

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION

Official Records

763rd
PLENARY MEETINGMonday, 29 September 1958,
at 3.00 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly of the United Nations, whose chief task is to maintain international peace and security, is meeting at a time when that peace and security are seriously threatened in the Near and Far East by the aggressive policy of the great Western Powers, and above all by that of the United States. It is meeting at a time when the fundamental problem of disarmament remains unsolved, when more than ever before it is essential that, in order that peace may be safeguarded and humanity moved from the danger of atomic war, an end should be put to the cold war and to the "position of strength" policy pursued by the rulers of the United States, and that relations between States with different social systems should be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on the well-known principle of peaceful coexistence.

2. The peoples of the whole world are firmly opposed to war and in favour of peace. They have the right to expect from the General Assembly resolute action to remove the threat of war and to safeguard peace. In the Near East a strained situation continues to exist. The causes of this situation must be sought in the intolerable policy of interference of the Western great Powers, which, as we all know, has taken the form of armed aggression in Suez, Lebanon and Jordan.

3. In less than two years, the General Assembly has been forced to devote two emergency special sessions to the dangerous situation created in the Near East by the aggressive policy of those Powers. It has condemned the aggressors, and through its resolutions on the questions of Suez, Lebanon and Jordan it has served the cause of the independence of peoples and of peace.

4. By the resolution adopted unanimously on 21 August 1958 [*resolution 1237 (ES-III)*] at its third emergency special session, the General Assembly requested the early withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and the United Kingdom from Lebanon and Jordan respectively. The delegation of Albania notes, however, that more than five weeks have

already passed since then and that the situation has not changed. United States and British troops continue to occupy Lebanon and Jordan. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have not so far done anything to carry out the General Assembly's recommendations. They have not fixed a definite time limit for the withdrawal of their troops. In our opinion, the General Assembly is entitled to be officially informed by the United States and United Kingdom Governments of the date on which they will withdraw their troops from Lebanon and Jordan. Until they do so, there can be no peace or security in the countries of the Near and Middle East, and provocative measures on their part are possible.

5. It is doubtful whether the United States and the United Kingdom Governments have any wish to withdraw their troops from those countries. They seem, rather, to be seeking some other pretext to keep them there as long as possible. The General Assembly and world public opinion expect the troops to be withdrawn without delay.

6. The United States Government lays great stress on its proposal for the establishment of a United Nations armed force, intended in the first place for the Near and Middle East. There is reason to think, however, that the United States wants to ensure that under cover of the United Nations flag its troops will remain in the area. My delegation firmly opposes the establishment of a United Nations armed force, which it considers would not only be inadequate and useless, but would be harmful to the cause of peace and to the work of the United Nations itself.

7. The Albanian people, which has itself experienced imperialist oppression and colonial feudal exploitation, is fully in sympathy with the heroic struggle for national liberation of the peoples subjected to colonialism, and indignantly denounces the crimes of the imperialist colonizers against the peoples of Algeria, Oman, Yemen, Cyprus and West Irian, which is an integral part of Indonesia.

8. We believe that the General Assembly cannot remain indifferent to this situation. It must recognize the inalienable right to independence of the gallant Algerian people; it must protect the peoples oppressed by imperialism. We are convinced that the struggle for freedom of all the peoples still under the colonial yoke is irresistible and that it will triumph in the end. As always, my delegation will at the present session give full support to this noble and just cause.

9. The General Assembly and the peoples of the whole world are rightly concerned at the very serious situation created in the Far East in the Taiwan region by the aggressive policy of the United States towards the People's Republic of China. Because of this policy, an abnormal and absurd situation persists in the United Nations itself, where the great Chinese

people, numbering more than 600 million, is still not represented. For several years now, under the pretext of supporting its puppet, Chiang Kai-shek, who was defeated and driven out by the Chinese people as a traitor to his country, the United States has occupied, illegally and by force, the large island of Taiwan and a certain number of Chinese coastal islands which are in all respects an integral part of China.

10. The United States itself solemnly recognized this by its declarations at Cairo and Potsdam. The facts show that the United States occupied the islands in order to use them as a base for aggression against the People's Republic of China and other peace-loving States. Now, so as to give some semblance of justification to its aggression, the United States Government does not hesitate to deny that this territory is Chinese, and even to accuse the People's Republic of China of "attempting to extend their authority to these areas by the use of naked force", as Mr. Dulles said in the Assembly on 18 September 1958 [749th meeting].

11. Who then is the aggressor? Is it the People's Republic of China, which is defending itself and wishes to liberate its own territory, or is it the United States, which has sent its armed forces 10,000 kilometres to occupy Chinese islands? Recently the United States, hiding behind Chiang Kai-shek, has intensified its provocative activity against the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the People's Republic of China, and has actually made preparations for war. It has already set up a unified operational command in Taiwan, not far from the coast of the People's Republic of China. It has concentrated large air, land and sea forces in the area, including six aircraft carriers and more than 130 other warships. It has sent rockets of the Hercules and Matador types. The United States propaganda services boast that the United States has concentrated in the Taiwan area the greatest air and sea striking force in history, whilst the United States Secretary of the Air Force stated only two days ago that his country was ready to use nuclear weapons in the Chinese crisis.

12. The aggressors should not, however, forget that the great Chinese people cannot be intimidated by atomic threats and blackmail, that it is strong and united in support of its Government and determined to liberate Taiwan and the other Chinese islands and unite them to the mother country, and that it can always count on the unconditional support of the countries of the Socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union.

13. The aggressive activity of the United States in the Taiwan area has aroused anxiety and indignation amongst all peoples, including the people of the United States. Does President Eisenhower realize, a leading British newspaper asked the other day, that throughout the world United States policy in the Far East is considered senseless?

14. The threat of a general conflict hangs over humanity and the full responsibility for this must be borne by the United States. We believe that urgent measures must be taken to avoid the worst. Certain representatives, both in the General Assembly and outside the United Nations, have suggested that in order to relieve tension in the Taiwan area there should be a cease-fire and the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu should be demilitarized. We can well understand the desire of these representatives to come to the aid of their United States friends, who

have put themselves in a most difficult position, but in my delegation's opinion the measures suggested are ineffective and completely unwarranted. What sort of cease-fire is being proposed and between which countries? The People's Republic of China is not at war with the United States, so it would be absurd to suggest a cease-fire between the two countries. Moreover, the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, like Taiwan, are part of Chinese territory. Chiang Kai-shek and his men, who, with the support of the United States, occupy those islands, are also Chinese. How the Chinese people will free the islands from the control of Chiang Kai-shek is a purely internal affair, which concerns the Chinese people alone.

