelessly for the liberation of peoples subjected before the war to foreign domination. The introduction of strong and vigorous elements representing these new peoples, profoundly imbued with a sense of national destiny and with sympathy for others in like circumstances, has added a vital and liberalizing force to the discussions and decisions of this Assembly. As a State that has long had to fight courageously for the maintenance of its independence and freedom, Ethiopia has the deepest sympathy and comradeship for these new Members of the United Nations.

80. It is also of significance that these wide-flung bonds of sympathy and, indeed, of unstated comprehension have lain at the basis of the fruitful collaboration so eloquently revealed in the unanimous acceptance of the resolution adopted less than a month ago. The Ethiopian delegation is convinced, for its part, that that unanimity constitutes a tribute to the resolve shared by these new States to bury differences of outlook and interests for the benefit of the broader purpose of furthering these principles of collective security—principles which so urgently require recognition at this time.

81. Through its courageous actions in the special sessions of 1956 and 1958 the United Nations has grown in stature and in ability to cope with crises. This, of course, is due not only to the resolute attitudes adopted by various delegations but also to the equally courageous spirit and intelligence which have guided and inspired our distinguished Secretary-General. The fact remains, however, that we would be remiss were we to allow this progress to recede into inactivity or indifference. The problems which faced those Assemblies, although already orientated towards practical solutions, are nevertheless still before us and require the closest of attention. We must build regularly upon the structure which has been so anxiously conceived and designed during these recent dark hours of crisis. In this context, the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force would appear, in the light of subsequent events, to have been justified, and we await with deep interest the report to the thirteenth session on the Secretary-General's study of this matter. In the meantime, we note with satisfaction his statement that "It should, of course, be clear that any such Force, unless it were to be called into being by the Security Council

under Chapter VII of the Charter, must constitutionally be a non-fighting force, operating on the territories of the countries concerned only with their consent and utilized only after a decision of the Security Council or the General Assembly, regarding a specific case, for those clearly international purposes relating to the pacific settlement of disputes which are authorized by the Charter." [A/3844/Add.1, p. 2]

82. What is encouraging, however, is that a new trend is now clearly discernible, of great reassurance to those who find the language of the Charter too vague and ineffectual for the purpose of assisting States which feel themselves threatened by aggression in bringing situations to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Ethiopian delegation at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations fought long and unsuccessfully for a more specific and reassuring language than that which has been adopted in Article 35 of the Charter. It will be recalled that this Article is merely permissive in allowing Members of the Organization to bring a dispute or situation to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly, without requiring that such matters, in fact, receive the attention requested. The course of events during the past decade, and particularly those which concerned the two special sessions to which I have made reference, are, therefore, most reassuring to the small States of the world which have frequent occasion to fear that they might become the object of eventual aggression.

83. It is significant that those who, two years ago, felt themselves endangered could turn with confidence to this Organization in requesting its assistance. Similarly, the Assembly has given the fullest consideration to the requests formulated by yet other States which have considered themselves the object of threats. By these remarks I do not in any way wish to reflect upon the substance of the matters which were submitted to the consideration of the special session, or to pass judgement upon the merits of the requests as formulated. What appears to my delegation to be of supreme significance, however, is the fact that a tradition is now in the delicate stage of formation, a tradition of the utmost importance to all Members of this Organization which might fear for their future security.

84. It is true that this evolution has taken place essentially in the General Assembly rather than in the Security Council, for the small States of the world have, perhaps, a keener sense of the urgency and anxiety which prompts other nations like themselves to seek recourse through the United Nations. Consequently, the supremacy of the General Assembly is alone, today, the guarantee and the assurance of the triumph of the principle of collective security.

85. In reaching its unanimous decision last month, the special session of the General Assembly wisely took into account some of the underlying factors which have led, and which could in the future lead, towards recurring crises in the Middle East. Among those factors is to be noted, in particular, the necessity of providing financial means for the nations of the Middle East to improve their lot and to share in the rapid advance of economies and societies that characterize the present-day world. Items 28, 29 and 30 of our agenda concerning the economic development of underdeveloped countries, programmes of technical assistance and assistance to our friend, the Kingdom of Libya, should provide the framework for the dis-

cussion during the present session of this vital problem, in a still broader context, including Africa as well as the Middle East and the countries awaiting independence as well as those having already achieved it. Our Secretary-General has pertinently observed that United Nations assistance in this matter tends to avoid the political tensions and embarrassments which, too often, accompany bilateral aid programmes [A/3844/Add.1, p. 4]. The Ethiopian delegation, therefore, warmly recommends the extension and expansion of such aid, particularly to countries awaiting independence.

