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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from Russian): The declaration issued in Moscow on 24 May 1958 by the Warsaw Treaty countries contained a comprehensive analysis of the present international situation and the accuracy of this appraisal has been fully borne out by events. We do not believe that the United Nations will be fulfilling the noble aim of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war" proclaimed in its Charter, if delegations to its General Assembly fail to face the facts, no matter how unpalatable this may be in certain quarters. After all, aggression cannot be described in mild terms, nor can flattering epithets be found for those who wish to kill the "Geneva spirit". The world knows full well that it was the ruling circles of the United States of America and their allies, who, immediately after the Conference of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers at Geneva in July 1955, derided, criticized and repudiated the Geneva spirit. By their actions, they have completely nullified the results of the Geneva discussions and have again plunged the world into an atmosphere of tension and the danger of war.

2. During the past two years, the United Nations has been confronted by four serious violations of the rules of international relations. The first was the armed attack on Egypt towards the end of 1956, and the second, the preparations made last year for an armed attack on Syria. Barely a month ago, the General Assembly was called into emergency special session to consider the question of the flagrant aggression committed by the United States of America and the United Kingdom in Lebanon and Jordan. On that occasion, as in the case of Egypt, the United Nations was able to adopt a decision which was universally considered to have helped to avert the threat of war created by the actions of United States and United Kingdom troops in the Near and Middle East. However, resolution 1237 (ES-III) adopted by the Assembly, at its third emergency special session, on the withdrawal of United Kingdom and United States troops from Jordan and Lebanon, has not yet been complied with and we are

confronted with yet another exacerbation of the international situation. This time, it is caused by the aggressive activities in which the United States of America is engaging in the Far East, where that country has, for many years, pursued a hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China.

3. These events are clearly interrelated. They are links in the same chain — that of the aggressive policy of imperialism. The only difference is that in the last two episodes, the fully armed United States, the leader of the imperialists, has taken the stage after the failure of its partners' attempts to crush the Arab peoples.

4. I must make it clear that I am not referring here to the people of the United States whose great practical ability and love of freedom and peace are well known. I am referring to those circles which have grown rich on two world wars and are accustomed to seeking the largest and surest profits — those derived from the production of armaments, military equipment and supplies. The more weapons of destruction are produced and the more quickly they are expended, the greater the profits received, profits which will disappear if a stable and lasting peace is established on earth. These same circles are interested in a policy of fomenting hatred against everything progressive, because progress and imperialistic war are incompatible.

5. It should be noted, above all, that the imperialist States, headed by the United States of America, in fact refuse to recognize and accept the historical necessity for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Only a few days ago, at a meeting of the General Committee of the General Assembly, the representative of the United States took exception to the very term "peaceful coexistence" and succeeded in securing the substitution of another. His conduct in this particular instance was scarcely prompted by personal or linguistic considerations. The question at issue is obviously the negative attitude of the United States towards what, in our view, is the cardinal problem of our times. It should be borne in mind that the alternative to peaceful coexistence is war. Do the following facts, for instance, testify to a peace-loving attitude? The ruling circles of the United States remain obdurate in their opposition to the proposal for a summit meeting. They have refused to follow the example of the Soviet Union in discontinuing tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons and, on the contrary, have stepped up the pace of their test explosions; although they recently appeared to be ready to yield to the pressure of world public opinion, they entered so many reservations and laid down so many conditions that their statement on the subject seems designed to hoodwink the public, while the actual discontinuance of tests remains in doubt. The United States of America and its allies have rejected the plan to establish an atom-free zone in Europe and are unwilling to accept the collective security plan.

6. Can we ascribe to a concern for peace the fact that the United States has organized aggressive military blocs in all parts of the world and is planning to organize more, that it has established hundreds of military bases on the territory of foreign States, but still finds the need for more, and that it is building missile-launching sites in a number of countries? Was it not the leaders of the United States of America who conceived the theories of "roll-back", "containment", the cold war and the local war? Although they openly vote for the appropriation of millions of dollars to finance subversive activities in foreign countries and support various organizations and schools to train saboteurs, they do not hesitate to censure "indirect aggression", allegedly committed by other countries, in order to justify their own direct aggression against others.