15. On 6 September 1958, the Government of the People's Republic of China solemnly declared:

"The Chinese people have every right to liberate their own territory by all suitable means at a suitable time, and will not tolerate any foreign interference."

That is the firm decision of the Chinese people, whom no provocation or threat can cower.

16. It is clear that there are no grounds whatever for contemplating a cease-fire or the demilitarization of the off-shore islands. The sole cause of the existing tension in the Taiwan area is United States interference. Let that interference cease, and tension will immediately be relaxed.

17. The Government and people of the People's Republic of China, like all the peace-loving Governments and peoples of the world, demand the immediate withdrawal of United States armed forces from Taiwan, from the other Chinese islands and from the Taiwan Strait, as the only solution to the serious crisis which the situation in the Far East represents for world peace.

18. The Albanian Government and people, as emphasized in our Government's declaration of 15 September 1958, whole-heartedly support their friends and allies, the people of China, in their just cause. On 1 October, two days from now, the great Chinese people will be celebrating the ninth anniversary of their historic victory over feudal and imperialist oppression and the anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China which in so short a time has become a factor for peace and progress in Asia and throughout the world. The Albanian people wish them complete victory in their efforts to liberate Taiwan and the other occupied Chinese islands, and further success in the peaceful reconstruction of their country.

19. An important factor in the increase of international tension is the armaments race, which has now passed the bounds of all imagination. We believe that any agreement or any measure to limit or restrict the armaments race would contribute directly to a relaxation of tension and to the safeguarding of peace.

20. Disarmament is still the great question of the hour. Several years have gone by and no concrete result has been achieved either inside or outside the United Nations, owing to the fundamentally negative attitude of the Powers belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) aggressive bloc and above all of the United States, which bears full responsibility for this state of affairs.

21. The Soviet Government, persisting in its patient efforts to solve the disarmament problem, now proposes that it should be taken up by stages and that separate agreements should be arrived at on its different aspects. The memorandum on measures in the field of disarmament [A/3929] which it has put forward at this session offers a whole series of realistic proposals in this connexion which cannot fail to receive the active support of all Member States truly desirous of rescuing the disarmament problem from the deadlock which it has now reached.

22. Also at the suggestion of the Soviet delegation [A/3915], the General Assembly is to consider the question of the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always been in favour of the immediate and unconditional cessation of nuclear weapons tests, as well as the complete prohibition of the use and production of these weapons of mass destruction, and has supported the use of nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes. Our delegation therefore warmly approves the Soviet proposal.

23. The USSR's unilateral decision to suspend, from 31 March 1958, all nuclear weapons tests was greeted as a historic and highly humanitarian act. The other atomic powers, however, namely the United States and the United Kingdom, did not follow this example but instead intensified their tests and are in fact still carrying them out.

24. After the positive results achieved by the Conference of Experts from eight countries held at Geneva,^{1/} the pretext that it is impossible to control all nuclear tests, put forward by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, has been shown to be quite groundless. The declarations of the United States [A/3895] and the United Kingdom [A/3896/Rev.1] dated 22 August 1958, with all the conditions which they imposed, would appear to be directed towards preventing an agreement, while at the same time seeking to prepare the ground in advance for casting the responsibility for failure on the Soviet Union.

25. The world is tired of this farce which has been going on for so long and demands action. We should like to hope that this time the General Assembly will succeed in adopting some positive decision on this great issue.

26. It is almost twelve months since the USSR was the first to realize one of mankind's boldest and finest dreams. It opened the way for the conquest of cosmic space. The Soviet Union, anxious that this great scientific victory should serve exclusively peaceful ends, has asked the General Assembly to examine the question of banning the use of cosmic space for military purposes, together with the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space [A/3818 and Corr.1]. The United States delegation on the other hand merely requested the consideration of a programme for international co-operation in the field of outer space [A/3902].

27. The Albanian delegation believes that the Soviet delegation's manner of putting the problem is the only

correct one and the only one capable of leading to joint and useful action on behalf of peace and international co-operation, whereas the limited proposal of the United States would appear to be designed rather to secure strategic advantages.

28. Albania is whole-heartedly in favour of the Soviet proposal for a 10 to 15 per cent reduction in the military budgets of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and the use of part of the savings so effected for assistance to the underdeveloped countries [A/3925]. This is a very important suggestion from the humanitarian point of view and at the same time a positive step towards disarmament and an international *détente*.

29. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has always supported any sincere attempts to remove the danger of war and consolidate peace and international co-operation. It therefore greeted the Soviet Government's proposal for a summit conference with enthusiasm. It also supported the proposal of the Polish People's Republic for the creation of a no-man's land for atomic weapons in central Europe, and the recent proposal of the German Democratic Republic regarding the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. Albania is willing to participate in a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty countries, of which it is one, and the members of NATO. It is also in favour of the liquidation of opposing military groups and the conclusion of a general pact for European collective security.

30. The Albanian Government considers that the installation of rocket launching sites by the United States on the territory of other NATO countries constitutes, in conjunction with the remilitarization of Western Germany, another great threat to peace and the security of the peoples of Europe.

31. Anxious to protect its national independence and sovereignty, in the interest of friendly relations with Italy and also in order to ward off the danger of an atomic war in the Adriatic and Balkan region, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania recently made an important approach to the Italian Government. According to information available to the Albanian Government, negotiations were already under way in the spring of this year between Italy and the United States regarding the installation of rocket launching sites in Italy, which would obviously be directed against the neighbouring peoples' democracies, and first and foremost against the People's Republic of Albania, which is Italy's close neighbour.

32. Naturally, the Albanian Government could not remain indifferent in the face of such a situation. On 2 July 1958, therefore, it addressed a note to the Italian Government in which, after first explaining its views on the matter, it requested that Government in the most friendly manner to forego its plan to install rocket launching sites on Italian territory. The note explained that if that was not done, and if Italy agreed to the installation of such sites on Italian territory, the Albanian Government felt it its duty to warn the Government of Italy that Albania would be compelled, in order to defend its national sovereignty and independence, to take steps to see that rocket launching sites were also installed on Albanian territory. Full responsibility for such a development would lie with the Government of Italy.

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

33. We regret to have to note that our friendly approach did not meet with the desired reception and understanding on the part of the Italian Government. As announced in the American Press on 25 September 1958, Italy and the United States have reached an agreement in principle whereby launching sites for rockets of the Jupiter type will be installed on Italian territory before the end of 1958. As we indicated in our note of 2 July 1958, full responsibility for the consequences of this agreement will rest with the Italian Government.