86. For its part, Ethiopia is prepared to contribute directly towards the advancement of the peoples of Africa, its brothers and neighbours. It will devote its entire energies to the attainment of this goal, a goal which can no longer remain a desired objective but which has, today, already been transformed into an imperative necessity. Ethiopia worked actively in this sense for the success of the first Conference, held this year at Accra, of Independent African States whose forthcoming conference is to be convened in Addis Ababa.

87. It is, in consequence, also a cause of particular satisfaction that Ethiopia, under the wide and far-seeing guidance of His Majesty the Emperor, has been chosen to be the seat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, which will hold its first meeting in Addis Ababa in December of this year.

88. However, in Africa, as in the Middle East, economic solutions alone will not suffice. As I had occasion to observe last year at the twelfth session of this Assembly, there is no other continent where so many nations are still subjected to colonial rule [693rd meeting, para. 97]. It is a deplorable but undoubted fact that the peoples of Africa and, indeed, even the independent States of the continent, are constantly confronted with outmoded and obdurate attitudes on the part of non-African Powers, attitudes which no longer have a place in the twentieth century. It is time for a realization that Africa is no longer the place for such policies. The Governments of the independent States of Africa cannot remain indifferent towards such attitudes. The movement for the freedom and independence of the peoples of Africa must proceed unhampered. Not only must these people attain the status of independence, but they must also enjoy the benefits of freedom and pursue their own destinies without having to continue to struggle against policies designed to rehabilitate discredited imperialistic interests. Unless there can be, at this time, a belated effort of statesmanship, the peoples of Africa, weary of the lack of understanding, will assert their inalienable rights.

89. It is here that the small nations of the world, with their common traditions of suffering and resistance against oppression and their profound and vital sympathies, can do much, in this Assembly, to contribute towards such a peaceful development in collaboration with the larger States. For this reason, the Ethiopian delegation warmly supports the item on the agenda of the thirteenth session providing for an increase in the number of members of the Security Council.

90. The same considerations apply to the increase proposed in the number of Judges in the International Court of Justice. We must never lose sight of the words of the preamble of the Charter which set forth for us

all the obligation "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained". It is today the small States of the world which must lead the struggle in the defence of respect for treaties, in an era when that principle is honoured rather in the breach. Ethiopia, as so many of the smaller States Members of this Organization, remains convinced that peace and security can only be assured through the reign of law and undeviating respect for international obligations.

91. With this high objective in mind, the Ethiopian delegation applauds the work of the International Law Commission in its codifications in the fields of diplomatic intercourse and immunities, the law of the sea, and the juridical régime of historic waters. That Commission has, rightly, also given careful consideration to the question of arbitral procedure. The Ethiopian delegation cedes place to none in its fervent attachment to the rule of law and the settlement of international controversies through the application of juridical procedures.

92. Much has been said here in respect of the importance of achieving some success in the field of disarmament at this time. All the small States of the world view with utter horror the prospect of a world war, in which they can only be the innocent victims of forces far beyond their control. They can and must do all within their limited means to further the progress of disarmament. It is discouraging to note, however, that neither the crushing burdens of armament expenditures nor the terrible threat of physical dangers have, to date, either appreciably slowed down the armaments race or dissuaded the great Powers from the threat and show of force as recurrent arguments in present-day diplomacy. Moreover, it is an appalling fact that even the problems of the small States, which, themselves, regard hostilities with such horror, can, and do, today regularly provoke the threat of ultimate force on the part of greater Powers. It would be naive to hope for a renunciation of such methods as long as the reality exists that military force is available for use. However, the small States surely hold it in their power to avoid lending themselves to the pretext for the use or threat of force by others. This is a supreme obligation to be fulfilled until such time as disarmament and the rule of law can replace the amassing of military force as the reality of our times.

93. I would not conclude my remarks without an expression of hope that the small, but encouraging, degree of progress achieved this year at the Geneva Conference of Experts on the subject of atomic tests ^{1/} may point the way towards other and broader solutions in the field of disarmament.

94. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The thirteenth session of the General Assembly is beginning its work in an atmosphere of international tension which gives rise to serious apprehension. If the United Nations is to fulfil its mission, it must take resolute and effective steps without delay to avert the danger of war and to develop friendly

co-operation between peoples on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

95. The question of peaceful coexistence or war is the crucial issue in international life today.

96. On the one hand, the circles in the Western imperialist States which are eager for war are continuing to organize campaigns against peace and the development of friendly co-operation among peoples on an increasingly intensive scale. They are stepping up their armaments, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons, and are using aggressive military blocs and bases situated in the territory of foreign States in order to carry out their expansionist plans against peace. This policy is leading to the aggravation of international tension.

97. The leading part in this is being played by the aggressive circles of the United States which are seeking to achieve world domination and to arrest the course of human progress by their "position of strength" and "brink of war" policy, and by the organization of subversive activity and armed intervention.

98. On the other hand, the forces of peace which are struggling stubbornly to cement world peace and international security are constantly on the increase. It is because these forces are closely-knit and resolute that it has so far been possible to avert a military conflict and to protect world peace.

99. In this decisive struggle of the peoples for peace and progress, against war and reaction, the correlation of forces in the world is changing to the increasing advantage of those who stand for the peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their social systems, for the settlement of outstanding international problems by peaceful negotiation and for a far-reaching relaxation of international tension. However strong the opposition put up by aggressive forces, the wind from the East, as they rightly say in the People's Republic of China, is stronger than the wind from the West. The correlation of forces is finally also changing to the advantage of the peoples who are fighting colonialism.

100. The peace-loving peoples, however, must not lower their guard, particularly at present when a new and serious threat to peace and security has arisen in two parts of the world, and when the aggressive policy of the Western Powers, particularly the United States of America, has again brought the world to the verge of a military conflict.

101. We are concerned firstly with the Far East on which the attention of the peoples of the whole world is at present focused. The grave increase of tension in the area of Taiwan is fraught with the danger of a military conflagration.

102. The cause of the present situation is the aggression committed by the United States against the People's Republic of China. United States armed forces have occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan and the Penghu (Pescadores) islands and have turned them into a military base for use against the People's Republic of China and other peace-loving States. They are protecting a bunch of traitors who have settled on these islands, having fled from the wrath of the Chinese people on the mainland. They are now threatening to extend their aggression to the islands lying just off the Chinese coast.

^{1/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, Geneva, 1 July - 21 August 1958.

103. The United States Navy and Air Force are deliberately violating Chinese territorial waters and air space and are striving to hamper the just efforts of the Chinese people to liberate these islands. In order to camouflage the aggressive actions of the United States of America, references are being made to the fulfilment of "obligations" towards the bankrupt adventurer, Chiang Kai-shek, who has been driven out by the Chinese people.

104. The United States has recently taken hasty measures to strengthen its naval forces in the Taiwan Strait and is transferring warships to the Far East from various parts of the world. The point of these transfers, which are designed to demonstrate the might of the United States of America, is to force the People's Republic of China to submit to the dictation of the United States by means of threats and blackmail.

105. If, in pursuing its aggressive policy, the United States finds conventional diplomatic methods inadequate, it resorts to methods of direct intervention, threats and open coercion. In addition to the notorious aspects of this policy such as the inflammatory broadcasts from the so-called "Radio Free Europe" and the "Voice of America", the launching of balloons and the despatch of saboteurs, United States ruling circles have recently been adopting a new method, namely, the transfer of naval and air forces which they are moving from one spot to another like a cat playing with its kittens. In the attempt to make the situation in the Taiwan area even more acute, the United States is also resorting to the threat of using atomic weapons. United States interventionist forces in the Taiwan area are armed with nuclear weapons and missiles, which greatly increases the danger of a war in which weapons of mass destruction would be used.

106. It would be politically naïve to imagine that demonstrations of military strength and threats by boastful generals to use atomic weapons could intimidate the great Chinese people who fear no one and have already taught aggressors many a lesson. The Chinese people are struggling for a just cause; they are struggling for the liberation of their territory from foreign invaders, which is why they have the full support of all peace-loving opinion. Closely united in support of their Government, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people are not alone in their just struggle. They have reliable allies and true friends in whose ranks the Czechoslovak people has the honour to count itself. We are firmly on the side of the Chinese people, to whom we are bound by profound and lasting friendship, in their struggle against United States aggression and for the realization of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

107. The United Nations should resolutely condemn the despotic actions of the United States, which has arbitrarily assumed the right to fix its so-called defence perimeter and the sphere of operations of its armed forces within the territory of another sovereign State, in this case, the People's Republic of China. Such action can only be described as open aggression and is reminiscent of the Nazi *lebensraum* theory, the purpose of which was to justify the use of armed force.