7. The United States makes lavish promises and is, in fact, supplying atomic weapons, atom bombs and missiles to a number of countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. United States armed forces are now stationed all over the world. Its warships and military aircraft "patrol", "reconnoitre" or are in a state of full combat readiness in the far North, the Far East, the Mediterranean and Europe. These are facts which cannot be disproved by mere assertions. Nor can it be denied that it is these activities which are responsible for the tension felt by all. Moreover, the activities of the United States of America affect not only the countries which are the direct target of aggression or pressure, or on whose territories weapons are being stockpiled.

8. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria must make it clear that the Bulgarian people cannot remain indifferent when missile-launching bases are constructed, movements of military formations are observed and United States forces are landed close to its frontiers or in areas in the immediate vicinity of its territory. Yet, this is what is happening in some countries near Bulgaria and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

9. The policy of the United States of America, which has given rise to this situation, is particularly dangerous, because responsible leaders in that country have repeatedly attempted to raise the so-called question of the situation in the eastern European countries and have made it clear that what is at stake is the social system in those countries, which is not to their liking.

10. The presence of United States armed forces not far from our borders and the negative attitude officially proclaimed by United States leaders towards the socialist system adopted and unanimously supported by the Bulgarian people, are further causes of tension in that part of the world and are obstacles to the establishment of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations among the countries of the Balkan peninsula.

11. In direct contrast, the socialist countries have been working unremittingly, both inside and outside the United Nations, for the easing of international tension, the elimination of the threat of war, the pacific settlement of outstanding international problems by negotiation, and the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. The entire history of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist State, from its emergence down to the present day, has been one of endeavour to introduce a new code of ethics in international life and new international relations based on respect for the sovereignty and national independence of all countries

and on complete non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries, both large and small. It is a history of efforts to achieve disarmament and of an unrelenting fight for peace.

12. This is the policy, which the Soviet Union and the other socialist Members of the Organization have untiringly pursued from the earliest days of the United Nations and which they are still pursuing, a policy fully consistent with the Charter and with the lofty Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. I do not propose to enumerate all the measures these countries have taken and all the proposals they have made. I need only recall that, in the last few months alone, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries took steps and also submitted proposals which, if carried into effect, would bring about the necessary conditions for the settlement of the most pressing and vitally important problems of our times. The fact that these proposals were warmly welcomed and supported by the broadest circles of the world community testifies to their peaceful character.

13. The proposals in question include the Soviet Union's proposal for the convocation of a summit conference, the Soviet Government's unilateral decision to discontinue the testing of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, the proposal of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, the Polish Government's proposal for an atom-free zone in Central Europe, the Soviet Government's proposal for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and co-operation among the European States, in which the United States would participate, as well as a series of other proposals of a similar nature. Adoption of these proposals, which are valuable in themselves, would create conditions favourable to the initiation of other peaceful measures and would provide an opportunity for each country individually and the United Nations as a whole to contribute to the consolidation of peace. Only short-sighted politicians and inveterate enemies of peace could discern any hidden designs of "international communism" in the policy which inspired these proposals.

14. The most important problem at the present time is that of maintaining peace. But peace cannot be maintained unless aggression is halted, the armaments race discontinued and conditions established for normal economic co-operation among nations.

15. A proper settlement of most of the questions included in the agenda of the General Assembly at its thirteenth session would facilitate the establishment of peaceful conditions in the world. Our delegation does not underestimate the significance of such questions as the situation in Cyprus, Algeria and others. Its views on these matters, which are based on the principle of recognition of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, will be expressed in due course. But we consider that the United Nations should, in the first place, condemn imperialist aggression, strive to eliminate the centres of such aggression in the Middle and Far East, break the dead-lock on the problem of disarmament, including atomic disarmament, and recommend specific measures for the practical realization of the idea of peaceful coexistence among States.

16. The withdrawal of United States troops from

Lebanon and of United Kingdom troops from Jordan brooks no further delay. The decision taken in this matter by the General Assembly, at its third emergency special session, was welcomed by the whole world community as a victory for the peace-loving forces. Its full implementation will be a signal service to the cause of peace. Lebanon and Jordan face no danger from abroad except for the danger presented by the foreign occupation. The internal situation in those countries urgently requires the immediate withdrawal of these foreign troops. It is now more obvious than ever that United States and United Kingdom troops landed in Lebanon and Jordan for the purpose of interfering in the domestic affairs of these and other Arab countries. The General Assembly should not desist from its efforts, but should, on the contrary, remain on the alert until the last foreign soldier has been withdrawn from the territories of these two Arab States. As long as foreign troops remain there, acts of provocation of all kinds are possible and, hence, a new deterioration in the situation may occur. This dangerous hotbed of war will not be eliminated by awaiting the advent of certain unspecified "favourable conditions" or by "defending" United States warships in Lebanese waters by tanks on Lebanese soil, but by ordering the warships to weigh anchor and by withdrawing them, together with the tanks, to the shores of the United States.