34. The People's Republic of Albania follows a policy of peace and friendship towards all countries regardless of their social system. This policy is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. We have the greatest interest in safeguarding peace, and we should like to devote all our resources and all our energies to the peaceful reconstruction of our own country, which experienced fearful sufferings in the past from war, devastation, imperialist occupation and feudal aggression. Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of our people and Government and to the fraternal assistance of the USSR and the People's Republic of China and the other peoples' democracies, we have already achieved remarkable success in industry, mining, agriculture and cultural development. We are determined to press forward on this way which will ensure the welfare and progress of our people. The People's Republic of Albania regards the friendship and close understanding which unites it with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as a guarantee of its territorial integrity, its independence and its national sovereignty.

35. The Albanian Government also attaches special importance to the development of friendly and good neighbourly relations with other countries, particularly with its neighbours. It considers that it is its duty to try its best to make the Adriatic and Balkan regions a zone of peace and fruitful co-operation based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. Nevertheless, our Government and people will always reject in the sharpest possible terms any outside interference in their domestic affairs and any provocation against their country. We cannot relax our vigilance in the face of the hostile policy and activities directed against our country by certain members of the NATO aggressive bloc. On many occasions, there have been combined sea and air manoeuvres by United States forces and those of other NATO countries on the very edge of our territorial waters. American and other aircraft violate our air space. Vicious radio propaganda is broadcast against the People's Republic of Albania every day by the Voice of America, the BBC in London and other broadcasting centres.

36. The Albanian Government greeted the birth of the United Arab Republic as a realization of the profound aspirations of the peoples of Egypt and Syria and as a victory for Arab nationalism. Our people rejoiced at the victory of the revolutionary forces in Iraq and diplomatic relations have already been established between our two countries. We consider that the recent establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey and Ethiopia corresponds to our peaceful interests and to the requirements of peace. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has more than once declared itself willing to establish and develop normal diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with

other countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect and reciprocal advantage. Our Government is sparing no effort to strengthen its relations and peaceful co-operation with other countries. It is therefore wholeheartedly in agreement with the Czechoslovak proposal regarding measures aimed at the implementation and promotion of peaceful and neighbourly relations among States [A/3847 and Add.1]. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that it is the duty of all Member States to act at all times in such a way that the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter are put into practice in their international relations. Many of the items on the agenda of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly are vital to the cause of peace and international co-operation. My delegation wishes the Assembly every success in carrying out the heavy task which lies before it.

37. Mr. PANYA (Laos) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I add the modest congratulations of Laos to those already offered to you by previous speakers upon your election to the presidency of the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Modest as it is, this tribute is a recognition not only of your outstanding qualities of statesmanship but also of your good sportsmanship. We all remember that last year by withdrawing in favour of Sir Leslie Munro you preserved the unanimity of this Assembly which is so necessary to the harmony of our work. Conscious as we all are of your brilliance and efficiency, we have not even a momentary doubt of your success in your delicate mission.

38. May I also take this opportunity to express our sympathy to His Excellency Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Sudan, and hope that his turn will come very soon.

39. If my colleagues were to cast their minds back to the speech which the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Laos made here a year ago in similar circumstances [698th meeting], they might suppose that we Laotians were lacking in imagination. But the real issue facing our Organization has not changed. According to the United Nations Charter our task is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Unfortunately the founders of our Organization were over-optimistic and this year our task is once again to save all generations now and in the future. Today it is in Formosa that peace is threatened; yesterday it was in the Middle East.

40. During the past ten months the world has been amazed by the immense progress made in human knowledge. Why then are there millions of human beings whose standards of living can hardly be regarded as worthy of their dignity as men and women and who can see no hope of an end to their misery? Why has our amazement at the brilliant and spectacular achievements of science been succeeded by feelings of fear rather than joy? Why do we feel horror and foreboding before the wonderful feats of the artificial satellites? For a year the great fear in the world, far from growing lighter, has lain each day more heavily on our thoughts and our deeds.

41. We boast that we shall soon be able to leave this earth, yet we can do nothing to ease international tension. Far from being able to look forward to a long period of prosperity—the vaunted golden age which technology seems to hold out before us—we await fearfully the onset of catastrophe.

42. For some months now it has seemed as if there had been some unwritten and unacknowledged law prescribing that each storm that arises and then subsides shall be followed by a new turbulence. Hardly had the noise of gunfire died down in Lebanon than there arose the sound of the bombardment in the Formosa Strait. How then can this lurking fear be removed from the hearts of men?

43. This situation suggests some comments on the efforts which the United Nations must make to put an end to the dangerous situation which we are facing—efforts bearing on our methods of work but calculated above all to make the responsible Governments more aware of the daily fear of a third world war in which the human race is living.

44. When, in the face of our inability to settle the political disputes which are the aftermath of the Second World War, we see how rapidly technological difficulties have been overcome, we are forced to recognize that none of us, whether politician or diplomat, has shown enough adaptability. We should take the scientists as our models and display the same tenaciousness, boldness and imagination in managing our affairs.

45. Earnestness, perseverance, patience? Certainly, we need all these. But we Laotians do not feel that they are enough. The moral purpose of each one of us and the philosophical ideas inherent in the political theories which each country claims for itself must play their various parts in bringing peace to the human spirit. Only the principle of the love of human beings for one another, with which Buddhism, as well as other philosophies and religions, is imbued, can create the atmosphere which would give our work a chance of success. I declare openly: any doctrine of hatred, any theory which sets one man against another in the name of so-called historical science, not only fails to alleviate the wrongs which it denounces, but jeopardizes the very survival of humanity as a whole for the benefit of the so-called happiness of future generations.

46. We know well that nothing can be gained from visits to other planets, while there are still human beings who do not enjoy even the most elementary rights such as those codified by our Organization in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

47. Thus 1957, which should have been a year of hope, was the year of chaos.

48. It is only fair to acknowledge that the role of the United Nations in the settlement of disputes has been of some importance; the Middle East crisis is a recent case in point. The unanimity which was displayed in adopting the resolution proposed by the ten countries of the League of Arab States [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] at the time of the third emergency special session is evidence of the value of our Organization. I should like to point out here that the Government of Laos has followed closely all the missions which the Secretary-General has undertaken in the best interests of peace; although his great modesty is known to me, yet I should like to congratulate him publicly on the energy and ability he has displayed wherever international tension required his presence. In the Middle East, as elsewhere, he has carried on the work of conciliation and pacification and we are justified in saying that he has served the cause of peace well. Thus, despite the

pessimism which coloured my words when I first spoke, there is a promise of better things thanks to the United Nations, which has helped to limit the effects of situations fraught with danger.