108. In the attempt to whitewash the aggressive measures taken by the United States against the People's Republic of China, President Eisenhower has gone so

far as to assert that United States action in the Far East was necessary in order to avert another Munich. But since Munich has been mentioned, I would remind you of what Munich meant. The Czechoslovak people well remember that the Western Powers then made use of Nazi Germany to form an aggressive alliance of the imperialist forces against the USSR and they cynically sacrificed the independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic at Munich with that end in view. The peoples condemned Munich and its organizers chiefly because direct support of an aggressor was involved. And if we are to apply the lesson of Munich to present events in the Far East, it is essential to take a resolute stand against the aggressors in that area, that is to say, the United States of America, and to support the People's Republic of China which is defending its inalienable rights in its own territory. Those are the facts and no distortion can change them.

109. The United States is responsible for the continuance of an abnormal situation, extremely damaging to the prestige of the United Nations, in which a great Power and one of the founder members of the United Nations—the People's Republic of China—is being denied its lawful rights. The sovereign rights of the Chinese people should be fully respected; the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China should occupy their seats in the United Nations without delay and the Chiang Kai-shek puppets in United States service should be banished from the Assembly Hall of the United Nations once and for all.

110. Lasting peace in the Far East cannot be achieved until the United States withdraws its armed forces from Taiwan and other Chinese islands and ends its policy of provocation and blackmail with regard to the People's Republic of China. The above facts should make it clear to everyone that responsibility for the future development of events in the Far East rests entirely with the United States Government.

111. World attention is still focused on the dangerous situation in the Near and Middle East, a situation which has arisen as a result of armed intervention by the United States in Lebanon and by the United Kingdom in Jordan. The resolution adopted at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, which called for the early withdrawal of all United Kingdom and United States interventionist forces from Lebanon and Jordan and the cessation of interference in the domestic affairs of these countries, has not yet been carried into effect. Despite the request made by the General Assembly, the interventionist forces of the United States and the United Kingdom continue to occupy both countries, and there is no sign of their being withdrawn in the near future. Not only has no time limit yet been fixed for their final withdrawal, but steps are being taken to prolong their stay for an indefinite period.

112. The settlement of internal political problems in Lebanon and Jordan is exclusively a matter for the peoples of these two countries. The United States and the United Kingdom have not been authorized to act in the role of the notorious "Holy Alliance" and to use armed force in defence of reaction wherever it happens to suit them or wherever their strategic and political positions need reinforcement.

113. Tactics such as the token withdrawal of one or two military units from Lebanon must be brought to an end. They are merely intended to distract the attention of the world public from the real purpose of the interventionists, which is to prolong the stay of their forces in Lebanon and Jordan indefinitely. In the interests of restoring the situation in the Middle and Near East to normal, the United States and the United Kingdom must comply with the unanimous demand of the peoples and must withdraw their forces from this region without delay in accordance with the General Assembly resolution.

114. In that connexion, the United States Government's manoeuvre to secure the establishment of a so-called stand-by United Nations force for dispatch to the territory of various States, first and foremost those of the Middle and Near East, should be vigorously condemned. We cannot allow intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries to continue in future under cover of the United Nations.

115. The time has passed when the uniform of a foreign soldier was a guarantee of the unshakable domination of the colonial Powers. Today, nothing can prevent the peoples of colonial countries from shaking off the fetters of century-long foreign domination once and for all. This is particularly true of those countries in which the colonizers are employing the crudest methods against the liberation movement of the indigenous peoples. I am thinking first of Algeria where the French colonizers have been waging a destructive war for some years in order to repress the Algerian people's national aspiration for liberation; then of Cyprus where the British colonizers are imprisoning and executing Cypriot patriots fighting for their freedom, and of Yemen and Oman, two small States in the Arab Peninsula, which have been savagely bombed by the United Kingdom Air Force.