17. There is absolutely no need for the United Kingdom and United States troops to be replaced by a so-called United Nations force. As we know, the idea of an international armed force used by Governments against peoples, is not new. It has appeared in various guises many times in the past, and history has recorded many examples which make the true nature of this idea abundantly clear. Alliances of reactionary and conservative international circles against national liberation movements in the world have used international forces of this kind more than once in the past. International forces have often operated against colonial peoples and have done so against China, invariably performing police functions for the benefit of the oppressors. Despite efforts to present it in an unexceptionable form, the idea which some people are trying to force upon us now is that the United Nations should assume the functions of an international policeman, a role which the United States and the other imperialist Powers cannot play today without running a considerable risk. As recent events have shown, direct police interference by the United States is a very dangerous undertaking. Hence, the United Nations is needed to serve as a screen. The part to be played by the international force is quite clear even now. Its task will be to suppress national liberation movements and to serve the interests of the colonialists, the capitalist monopolies and imperialism.

18. However, the United Nations is certainly not intended to become a police force for the purpose of hampering the national liberation struggle of peoples. Its function is to assist the peoples still under the yoke of colonialism in their movement for national liberation and to promote the economic development of the under-developed countries. It should be borne in mind that national liberation movements cannot be checked by any police measures. In accordance with its spirit and aims, the United Nations should encourage these movements in order to alleviate the sufferings of the

peoples engaged in this struggle, and to remove the danger to world peace.

19. With regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan, we would point out that there are powerful factors with which the aggressors must reckon: world public opinion, which is backed by the effective strength of the peace-loving States and which condemned the unjustifiable intervention against two small Arab States, and resolution 1237 (ES-III) which was unanimously adopted on the subject by the General Assembly, at its third emergency special session. The dangerous hotbed of conflict in the Middle East must be eliminated as soon as possible. Obviously, troops landed within a few days on foreign soil can be withdrawn in an equally short space of time. And I need hardly say that their withdrawal should not be made contingent upon any conditions.

20. The situation in the Far East is a source of alarm to every nation today. The actions of the United States off the shores of China are a threat to world peace. Furthermore, the huge propaganda machine of the imperialist forces has been set in motion for the purpose of completely obscuring the basic facts. To judge by the United States Press and by the pronouncements of United States political and military leaders, it would almost seem as though the People's Republic of China had attacked the United States. Addressing the General Assembly a few days ago [749th meeting] the Secretary of State spoke of Chinese communist armed aggression. He made it appear as though calm and prosperity had hitherto reigned in the Taiwan Strait and had been disturbed, if you please, on 23 August, when the Chinese Communists suddenly launched a heavy bombardment of the Quemoy Islands.

21. Everybody knows, of course, that the situation is entirely different. As a result of the great social upheaval which has occurred in China, the authority of the Central People's Government has been established throughout mainland China. Only the dispatch of United States troops to Taiwan and the other islands in the Taiwan Strait has temporarily prevented the extension of popular rule to these Chinese territories. That, however, cannot affect the legal status of these territories, which indisputably belong to China, nor can it affect the character of the struggle which is still in progress. A few months after the victory of popular rule in China, the United States seized these parts of Chinese territory by force, thus committing an open act of aggression against China. That aggression has been continuing for nine years. During that time, United States political and military leaders have repeatedly made provocative threats against China, and United States armed forces have carried out demonstrations in the Taiwan Strait, to say nothing of the innumerable attacks by Chiang Kai-shek's aircraft and warships, of which the lackeys of the United States on Taiwan are continually boasting.

22. The cause of the existing situation, which must be recognized as extremely serious, should be sought only in the aggressive acts of the United States of America in the Taiwan area. The fact that the United States is multiplying its provocative acts, threatening China and transferring military and air units to the area, increases its responsibility for the situation which has arisen. Only a few years ago, the United States declared that it was not interested in the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, recognizing that these territories,

at least, were indivisible from mainland China. Now, it does not want to give them back to China. What else is this but an act of provocation against a great people, what else but playing with fire? The Chinese people have the right to fight for the liberation of their land and they will attain that end, no matter what the cost. To hope that China will give up its islands is to cherish the absurd illusion, which apparently has not yet been abandoned by some, that the People's Republic of China does not exist. It is high time that those who cling to such dreams should be awakened to the facts before they step over the brink of the abyss.