49. I should next like to deduce the lesson from the events of the year which has just passed and to stress what, it seems to me, must be the principal aims of this thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

50. Until now the main task of our Organization has been the restoration of peace whenever it has been threatened. But has it tried with sufficient tenacity to persuade nations "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours"? How can we develop such tolerance in a world armed to the teeth? Nations must first agree to disarm; the fear which destroys mutual confidence must be dispelled and, to do so, the weapons of death which nourish fear must go.

51. As the representative of a people with a great zest for life, I regain some of my optimism when I see the genuine and solid progress made at the Geneva Conference last summer by the world's best technical experts.^{2/} As a result of this international meeting of scientists, it is now possible to determine the technical conditions under which nuclear explosions can be detected. Such a prospect of controlled disarmament augurs well for the future. The great Powers, which have either stopped or are going to stop their nuclear experiments, know that they hold the fate of humanity in their hands. The human race will cling to the slenderest hopes in its anxiety to see an end to their rivalry over nuclear weapons. Far from all propaganda may these Powers work for peace at the conference which they are soon to hold.

52. But so long as the conditions for general security do not exist, so long as universal and controlled disarmament is no more than a hope, we must, in view of the events in central Europe in 1956 and in the Middle East in 1958, make a decision on the creation of a stand-by force. Such an armed force would be at the disposal of the Secretary-General and could be employed on a request made by the governments of countries wishing to make use of it. We must also learn to devise methods appropriate to the realities of situations; that is to say, to take into account new forms of aggression, whether indirect, ideological or economic.

53. We must find a way of stopping subversion. The Head of my Government, His Excellency Phoui Sananikone, declared recently:

"The need to defend our freedom and independence has become apparent because, even if our frontiers do not seem to be threatened, our freedom and independence are certainly jeopardized by the secret plotting going on inside the Kingdom to seduce the population away from the legitimate government and persuade it to join in the formation of a single political party..."

I do not think Laos is the only country faced with intrigues calculated to undermine its national unity. Some eight years ago, under United Nations auspices, a number of the most eminent legal experts attempted to define subversion. It is surely time (and I hope these experts will not hold it against me if I say so)

^{2/} See note 1.

that the preparatory stage of this work was concluded and some practical results produced. My Government has a very special interest in this. Laos does not belong to any military alliance and is wholly dependent on the United Nations for its defence. What we, in Laos, fear are the dangers of the threat to our Kingdom from elements subservient to a foreign ideology.

54. Having achieved reunification after long years of tragic division, my country is still suffering from, and will for some years continue to suffer from, the aftermath of the events to which the Geneva agreements put an end in 1954. For that reason it wishes to be assured that the United Nations can assist it, if it should make an appeal for help.

55. Although faced with grave political problems, the country I represent has embarked on a programme of immediate modernization. Thus Laos is pleased to see that the resolution on the financing of economic development which was adopted by the General Assembly at its twelfth session [resolution 1219 (XII)] has made such rapid progress and that the Special Fund is about to become a reality. It has frequently been said that freedom cannot survive by the side of extreme poverty. We realize that this financial body cannot on its own solve all our problems of development. Taking its place beside the programmes of assistance provided by friendly Powers, especially the United States and France, and supplementing the Colombo Plan and the various forms of assistance we are receiving, it will help to finance some of the work which will bring about the development of the Lower Mekong River Basin, the broad lines of which were planned by the mission under General Wheeler. It is fortunate that here, as elsewhere, the United Nations is giving support to the Powers which decided to provide direct assistance and to help the four countries concerned in the immense task of subduing these waters and turning their energy to useful account.

56. It is by constructive work that the United Nations fulfils its rightful purpose and Laos, although it has been participating in its work for only three years, has already found that the solidarity of Member States is not merely an empty formula.

57. Peace, social justice and economic progress are the aims of the Government which I have the honour to represent. They conform so closely to those of the General Assembly that the Laotian delegation is confident that it can contribute within the measure of its means to giving the United Nations the strength to enable it to accomplish the tasks for which it alone can assume responsibility.

58. I should have liked to conclude here the statement which I wished to make on my Government's behalf to the General Assembly. A new factor has arisen, meanwhile, which makes it necessary for me to clarify for the Assembly the reference to the political and geographical situation of my country which a very distinguished speaker has made here. Last week, in his admirable speech, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Council of Cambodia, stated:

"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," [756th meeting, para. 19.]

Since my country is mentioned, it is my duty to enlighten the Assembly on what was said. But I must hasten to add most emphatically that, in so doing, it is not my intention to reply to an attack nor to engage in a controversy. Cambodia and Laos maintain close and friendly relations. Both have been deeply influenced by the same civilization and both are devoted to the monarchic system of government. They are closely bound to each other by economic, cultural and social ties which are all the stronger because they go back for many centuries, and any change in the relationship between the two kingdoms is unthinkable. In stating this, I am principally anxious to avoid any erroneous or tendentious interpretation which might sow the seeds of misunderstanding in our Assembly and cast the slightest shadow on the excellent relations between Cambodia and Laos.

59. We Laotians would be deeply grieved if our country were to be used as a path for Communist infiltration into Cambodia. Yet it could be queried whether the Communists would really need to pass through our country to penetrate into the heart of Cambodia since the Cambodian Kingdom is now open to them legally.

60. At all events, the Laotian people, which is not Communist and has no desire to be, will never abet those who desire to enslave other nations in the name of an ideology which has no connexion with their ancient traditions and national aspirations. All my compatriots are united behind the throne and the royal Government and they will fight to the last breath and put down with the utmost vigour, supported, if necessary, by their friends, any attempt at infiltration or subversion in their territory in violation of the international rules of good neighbourliness and mutual respect.

61. The declaration of our Prime Minister is exact. But let no one make a mistake. We are neutral and as neutral as any neutral State can claim to be. I said earlier that Laos did not belong to any military alliance. Our statesmen have repeatedly affirmed this. We desire to have good relations and to live in peace with all countries, near or far. We have absolutely no warlike intentions and have never been filled with hate.