116. The United Nations should concern itself with these facts, should condemn the aggressive acts of the colonial Powers and defend the interests of the peoples of these countries which are battling for the right to live in freedom and independence. The Czechoslovak people is deeply sympathetic towards the peoples of the colonial countries struggling for their liberation, and is convinced that in our time no armed action by the colonizers can reverse the course of history or impede the just and victorious struggle of the much-tried peoples of the colonial countries.

117. The most important of the outstanding international problems is that of disarmament.

118. We are witnesses to the continuing arms race which is imposing a heavy burden on wide sections of the working people, is having an unfavourable effect on the international atmosphere and on mutual relations between States, and is a constant threat to the peace and security of peoples. The solution, or at least some progress towards the solution, of the disarmament problem would make a major contribution towards easing international tension and preserving and strengthening world peace. Accordingly, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, every possible effort should be made to halt the present arms race, to conclude an agreement on effective measures for a substantial reduction in armaments, to ban atomic weapons and to establish a system of international control.

119. There is no doubt that, in the interest of peace and security, the best solution would be to work out and conclude an agreement on the disarmament prob-

lem as a whole. This radical solution would be welcomed by all the peace-loving peoples of the world as the most effective means of removing the threat of war and ensuring lasting peaceful coexistence.

120. If a general disarmament programme cannot be carried out at present because of the reluctance of the Western Powers, then the only possible solution is the gradual execution of the most urgent partial measures, which should have been agreed on long ago. The memorandum on measures in the field of disarmament submitted by the Soviet Union delegation on 18 September, for consideration by the present session of the General Assembly, is of exceptional importance. We consider that the measures proposed in the memorandum offer practical possibilities for solving the disarmament problem. The Czechoslovak delegation fully supports these proposals and hopes that other delegations will also do so in the interests of progress in this problem.

121. Undoubtedly one of the major tasks calling for special attention in this sphere is the attainment of agreement on the immediate discontinuance of tests and the prohibition of atomic weapons. The discontinuance of test explosions, carried out as a separate measure, would undoubtedly also have a favourable effect on the solution of other disarmament problems, inasmuch as it would prevent the stockpiling and further development of atomic weapons and might ultimately lead to their complete prohibition, to their elimination from the armaments of States and to the destruction of existing stocks.

122. That is why so wide a response was evoked by the Soviet Union's initiative in ending test experiments of all types of atomic weapons unilaterally on 1 April 1958 and in appealing to the United States of America and the United Kingdom to follow suit.

123. However, the events of the last five months unfortunately show that the Western Powers have no intention of following the extremely important example set by the Soviet Government and thus laying the foundation for an agreement on the immediate general discontinuance of nuclear tests. On the contrary, they are doing everything they can to sabotage the first practical step which has been taken to end the arms race. Instead of making a positive response to the Soviet Union's appeal, the United States and the United Kingdom, in an effort to gain military advantages, are conducting the most intensive series of test explosions of nuclear weapons ever carried out. In the next few days, for example, the United States is to set off ten more nuclear explosions.

124. World public opinion condemns the nuclear weapons tests which are continuing on an ever-increasing scale in the United States and the United Kingdom. These tests are intensifying the atomic arms race and further poisoning the atmosphere with radioactive fall-out. The conclusions of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation provide a new warning of the growing danger to our own and future generations, which is involved in the increased radioactivity in the earth's atmosphere resulting from continuing nuclear explosions.

125. One of the chief objections the Western Powers have raised to the immediate general discontinuance of test explosions is the impossibility of establishing a control system. However, the discussion of this problem at the international conference held at Geneva this summer demolished that contention once and for all, inasmuch as experts from East and West, including

Czechoslovak scientists, came to the unanimous conclusion that, at the present stage of scientific development, an effective system for controlling the discontinuance of nuclear tests could be devised. The United States and the United Kingdom are nevertheless continuing to pose new obstacles to the attainment of an agreement. Their expression of willingness to agree to a temporary discontinuance of tests is so hedged about by new conditions and delays that it must in effect be regarded as a rejection of an immediate and unconditional ban on nuclear tests. In their statements, they declare their willingness to discontinue nuclear tests for one year, but they make an extension of this period contingent on the solution of other disarmament problems.

126. Thus it is quite clear that the purpose of such actions by the United States and the United Kingdom is to make it as difficult as possible to reach an agreement even on a few partial disarmament problems, the most vital of which is the prohibition of nuclear tests.

127. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore welcomes the item entitled "The discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests" which has been proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly by the delegation of the Soviet Union [agenda item 70]. The discussion of this item, which is of interest to all States, and the adoption of an appropriate recommendation by the General Assembly will unquestionably contribute to the success of the negotiations among the great Powers, which are to begin at Geneva on 31 October, on an agreement to discontinue nuclear weapons tests.

128. Ever-increasing attention is at present being devoted to the problem of banning the use of cosmic space for military purposes, which is inextricably linked with the problem of the elimination of military bases on the territories of other countries.

129. It is wholly in the interests of peace and security that the great scientific and technological discoveries which are bringing us closer to conquest of the universe should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. However, if intercontinental ballistic missiles are to be removed from the arsenals, it is also necessary to eliminate the military bases on the territories of other countries, which are designed to serve as launching sites for the despatch of missiles and bombers against the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp. It is impossible to agree to the solution of this problem being approached from the standpoint of the security interests of certain States, without regard to the security of other States.

130. The continuing arms race and rising military budgets are weighing more and more heavily upon the peoples. A reduction in the military budgets of the great Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France—would have the effect of slowing down the arms race and would make it possible to release funds to develop the non-military economy, raise the level of employment and enhance the well-being of mankind. It would also make it possible to allocate substantial funds for the economic development of the under-developed countries. The item proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union entitled "The reduction of the military budgets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern

Ireland and France by 10-15 per cent and the use of part of the savings so effected for assistance to the under-developed countries" has this end in view [agenda item 72]. The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes this step by the Government of the Soviet Union as further proof of the Soviet Government's unrelenting efforts to solve the disarmament problem.

131. In view of the efforts being made to carry out partial measures directed towards reducing armaments and ensuring international security, the Czechoslovak Government regards as most important and urgent the proposal by the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the establishment of an atom- and missile-free zone in Central Europe. This proposal has had a broad response in Europe and elsewhere. The establishment of an atom-free zone would be a substantial contribution to the preservation of peace, would help to create an atmosphere of trust, and would facilitate the solution of other problems, particularly those relating to disarmament. There is increasing support for the idea of establishing an atom- and missile-free zone in other areas of the world as well.

132. At the present time, when international tension is particularly acute in certain areas of the world, the establishment of regional atom- and missile-free zones in Central Europe, the Near and Middle East, the Far East and perhaps other areas, too, would contribute substantially to the easing of tension and to the strengthening of international security.

133. The arming of the West German Army with atomic weapons and missiles, which is being carried out with the approval of the Western Powers, particularly the United States, constitutes a serious danger to the peace and security of Europe. This danger is increased by the continued and intensive establishment of United States atomic bases on the territory of West Germany, the formation of new aggressive units of the West German Wehrmacht under the command of high-ranking Nazi generals, and the fanning of war hysteria and revanchisme against the socialist countries.

134. German imperialism was and is a serious threat to all European States, especially Germany's neighbours. The arming of West Germany with atomic weapons and missiles is particularly dangerous, in our opinion, because the Federal Republic of Germany is the only European State with territorial claims against other States.

135. As a State that borders Germany, Czechoslovakia is understandably following the course of events on its western frontier with growing anxiety—particularly in view of the fact that the military preparations in West Germany are being accompanied at this moment, by troop manoeuvres on the frontiers of the Czechoslovak Republic in which atomic weapons are to be used, and by other provocative acts.

136. We are approaching the twentieth anniversary of the dictated settlement of Munich, which was the prelude to the Second World War. At that time, the Western Powers trampled their obligations towards Czechoslovakia under foot and thus paved the way for Nazi fascism to embark on a military gamble which claimed millions of human lives and inflicted enormous material damage. It is unforgivable that the Western Powers should now be repeating their short-sighted

policy of supporting the West German militarists, whose aggressive plans once more constitute a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of Europe.

137. The Czechoslovak people learned an important lesson from their betrayal at Munich by the Western Powers which were then their allies and from the horrors of war which followed. For that reason they now rely firmly on the Soviet Union, with which they concluded a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war co-operation fifteen years ago. The Republic's security and present international position fully confirm the correctness of that decision.