23. After they have withdrawn their Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean, the United States leaders should be requested to withdraw their Seventh Fleet from foreign shores. The baleful effect of those fleets on the cause of peace is abundantly clear. Here in the United Nations, even the voice of the smallest State exerts profound influence, when it carries the conviction always given by truth. This is not the time for such subtleties as the hint about bringing this matter to the United Nations. What matter? There is no international dispute between the People's Republic of China and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The only attitude which the United Nations can and should adopt, with regard to the situation in the Far East, is the attitude of world-wide public opinion, which may be expressed in the words "hands off China." We have heard voices raised here against the use of force by China in settling its own problems relating to the elimination of the armed remnants of the defeated Chinese reactionaries. Strange as it may seem, the representatives of countries in which public opinion is entirely on the side of China and whose Governments recognize the Central People's Government as the only Chinese Government, have spoken against the use of force by China. If what the people who take this attitude have in mind is that China should occupy its islands without firing a shot, that would be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese People's Government itself, as the responsible leaders of China have frequently stated. The question is, how can the Chinese people liberate their islands with bouquets of flowers in their hands, when the islands are occupied by the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and United States leaders declare that their forces will help him retain his foothold there? It is obviously inconsistent to raise the question of China's not using force and, at the same time, to rule out the possibility of the peaceful unification of the country.

24. The armed forces of the United States should leave Taiwan and all the Chinese islands in the Taiwan Strait — that is the solution to the dangerous situation in the Far East. It should be bluntly stated that the representatives who are appealing to China not to use force are appealing to the wrong party. There is clearly no reason why the struggle of the Chinese people against their internal enemies should give rise to international tension; it did not so do during the long period before 1949. Presumably, no international tension would be caused by the presence off the Chinese shores of a United States ballet troupe or football team. The United States Seventh Fleet, however, is not a ballet troupe nor a football team. Anyone who sincerely hopes that further trouble in the Far East will be avoided, should appeal to the commanders of the Seventh Fleet, not to the People's Republic of China. At this crucial juncture, the Bulgarian people, who highly value their friendship and true alliance with the great Chinese people, wish

their friend and ally all success in vindicating its lawful rights. The just cause of the People's Republic of China must and shall prevail. Only then will peace in the Far East be assured.

25. Disarmament is universally recognized as the most serious problem of our time. Our Organization rightly gives the closest attention to that problem at every session of the General Assembly. Unfortunately, however, no agreement has so far been reached on the cessation of the arms race or on disarmament. The cause lies in the enormous influence which the capitalistic monopolies manufacturing armaments exert on the policies of certain Western States. Our delegation will deal more fully with the reasons for the failure of the disarmament negotiations when the problem is discussed in the appropriate Committee of the Assembly. I will merely point out that the negotiations in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission were conducted by the representatives of the four Western Powers on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other. In the course of those negotiations, two basic approaches to the disarmament problem took shape. The Soviet Government, accompanying its proposals with practical measures, gave abundant proof of its sincere desire to deliver mankind from the nightmare and the burden of armaments. The Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed forces by 2,100,000 men, considerably curtailed the strength of its armed forces in the German Democratic Republic and in Hungary, withdrew its troops from Romania and decided unilaterally to discontinue the testing of nuclear weapons.

26. The Western Powers, on the contrary, are pursuing a policy of systematic obstructionism, raising one obstacle after another. The proposals of the Soviet Government have been rejected with a persistence worthy of a better cause. The culmination of imperialist diplomacy was the Western Powers' repudiation of their own proposals as soon as they were accepted by the Soviet Union.

27. The systematic rejection, even without the necessary study, of the Soviet proposals, in particular, concerning the reduction of armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons, reached its crowning point when the Soviet Government announced its decision to discontinue test explosions of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons on 31 March 1958. The United States and the United Kingdom not only refused to follow the Soviet Union's example, but, on the contrary, increased the number of their own test explosions. For example, an official document, the twenty-fourth semiannual report of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, states that different models of weapons — meaning atomic and nuclear weapons — have been perfected to meet the needs of the armed forces and that, in the interests of preserving peace, new models have been developed which are smaller, more efficient and more powerful and which can be quickly activated. The report also contains the far from reassuring promise that efforts will be made to perfect even lighter, more powerful and more rapidly activated weapons.