62. If we are said to be pro-Western, surely it does not mean that we are against the East. It is wrong to be friendly with those who understand you and whose way of thinking and looking at things is similar to your own? Does being the friend of a person mean that you blindly espouse his disputes or his quarrels or make common cause with him on every occasion? We in Laos do not think so. Our friendship for the Western world is not the outcome of a calculated policy and still less the result of a bargain. Its roots go down into the very foundations of our political and religious ideas, our behaviour and our national life. We have found in the great Western family principles of liberty, democracy and government which are similar to ours and in keeping with our character. We often say that we are a small nation. But in whatever touches our pride and our sovereignty, I can assure the Assembly that we are in every way the equal of those which may have a larger population and more territory. Our faith in this is unshakable. We are as jealous of our independence as any people which is in

love with liberty and takes pride in its history. We shall never allow our native land to become a place where may flourish a way of thinking whose ultimate purpose is to lead us into slavery. In exactly the same way, we shall refuse any form of moral or material support, from wherever it may come, if, under the cloak of self-styled and magnanimous collaboration, its real aim is to rob us of even a part of our sovereignty.

63. Mr. SIK (Hungary): All those problems of the international situation which engage the attention of our General Assembly are closely connected with the foreign policy of the United States. The precondition for a realistic understanding of the situation and the various burning problems is, therefore, a perfect and adequate understanding of United States foreign policy. I think it is evident to all that United States foreign policy is best understood by those who make it. Obviously they can also explain it most convincingly. Let the State Department explain itself, so we can better understand its foreign policy and the critical circumstances that have cast upon the world a shadow of war and have made the United Nations come to an impasse. Let, then, the State Department speak for itself.

64. I am going to quote from official United States documents, from the Department of State bulletin, The Official Weekly Record of United States Foreign Policy. The 2 June 1958 issue of this bulletin carries the text of two statements, both of which were made before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. One of them was on United States foreign policy in the Near East, Africa and Southern Asia by Mr. William M. Rountree, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs. The date is also of importance. It was on 8 May 1958. The other statement was made on 2 May 1958, also before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, by Mr. Walter S. Robertson who is Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State. This statement, of course, deals with the Far Eastern policy of the United States and is entitled "US Policies and Programs in the Far East".

65. From these two documents it is as plain as day that the dangerous situation, first in the Middle East and then in the Far East, fitted in with the previous conceptions of the State Department and was brought about intentionally by its foreign policy. How does this become apparent? The statement on the Middle East was made at a time when the change in Iraq had not yet occurred, but when the Sixth Fleet was already cruising in the Mediterranean and had threatened to land in Lebanon. A week before that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations had heard the statement on the situation in the Far East. In that area, however, the large-scale concentration on Quemoy of one-third of Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces was already underway.

66. The statement on the Middle East emphasized military and technical assistance to Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq and then said the following about Iraq:

"Iraq is also co-operating actively in the Baghdad Pact. We have encouraged Iraq in the maintenance of this attitude through, among other measures, provision of military assistance."

67. The statement on the United States programmes in the Far East summed up the results attained by the

foreign policy of the State Department in that area over the past ten years, and outlined its prospects. Its main result and most essential prospect was summarized in this surprising sentence:

"The Republic of China remains a firm and effective ally and a standing challenge to the attempts of Communist China to fasten permanently its rule on the Chinese people."

Though the statement made known the relations of the United States with all Far Eastern countries, yet it referred only to Chiang Kai-shek as a "firm and effective ally", and it did so at a time when large units of Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces were moving to the immediate vicinity of mainland China, to the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

68. The documents of the Department of State clearly show the following: Firstly, the basic principle of the foreign policy of the United States can be called, in the language of the State Department, the policy of challenge. It considers as firm and effective allies those who themselves pursue a policy of challenge. It evaluates its allies usually from the point of view of their attitude, due to their position and intentions, for enforcing the policy of challenge. Though this policy can for good reasons be branded as provocative or aggressive, I shall keep to the word "challenge", since the State Department prefers it.

69. Secondly, the danger of war in the Middle East did not arise as a consequence of the revolution of the Iraqi people, but was created gradually by the State Department's policy of challenge through the military assistance given and the promise of American and British intervention made to its allies in Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq against the nationalist movements of the Arab peoples.

70. Thirdly, the danger of war in the Far East did not arise on 23 August 1958, but was created gradually through the military and political assistance extended Chiang Kai-shek to encourage him to pursue the policy of challenge.

71. Fourthly, the situations in the Middle East and Far East are closely related to each other. The relationship is supplied by the State Department's policy of challenge. The challenge was prepared in those areas simultaneously. After the military intervention in the Middle East had been accomplished, the policy of challenge in the Far East was brought to a head in order to divert the attention of public opinion from United States and British troops stationed in the Middle East, in Lebanon and Jordan.

72. Fifthly, it is this policy of challenge that characterizes the State Department's foreign policy not only in the Middle and Far East, but also in all international relations. The Hungarian Government has experienced this quite recently. At the press conference attended by the press attaché of the United States Legation in Budapest, five American spies related the subversive activities for which they had been trained by official and illegal United States agencies against the State order of the Hungarian People's Republic. Despite the fact that the diplomat from the United States Legation in Budapest was present when the relevant data were revealed, the United States authorities were not able even to make an attempt to refute them.

73. Sixthly, it is this policy of challenge which in several respects leads the present session of the General Assembly to an impasse and entails very grave danger for the raison d'être and the very existence of the United Nations. After the United States delegation had prevented the drafting of a favourable resolution concerning discussion of the representation of China, the State Department threatened—and is constantly threatening—that should the Warsaw talks fail, it would request the United Nations to take a stand on the Far East situation. To the same extent to which the State Department persists in its attempt to turn the United Nations into an instrument of its policy of challenge, it will plunge the Organization itself into a crisis threatening its very existence. I think no one has the illusion that any organ of the United Nations will be able to offer any valid opinion on the situation in the Far East until the United Nations has rescinded the General Assembly resolution against representation of the People's Republic of China that was forced through.

74. What is the policy of challenge directed against? The present generation is living in a changing world. The forces of progress and reaction are fighting each other in various parts of the globe. Large masses of the population in huge areas of South-East Asia and of Africa are now awakening to national consciousness. Populous countries of Africa and Asia are now at the threshold of the experience of awakening to national consciousness—a new age of their history—which the peoples of Europe and America crossed in the last century. The exploited peoples want to rid themselves of every form of colonial subjugation once and for all. They want to become independent not only politically, but in other ways; they also want to enjoy the wealth of their land, the fruits of their labours. The State Department manoeuvres the Sixth Fleet and the Seventh Fleet; it assigns military assistance and promises economic aid wherever the progressive movement of the masses of people is gaining strength.