138. The Czechoslovak Government welcomes the proposal made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic on 4 September 1958 that the Governments of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France should set up a commission to begin consultations on the formulation of a peace treaty with Germany, in which representatives of both German States would participate in a manner to be agreed upon. This part of the German problem, that is, the formulation of a peace treaty with Germany, can be settled now, specifically by means of joint negotiations between the representatives of both German States and the representatives of the four great Powers. The Czechoslovak Government therefore also supports the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for the establishment of a commission consisting of representatives of both German States to study the problems relating to a peace treaty. That commission could also, if necessary be empowered to consider the possibility of establishing a peaceful, democratic and united Germany, a matter which is the exclusive concern of the two German States.

139. These proposals are a further expression of the peace-loving policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic and their implementation in present circumstances might be a first step towards the settlement of all questions relating to the German problem.

140. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic will continue to sound the alarm regarding the dangerous course which events are taking in Western Germany and will oppose the arming of the West German militarists with atomic weapons and missiles. In carrying out its policy, the Czechoslovak Government is giving ample evidence of its desire to maintain neighbourly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. In the interests of the peace and security of Europe, it would be desirable to restore our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany to normal and to develop them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. The Czechoslovak Government has frequently expressed its readiness to move in that direction.

141. The peoples of the world are conscious of the danger which threatens peace and they look to the United Nations to facilitate its removal.

142. Our Organization possesses the requisite means to fulfil its mission. Its Charter, which is rightly considered the most important international instrument of the post-war period, provides a firm foundation for the united efforts of countries with differing social systems to pursue the common goal of safeguarding world peace and international security. Yet if we consider the way in which the United Nations

applies the principles of the Charter in the course of its practical activities, we cannot but conclude that it has not yet justified the many hopes placed in it by peaceful peoples. We are constantly witnessing flagrant violations of the Charter committed by the Western Powers in their efforts to convert the United Nations into an instrument of their policy.

143. An obvious example of this is the policy of the United States. The recent statement made by Mr. Dulles, the Secretary of State of the United States, in the course of the general debate [749th meeting] was also characteristic. How is it possible to talk about the need to abide by the principles of equality and mutual respect within the United Nations and simultaneously, in the same breath, to commit aggressive acts against sovereign States, as is being done in the Taiwan Strait and as was done in the case of the armed intervention in Lebanon and the organization of subversive activities in the Hungarian People's Republic?

144. In his statement during the general debate Mr. Dulles, the head of the United States delegation, again raised the provocative question of the so-called "situation" in Hungary and in Eastern Europe in general. The purpose of such statements is obviously to divert the General Assembly's attention from the aggressive acts being committed in different parts of the world by the ruling circles of the United States.

145. The words spoken by the representative of the United States delegation in the General Assembly are in marked contrast to the line taken by the United States Government in its bilateral relations with States. In a memorandum delivered to the Czechoslovak Government on 12 September 1958, on the eve of the opening of the General Assembly session, the United States Government agreed that the political and economic régimes of the East European countries were the exclusive concern of the peoples of those countries. Yet despite those assertions, the Government of the United States, as may be seen from Mr. Dulles' statement, is seeking to use the United Nations as a means of interfering in the domestic affairs of the East European countries.

146. The current strained international situation emphasizes the primary responsibility of the great Powers for easing international tension. That is why world public opinion responded with so much hope and sympathy to the USSR Government's proposal for the holding of a summit conference.

147. The convening of a conference and the discussion of those urgent problems on which agreement could most readily be reached would be the best means of lessening tension between States and averting war. The Western Powers are trying to prevent such a conference being held at an early date by proposing the inclusion in its agenda of items which cannot provide the basis for an agreement.

148. The Czechoslovak Government is wholeheartedly in favour of the proposal to hold a summit conference. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic is ready to take part in such a conference if it is invited to do so and will do everything in its power to promote its success.

149. A prerequisite for the settlement of the urgent and thorny problems which characterize the present international situation is the restoration of confidence among States.

150. It was with that end in view that the members of the Warsaw Pact, meeting in a session of the Pact's Political Advisory Committee in May 1958, proposed to the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as we know, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact, a step which in present international circumstances would be of cardinal importance in easing international tension and strengthening peace. In that connexion, the Czechoslovak delegation wishes to reaffirm the Czechoslovak Government's readiness to become a signatory to such a pact.