28. It may be seen that in the countries in whose arsenals lethal weapons are being stockpiled, no opportunity is missed to point out that this is being done in order to safeguard peace. This idea clearly has its roots in the fallacious theory, dear to imperial-

ist circles, that the only way to a lasting peace is to achieve a balance of power between large States, armed to the teeth. Apart from the fact that this theory is completely false, it reflects a very strange conception of international relations, namely, that such relations must for all times be based on the strategy and tactics of the "cold war" and an unending arms race. It is not difficult to see that, when the exponents of this theory speak of a balance of power, they are concealing their real intentions. When they expatiate on this subject, what they have in mind is their own supremacy. The question is, can anyone fail to realize the futility of such an aim in the era of intercontinental ballistic missiles and earth satellites?

29. That theory should long since have been consigned to the scrap-heap of history. The arms race entails a twofold danger. The race itself is fraught with the danger of war. As we all know, weapons do not stay put. Where nuclear weapons are concerned, they are not only being perfected in depth, so to speak, as the United States reports would have us believe, but that country is also seeking to develop them in breadth. United States atomic weapons are at present to be found at hundreds of United States military bases in many countries of the world: in Western Germany and the United Kingdom, in Turkey and Taiwan, on United States aircraft carriers and cruisers, aboard the planes that maintain a round-the-clock patrol of certain areas. The United States has proposed to its allies in the Atlantic pact — some of which have already signified their agreement — that it should build new bases and launching sites for missiles with atomic and nuclear warheads on their territory. We also know that more and more countries are putting forward their claims to manufacture their own atomic weapons and are propounding theories about "equality" in the realm of atomic armaments, the right to membership in the so-called "atomic club", and so forth. Things have gone so far that even the militarists of the former Nazi General Staff, who are seeking their revenge, have begun to rearm with the help of those who, in the forum of the United Nations in the presence of the true victims of Munich, have urged us to remember the lessons of Munich, although they themselves were parties to that agreement. Yet, there is another, a second danger: the tests themselves, that is, the perfecting of atomic weapons already constitutes, as we know, a direct mortal danger to the health of mankind.

30. For that reason, the Bulgarian delegation welcomes the initiative of the Soviet Government in submitting specific measures in the field of disarmament for consideration by the United Nations at this session. These proposals, which provide further proof of that Government's consistent policy, take account of scientific and technological advances and the requirements of our time, and show the peoples the only road to liberation from the nightmare of rearmament. The Soviet Government's memorandum [A/3929] deals fully with all the problems of disarmament and opens up prospects for the settlement of those problems in the interests of all peoples and of world peace.

31. It is to be regretted that, though some time has passed since the Soviet memorandum on disarmament was submitted, an attempt is being made to pass it over in silence. It is quite obvious that the representatives of the Western Powers, armed to the teeth as they are, and those of their allies, instead of openly

discussing the business-like Soviet proposals or submitting constructive proposals of their own, would rather sit and talk about disarmament than actually disarm. Disarmament commissions can and doubtless should meet. In the first place, however, their composition should reflect the existence of the two fundamentally different approaches to the question of disarmament and, in the second place, they must have something on which to base a practical examination of the problems confronting them. That basis can and should be the memorandum of the Soviet delegation, which the United Nations should approve and recommend forthwith. It is to be hoped that the attitude of obstructionism and idle talk about disarmament will be recognized as unacceptable at this session, and that the Soviet Union's proposals on disarmament and its proposals on the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes and the elimination of military bases on the territories of other countries will be favourably received so that the United Nations can make as much headway as possible in the matter of disarmament. Trade instead of rearmament, the development of cultural relations among countries — these are slogans worthy of mankind at a time when it stands on the threshold of the conquest of cosmic space.

32. With that objective in view, we should take practical action on the proposal for convening an international economic conference to consider the problems of international economic co-operation. A special fund should be established for the economic development of under-developed countries and to improve technical assistance programmes. It is entirely fitting that questions concerning broad international economic co-operation, unrestricted trade among all countries and mutually profitable economic aid extended to the under-developed countries by more highly developed countries, should be given prominence in the statements of the majority of delegations.