75. But it is doing so not for the sake of progress. It is not to the United States that the peoples struggling against exploitation and colonial oppression look for assistance. Such peoples look with hope—to begin my roll of honour with the youngest supporters of progress—towards Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, Ceylon, Iraq, the United Arab Republic, India, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

76. If, on the other hand, in any part of the globe some reactionary group in power has to salvage its sinking ship against the rising masses, it will surely pin its hopes on assistance from the United States Government—and usually not in vain. The register of aid boasts of such people as the run-away Prime Minister of Lebanon, the ex-royal family of Iraq, the present King of Jordan, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and I could enumerate at length the names of political gamblers who ran away from other regions of the world and who, being well qualified for enforcing the policy of challenge, can count upon the assistance of the Department of State.

77. If Imre Nagy or Pál Maléter had been able to flee from Hungary, or if they were alive though in prison, they would be the principal pawns of the State Department policy of challenge to the peaceful life of the Hungarian people and to peace in central Europe. The verdict carried by the Hungarian judiciary

answered not only to the interests of justice, but it also rendered service to international peace by definitively removing from the arsenal of the State Department these dangerous instruments of the policy of challenge.

78. Of course, the State Department, when speaking of the policy of challenge, uses this unequivocal language only before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; before world public opinion it veils this policy in slogans to warp the sober judgement of the masses. Therefore the policy of challenge has its own vocabulary, and we must understand this terminology well to analyse the situation realistically.

79. One of its slogans is the defence of peace. We have been informed that the United States Ambassador in Warsaw is conducting talks with the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in order to preserve peace. Here, in the General Assembly, the representatives of British and French foreign policy have assured the Government of the United States of their assistance in its efforts to find a peaceful solution. What is meant by this in the light of the policy of challenge? What are the facts? First of all, I should like to point to an inconsistency: whenever the Government of the Soviet Union or of another socialist country proposed to the Government of the United States to settle international controversial issues by way of peaceful negotiations, the answer was that the United States wanted peace only under certain conditions. And now, in connexion with the situation in the Far East, playing upon the desire of the masses for peace, it is inconsistent with itself in demanding an unconditional cease-fire.

80. But this is a milder aspect of hypocrisy. The most serious one is that he who has set fire to a house calls the occupants incendiaries and wants to make them extinguish the fire. That is to say, this conception does not term as a breach of peace the fact that for nine years Chiang Kai-shek has not ceased in his attempts to attack the Chinese mainland; that he is concentrating an important part of his army in the immediate neighbourhood of the mainland with the obvious intention of landing; and that Taiwan, with Chiang Kai-shek and the United States naval, air, and land forces concentrated there, constitutes a constant challenge to the People's Republic of China. All this, in the eyes of the State Department, is no breach of peace. But if the People's Republic of China defends itself and eliminates the danger of attack on its own territory, this is called a breach of peace. In the same way a burglar caught red-handed could appeal to the catchwords of freedom and peaceful life to avoid being arrested.

81. Another slogan is "security". What the policy of challenge means by the sonorous slogan of security is not the security of the masses of people, but the security of the rule of the colonial Powers and the reactionary cliques in alliance with them. What, again, are the facts? According to the policy of challenge, the constant challenge of Chiang Kai-shek to the People's Republic of China is not detrimental to security. For his provocative actions he is even promoted to a firm and effective ally. But if a country of over 600 million inhabitants wants to strengthen its security in its own territory, this is detrimental to security, that is, to the security of a clique which betrayed its people and country.

82. This can be illustrated by another example. In their statements both Mr. Dulles [749th meeting] and Mr. Lloyd [758th meeting] tried to alarm the General Assembly by declaring that certain Arab radio stations were jeopardizing the security of the Middle East. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom quoted also from such broadcasts, and demanded international control in the interest of security. From the viewpoint of the policy of challenge, such broadcasts jeopardize security only if they are directed against the ruling cliques of colonialism. They must be allowed to continue unhampered and even be given the support of the State Department if they imperil the security of the masses of people. The Arab radio stations encourage the independence movements of Arab peoples and attack the enemies of Arab nationalism. I call attention, however, to the broadcasts of the Voice of America, the BBC, Radio Free Europe, and the Voice of Free China. We can furnish data—some of which we have already published in the White Books on the counter-revolution in Hungary and on Imre Nagy—showing how, during and after the counter-revolution, the Voice of America, the BBC and Radio Free Europe out rivalled and outbid one another, for instance, in inciting the Hungarian miners to flood the pits and to blow up the mines and in giving instructions to commit crimes, and so on. And this incitement is still going on. As concerns the activities of the Voice of America in the Far East and the Voice of Free China, delegations from that part of the world could tell a thing or two about the matter. If the representative of the People's Republic of China were attending this General Assembly, he could cite eloquent examples of how the Voice of America, the Voice of Free China and the British radio stations incite—from Hong Kong, Quemoy and Taiwan—subversive acts against the People's Republic of China. Is this not another reason for that delegation's not being present?

83. Consequently, what is meant by the catchword of "security" is the building up of those political, military, economic and propaganda bulwarks which protect the security of colonial rule against the rising peoples of Asia and Africa.

84. The next catchword of the policy of challenge is "justice". When the matter in question is not the cessation of actual military operations in the Far East, but the settling of other controversial issues, the State Department is always scrupulous to add to the word "peace" the attribute "just". The policy of challenge wants to assume the semblance of the defence of justice. Mr. Lodge is in the habit of speaking about the foreign policy of the State Department as if the representatives of United States foreign policy were all Maids of Orléans, heroic and immaculate champions of justice. What, again, are the facts? When King Hussein of Jordan takes autocratic measures and sends large numbers of the heroes of Arab nationalism into concentration camps, United States policy and propaganda exalt this as a victory for justice. But when the Republic of Iraq institutes legal proceedings against the traitors to the people, the political agents of the treacherous royal family, then the United States, through its foreign policy and propaganda, indignantly endeavours to interfere in the proceedings and to patronize the criminals. When the Arab countries explore various forms of unity, alliance and co-operation, the State Department, in its foreign policy, brands this as subversive activity and considers its own efforts

to disrupt this unity as a just foreign policy. Since Mr. Lodge only the other day [753rd meeting] appealed to history to prove that United States foreign policy was never guided by selfish intentions, but always by the defence of justice, I should like to recall a few facts from past and recent history.

85. Here I have to interject a remark. The Hungarian people will forever be grateful to the people of the United States for having given an unforgettable reception to the hero of the Hungarian War for Independence of the last century, the exile Kossuth. We would welcome with similar gratitude the fact that the United States Post Office has issued Kossuth memorial stamps, if the State Department had not made use of the occasion to bolster its policy of challenge. The honourable and progressive traditions of the American people have nothing in common with the policy of challenge that is characteristic of the present activity of the Department of State.