151. The socialist States have given many convincing proofs of the sincerity of their proposals aimed at lessening international tension and strengthening peace. That sincerity is attested by such disinterested unilateral measures as, for example, the historic step taken by the USSR in discontinuing nuclear weapons tests or the announced reduction in the armed forces of the members of the Warsaw Pact by a further 419,000 men—a figure which includes a reduction of 20,000 men in the armed forces of the Czechoslovak Republic. At the same time, the Government of the USSR decided to withdraw its armed forces from the Romanian People's Republic and reduce the strength of its armed forces in the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic.

152. An important contribution to the cause of strengthening of peace and security in the Far East is the independent decision of the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that all units of the Chinese People's Volunteers should be withdrawn from Korea this year.

153. Nevertheless, to the detriment of the cause of peace and of the lessening of international tension, the initiative of the socialist countries and the series of unilateral measures they have taken with a view to strengthening mutual trust and creating favourable conditions for future negotiations between East and West have not been followed by similar steps on the part of the Governments of the United States and other Western Powers.

154. Recent years have witnessed considerably greater efforts to ensure the development of peaceful and friendly relations among States on the basis of mutual esteem and advantage, non-aggression and respect for State sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-intervention. The principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence have gained wide international acceptance and the majority of States are guided by them in their relations with each other.

155. In the conduct of its international relations Czechoslovakia has based itself in the past and bases itself today on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The policy of peace and friendly co-operation among nations is inherent in the very nature of our social system. In accordance with the objective of building a socialist society in Czechoslovakia within a short period of time, Czechoslovak foreign policy is designed to ensure the most favourable international conditions for the attainment of this goal. Our country therefore strives tirelessly and consistently for the maintenance and strengthening of general peace and security, the development of peaceful co-operation among countries irrespective of their social and political systems, the lessening of international tension and the settlement of all disputes through peaceful negotiation.

156. The Czechoslovak Government applies the principles of peaceful coexistence in its day-to-day policy. It is developing friendly relations with all countries which are guided by the same considerations. Czechoslovakia, particularly in recent years, has, to an increasing extent, been developing mutually profitable economic ties with the under-developed countries; thus helping to strengthen friendly relations.

157. Basing itself on the principles of a consistent peace policy, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic has proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the current thirteenth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Measures aimed at the implementation and promotion of principles of peaceful coexistence among States" [A/3847 and Add.1].

158. It is true that, at its last session, the United Nations took a significant step towards the application and observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII) on peaceful and neighbourly relations among States. Yet so far little progress has been made towards the application by all States, regardless of variations in their social and economic systems, of the principles then adopted. The basic reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that the circles which are eager for war have not abandoned their "position of strength" policy, the policy of forming military blocs, and have not renounced armed intervention and interference.

159. The application of the principles of peaceful coexistence by all States, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, will help to bring States closer together, to produce a gradual easing of international tension and to promote peaceful co-operation among States.

160. It is particularly desirable that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be widely applied in relations between European countries with different social systems.

161. The removal of the mistrust among States provoked by the unfavourable course of international events in recent years can be facilitated not only by the development of political, economic and cultural relations and wider contacts among statesmen, but also by the assumption of joint responsibilities, which would have the effect of strengthening peace and international security.

162. Practical measures for the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence would provide a more stable basis for the development of mutual relations, particularly in scientific, cultural and technological matters, with a view to enabling peoples to become better acquainted with the achievements of the various countries. The vitality of the idea of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation among peoples is demonstrated by the Brussels International Exhibition, in which a large number of States with different social systems have participated, including Czechoslovakia.

163. Personal contacts among representatives of Governments and parliaments and among other public officials are of great importance in bringing peoples together and in improving mutual relations. This year a Government delegation from the Czechoslovak Republic visited a number of countries in Asia, includ-

ing India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia and Afghanistan. Those visits contributed to the further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between our Republic and those peaceful countries, where the principles of peaceful coexistence have taken firm root.

164. Czechoslovakia is in favour of peaceful competition among States for the benefit of all mankind and the cause of progress throughout the world.

165. The Czechoslovak delegation hopes that the

General Assembly will consider and adopt appropriate recommendations for the observance and application of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States. It trusts that the work of the thirteenth session and the results it achieves will contribute in every possible way to the attainment of that high purpose.

166. The Czechoslovak delegation for its part will do everything in its power to make the thirteenth session of the General Assembly a successful one.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.