33. These, in the view of our delegation, are the major problems with which the United Nations General Assembly should concern itself at its present thirteenth session.

34. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been and is pursuing a firm and consistent policy of peace. For that very reason, and in accordance with the will of the whole Bulgarian people, the Bulgarian Government has supported and continues to support the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals and the Soviet Government's efforts to secure the peaceful settlement of international problems, the further expansion of political, economic and cultural ties among peoples and the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. It will support any proposals, from whatever source, directed to that end.

35. True to the Bulgarian people's unswerving desire for peace, the Bulgarian Government has always made and will continue to make every effort to maintain and expand normal friendly relations with all countries, thus giving effect to its policy of peaceful coexistence and co-operation in the conduct of its international relations.

36. As a country situated in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, the People's Republic of Bulgaria pays special attention to its relations with the neighbouring Balkan countries. The underlying purpose and primary

aim of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is to maintain friendly, good-neighbourly relations with all the Balkan States, and its policy is directly designed to make the Balkans a zone of peace and security.

37. The Bulgarian delegation can point to the fact that many problems of equal interest to us and to our neighbours have been satisfactorily settled. The Bulgarian Government considers that the existence of some unsettled problems is not an obstacle to the further improvement of our relations. What is needed is a joint effort to strengthen the confidence among the Balkan countries, which, for centuries, have had the closest relations with each other. In bringing about an improvement in those relations, which can only be of advantage to themselves, these countries will, at the same time, be making their contribution, as Members of the United Nations, to the strengthening of peace in that important part of Europe.

38. Our delegation once again emphasizes the desire of the Bulgarian people to work unstintingly for the maintenance of good relations with all peaceful countries, near and far.

39. Let me, in conclusion, express the hope that the United Nations General Assembly, at this session, will make significant progress in its examination of the important problems which we have before us, and that its decisions on behalf of peace throughout the world will meet the aspirations of the peoples.

40. Mr. LANGE (Norway): Over the last few years, we have time and again experienced how local situations in different parts of the world rapidly, almost overnight, flare up in such a way that, internationally, they become of great concern to us all.

41. Under such circumstances, the immediate assistance of the United Nations becomes vital in order to prevent that local situations develop into grave international crises which may even result in catastrophes. It is, therefore, a source of great satisfaction to the Norwegian delegation that, during recent years, the United Nations machinery for international mediation and conciliation, under Chapter VI of the Charter has been further developed and strengthened. Practical steps have been taken to assist Member States in resolving their differences, and the Secretary-General deserves our deep appreciation for his impartial and untiring efforts.

42. The United Nations is, in fact, playing an ever greater and more important role as an instrument of international mediation and conciliation. The process of conciliation, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, is developing into one of the most needed and important safeguards of peace and security against risks arising from sudden brush fires.

43. The successful endeavour of our Organization to become more determined and effective in its efforts of conciliation and mediation under Chapter VI, may, to some extent at least, offset the weakness resulting from the fact that the means envisaged for enforcement measures, have so far not been established. It is gratifying and gives justification for striking a cautious note of optimism that Member States, when faced with problems which they feel unable to solve by the processes of traditional diplomacy, have developed a habit of turning to the United Nations. Our Organization has

repeatedly shown itself capable of assisting effectively in finding acceptable solutions, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

44. The most recent and striking example of this is, of course, the unanimous decision arrived at by the General Assembly, at its last emergency special session [resolution 1237 (ES-III)]. In his report [A/3934/Rev.1], submitted today, the Secretary-General has outlined practical steps by the United Nations in the Middle East which will be of great help in the endeavours to bring the area back to normalcy. Thereby, the conditions will be created for the countries of the area to carry out their solemn commitment to cooperate with one another on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference.

45. It should be clearly recognized, however, that international conciliation is not a kind of new wonder drug in itself. The extent to which the United Nations efforts in the field of conciliation will be crowned with success or doomed to failure depends ultimately on the attitude of the Governments directly concerned and the action they take.