86. Now, let us comply with the wish of Mr. Lodge and turn to history. What kind of justice was reflected in the Spanish-American War in 1898 when Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were turned into United States colonies? Did the United States not take part in the 1900 expedition that put down the Chinese popular uprising against the colonizers? What sort of justice led the United States against Panama in 1903? The same question applies to the 1910 action against Nicaragua. And has Mr. Lodge forgotten the United States intervention against the young Soviet State in 1918? And was it justice that, when the United States set up bases in Greenland and Iceland during the Second World War and undertook to liquidate these bases after the war, it then went back on its word? And can the American adventures in China and the Philippines after the Second World War be called just? Who were the first foreign soldiers to fight in Korea? Americans. And who will be the last to leave Korea? Americans. Let us recall the role of the United States in the events in Guatemala in 1954. Perhaps these pages of American history were missing from Mr. Lodge's history book.

87. As to present-day history, the U. S. News & World Report is absolutely justified when it writes that, wherever we put our finger on the map of the so-called "free world", it will point to a military base of the United States. At least 1.5 million United States soldiers are stationed outside the United States at 950 military bases spread over forty-nine countries. Anyone who regards this as a sign of strength has to be told that this is a definite sign of weakness, because justice does not have to be protected in such a way. Anyhow, sooner or later, popular justice will liquidate these military bases. Dynamic signs of this are already evident in the Middle East—particularly in Lebanon—and still more evident in the Far East.

88. Another catchword of the policy of challenge is "humanism". "The defence of humanism" is the principal slogan used by the propagators of the policy of challenge when it comes to building up a chain of military bases and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. What are the facts? A society in which a Negro can be condemned to death on the mere circumstance that he stole a sum less than two dollars has no right to teach other countries a lesson in humanism. Speakers on behalf of the United States and the United Kingdom have come forward with the

argument of the refugees to show up socialist humanism. Let us be realists. Let us look the facts in the face. In the first quarter of the present century more than 1.5 million people emigrated from Hungary and came to America. A similar proportion of the population emigrated from other countries of central and eastern Europe. At that time those countries were anything but socialist. Ever since then the urge to emigrate and the willingness to chance the hazards of making a new life elsewhere have still not subsided. There is, further, a migration of people inside certain countries. Just as in Great Britain the population shows a trend of moving south from the north of Scotland, in the same way there was a continuous migration in the inter-war years in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary from eastern agricultural areas to more industrialized centres in the West.

89. Two further factors came into play as a result of changes in the social and economic structure. Firstly, certain elements, once deprived of their unearned privileges and reluctant to acclimatize themselves to the changes, preferred to make a future for themselves elsewhere. Secondly, the new mode of life being shaped makes higher moral demands on the individual, and people of lesser standing flee from the higher demands of society. Furthermore, the propaganda slogans of the policy of challenge appeal to the lowest human emotions and prompt those individuals, who could otherwise become useful members of society, to seek adventure instead. In connexion with Germany, I should like to add that those propaganda merchants who are wont to exploit these migrations of people usually avoid any mention of the fact that only in the past three years one-quarter of a million people from the Federal Republic of Germany settled in the German Democratic Republic. In connexion with Hungary I should like to add that we think with compassion and sympathy of all those who took to the road in the hysterical atmosphere of autumn 1956; those homeless who have gone through a moral crisis, a crisis of their very existence, and are being driven from pillar to post, have all our sympathy. We welcome back all who return home with decent, sincere intentions. We are also glad of the success of those who have settled down in their new surroundings with an honest job to their name. However, we do not want elements to return who are fascist or otherwise harmful to the people, who committed crimes during the counter-revolution.

90. The pseudo-humanism of the policy of challenge, which tries to exploit the lot of the refugees as a stock-in-trade of the cold war, we regard as downright inhuman. We try also to handle this question, which is extremely complex and fraught with human tragedy, with the utmost socialist humanism. Moreover, it is more than surprising that humanism is being championed vis-à-vis countries which have passed through new popular revolutions by those who are perfectly well aware that the bourgeois revolutions in the Western countries took a much heavier, an incomparably heavier toll of human life. The most vocal protagonists of humanism are none other than those who, whenever the lot has to be cast between freedom and colonial servitude of peoples, consistently side with colonialism.

91. And, finally, another slogan of the policy of challenge—"anti-communism". What are the facts? At the time of the Suez aggression, had it not been for the

Soviet Union, the Anglo-French troops would have overrun the whole of Egypt. After the Republic of Iraq had been proclaimed, the troops which landed in Lebanon and Jordan would have marched against Iraq had it not been for the United Arab Republic and the Soviet Union. In the present situation in the Far East, United States troop movements, and in conjunction with them their firm and effective ally Chiang Kai-shek, would have been still more provocative had it not been for the Soviet Union siding with the People's Republic of China. Since the most effective bulwark today to a successful policy of challenge is the Soviet Union, the policy of challenge is trying to create an atmosphere hostile to communism with tales about Soviet imperialism and the subversive work of international communism, in order to justify its provocative activities. Yet what do the facts show? That it is not the socialist countries but, for example, the United States that is in the habit of organizing conspiracies. All of us recall quite vividly what happened, for instance, last summer in Syria. Similar new examples could be cited from Asian and African countries, and from the socialist countries. Not a single socialist country could be accused of maintaining a rival State in order to challenge any of the capitalist countries. On the other hand, the State Department has confessed, as I quoted earlier, that it maintains Chiang Kai-shek as an ally because he is a challenge to the People's Republic of China.

92. The absurdity of the whole anti-communist hysteria has become most obvious in the past few days, precisely in the United States. According to a statement made by the Governor of Arkansas, all the Little Rock citizens, including the clergymen, who have come out in favour of integrated schools have been contaminated and brainwashed by communism. Finally, the whole anti-communist campaign is like a boomerang, because the spokesmen of the policy of challenge, jealous of their power, credit communism with everything beneficial, good and true that is happening in any corner of the world in the interest of progress.

93. The Hungarian people have already had a taste of the impact of this policy of challenge. The advocates of the policy were incapable of reconciling themselves to the fact that their aims could not be attained through the counter-revolution. Therefore, they are still exploring every new possibility of upsetting the life of the Hungarian people. Mention should be made here of the subversive activities about the disclosure of which I have already spoken and the effort to keep the so-called Hungarian question permanently on the agenda of the General Assembly. All this, however, has not succeeded in preventing the Hungarian people from participating in all fields of economic, cultural and political life with all their creative might and impetus. The damage caused by the counter-revolution has been made good and all the personal questions connected with it have been resolved once and for all.

94. The most recent of the many indications showing that life in Hungary has been normalized is Parliament's pronouncement of its dissolution at the end of last week; parliamentary elections are to be held this autumn, and the new Parliament will be convened before the year is out.

95. I can predict already that the representatives of the policy of challenge and its propaganda agencies will try to belittle the value of the elections because

they will be conducted on the basis of a single, joint list of candidates. However, anyone who is truly aware of the historic fact that in our changing world today two forces are battling with one another—progress and reaction—will also understand that in my country all forces standing for the rise of a new society have to join together in a single front. The electorate has to decide whether to cast its ballot for progress or for reaction. Given the collaboration of all progressive forces, the electorate expresses its opinion by secret ballot on whether it approves the direction and method of the country's development or not. We shall see what the outcome of the elections will be.

96. It might be of interest to quote a few figures indicative of changes in the economic and cultural life of the country. The income of the population, which in 1956 was one-third greater than in 1949, increased further last year by as much as 16 per cent and is continuing this trend in the current year. Among other things this can be attributed to the fact that industrial output, which in 1956 was more than double that of 1949, increased also by 16 per cent in 1957. Housing projects are growing in scale; in 1957 a total of 51,000 housing units were built, which is more than double the average for the eight years preceding the Second World War.

97. Permit me to quote some more comparative figures from the field of culture. The number of secondary school students increased between 1938, the so-called last year of peace, and 1958 from 52,000 to 126,000. In the same period the number of undergraduates rose from 11,000 to 40,000. It has been alleged by the West that the children of the old intelligentsia and the middle class are barred from our universities. This accusation falls so far from the truth that, rather, the opposite is true, namely, that more children of such families are today attending universities than prior to the Second World War. The total number of university undergraduates has been almost quadrupled, with half of them coming from working-class or peasant families. That is to say, almost twice the number of children of families other than working-class or peasant families are registered students. It is quite true that we are encouraging worker and peasant families to send their offspring to the university and to college. Now they are in a position to do this, which they were debarred from doing under the old system.

98. I ask for the Assembly's indulgence for having engaged its attention with my country's domestic affairs, but, considering the extreme interest shown here in Hungary, my digression will not be taken amiss.

99. The principal effect of the policy of challenge in that part of the world to which Hungary belongs is to disturb the settlement of the relations of Austria with her neighbouring socialist countries. In its policy towards Austria the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is prompted by its desire to bring about good neighbourly relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among differing systems, and of creative competition. The many good and bad—but always useful—lessons of a common past and the ethnographic and geographic interdependence of the two countries offer every ground for this. However, a great many obstacles are barring the way to the favourable development of

these relations, particularly since the state visit to the United States last year of high Austrian Government officials and the activities of illegal United States organizations on the territory of Austria. At this time, when much is being said on the anniversary of the Munich Agreement not only about the dismemberment of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, which then amounted to a green signal for Hitler's intentions towards the Soviet Union, but also about the Anschluss it is worth while keeping a watchful eye both on United States activities in Austria and on capital infiltration into Austria's economic and political life by West German heavy industry. It is in the interest of the peace of central Europe, as well as of international peace, to caution and protect Austria, which has pledged itself to neutrality, from the threat of a new Anschluss.

100. In conclusion I should like to comment on the problems of disarmament on behalf of the Hungarian delegation. The State Department's policy of challenge has brought the United Nations to an impasse also on the question of disarmament and the summit conference. How did this happen in each case?

101. How do the disarmament negotiations that have been going on for years on end appear to the observer? In a nutshell; the representatives of the policy of challenge interpret agreement on disarmament to mean that the Soviet Union should relinquish the arms necessary for its self-defence, while the representatives of the policy of challenge retain their most effective weapons. The twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly was made an instrument of this conception. Obviously the deadlock on the question of disarmament can be broken—either inside or outside the framework of the United Nations—only if the representatives of the policy of challenge show their unquestionable willingness to discontinue their policy of challenge and sincerely desire progressive, controlled disarmament. The continuation and acceleration of the armaments race is an integral part of the policy of challenge. The picture they had painted was that the armaments race would impose such a burden on the socialist countries as to hamper economic development, which would contribute to making the Western great Powers emerge the victors in the armaments race and enable them to continue undisturbed in their bid for world leadership. But experience has proved this conception wrong. The Soviet Union has won the present round of the armaments race which it was forced to enter and, should the authors of the policy of challenge insist on continuing and even accelerating the armaments race, there is not much hope, given the combined efforts of the socialist countries, of the authors of the policy of challenge gaining any advantage in a next round. However, in the interest of the whole of humanity the socialist countries are sincerely in favour of concord on disarmament.

102. The present session of the General Assembly offers the Western Powers new and real possibilities to give solemn indication of their intention to switch from the policy of challenge to the policy of agreement. The Soviet Union has submitted a proposal for the proportionate reduction of the military budgets of the great Powers and for the utilization of part of the sum thus saved for the development of the less advanced countries. The masses of peace-loving peoples

throughout the world are waiting to see with what ruses the champions of the policy of challenge will try to evade this appeal.

103. The policy of challenge is also responsible for the impasse in relation to the summit conference. At the time the crisis in the Middle East broke out, it was agreed with the Soviet Union that a summit conference should be held after due preparation by the Security Council, until the President of the United States had made it clear that he was in favour of a summit conference only if he could rely on the voting machine in the Security Council to vindicate United States and United Kingdom military actions in the Middle East. Such a false summit conference would only have compromised in the eyes of the people the very idea of a summit conference, from which they rightly expect agreement and a solution. The chances of this coming about, however, have become extremely precarious following the most recent manifestation of the United States policy of challenge. Were it not for the fact that the peace of the world is at stake, one

could say to the callous, die-hard advocates of the policy of challenge, "You reap as you sow". Let them realize the consequences of their callous deeds. However, those consequences not only afflict them but bring unspeakable suffering upon great masses of people; the innocent also have to suffer from the irresponsibility of those responsible.

104. These are the reasons why the Hungarian delegation joins with numerous earlier speakers here in the appeal to the United States to revise its foreign policy. The peace of the whole world makes it imperative for the Government of the United States to abandon its policy of challenge for the policy of agreement and peace. Such a policy will earn the United States much greater prestige than the policy of challenge which, following partial failure already, is foredoomed to complete defeat. It is the hope of small countries and of the great masses of people that the policy of challenge will be discarded for the policy of peace.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.