46. In other words, the role of the United Nations is one of assisting the Governments concerned, and success depends upon the willingness of the Governments to compromise and to accept a process of give and take. While this, no doubt, is a limitation, it is, at the same time, a strong inducement against adopting extreme positions and advocating unjust solutions. The assistance which the United Nations, basing itself firmly on the Charter, and always mindful of the principles of justice and of the equal rights of States, great or small, can render to Members directly involved in international disputes, thus becomes one of finding the middle ground, the ground of mutual accommodations and conciliation and, consequently, of mutual sacrifices, thereby obtaining the desired results: the lessening of tension and the development of mutual understanding and good will. It is our hope that the course of events will permit the United Nations to develop in the years to come into an ever more effective instrument of international mediation and conciliation.

47. On various occasions, it has fallen upon Norway to contribute personnel and equipment to the United Nations machinery which has been set up to assist in implementing solutions resulting from conciliation or mediation. Within the means available and in accordance with constitutional requirements, Norway will also in the future be ready to contribute to the steps which may be agreed upon in accordance with the Charter, with a view to assisting Member States in reconciling their differences.

48. It follows from what I have said here that the Norwegian delegation favours the idea of the General Assembly enabling the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements with Member States on a stand-by basis, so as to make possible the most rapid creation of an emergency force, if in future situations such a step is deemed advisable or necessary.

49. In this connexion, I want to associate myself entirely with the Secretary-General's statement in the introduction to his annual report to the General Assembly [A/3844/Add. 1], that it should be clear that any such force must constitutionally be a non-fighting force, operating on the territories of the countries concerned only with their consent. Furthermore, it

should only be utilized after a decision by the Security Council or the General Assembly, regarding a specific case and for clearly international purposes relating to the pacific settlement of disputes which are authorized by the Charter. It is my hope that the General Assembly, when it discusses this matter at its thirteenth session, will reach a positive conclusion.

50. Turning now to disarmament and related problems, I hope I am justified in describing the present situation with a fundamentally optimistic paradox: never has so little been accomplished within the United Nations with regard to disarmament as during the last year, and maybe never in the last ten years have the prospects for realistic progress in at least some fields of disarmament been better.

51. The Disarmament Commission, as established last year [resolution 1150 (XII)], has not been able to work. On the other hand, the great Powers have had successful talks on a technical level regarding the kind of control system which will be needed to observe compliance with an agreed stop in the testing of nuclear weapons. For the first time, we are not limited to discussing the control issue in the abstract. We now know that control in the field of nuclear tests is feasible, what it should consist of, and its degree of effectiveness. We are gratified to note that the method of taking up the technical aspects of specific disarmament problems has led to such good results. As will be recalled, this approach was recommended in a suggestion put forward by Pakistan and Norway during the twelfth session [A/3729, para. 20]. We are glad that similar technical discussions concerning measures against surprise attacks are about to commence.

52. What led me to strike a note of optimism is, above all, the fact that the parties chiefly concerned—the great Powers—are prepared to discuss separately the various elements of the very complex problem of disarmament and, in particular, that the technical aspects of these elements are discussed first.

53. We believe that the first and most important step now will be the conference on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests which will convene on 31 October in Geneva, with the object of working out an agreement regarding a halt in the testing of nuclear weapons together with the corresponding control system. We urge that every effort be made by the nuclear Powers to arrive at a result which can finally rid mankind of further fear and anxiety with regard to the partly unknown effects of nuclear explosions. By 31 October, all three nuclear Powers will, on a unilateral basis, have suspended their tests and I, for one, feel fairly confident that the tests will never be resumed.

54. As for the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, we favour the continuation of its work and an expansion of its programme, as suggested by the Secretary-General. It goes without saying, however, that duplication of work with other international agencies, such as for instance the World Health Organization, should be avoided. Furthermore, we sincerely hope that the technical discussions regarding measures to eliminate surprise attacks will also result in an agreed report on what measures are possible and on their precise nature.

55. The Norwegian delegation, of course, fully realizes that the road ahead may be difficult and also a long one. But in the light of the break-through of the

technical experts on the control issue, we consider it both possible and imperative that the political conference at General follow up and work out an agreement securing a controlled stop in the testing of nuclear weapons. Generally speaking, we believe that the method of separating the political and technical aspects of the disarmament problems should be tried on other issues as well, such as force levels, the possible establishment of geographic areas with mutually agreed limitations of forces, and the limitation of defence budgets.

56. Somewhat reluctantly I suggest, however, that it might be advisable not to be too ambitious at this time in widening the field, but to concentrate mainly on bringing the question of a halt in the testing of nuclear weapons to a successful conclusion and exploring possible measures against surprise attack. Success in these fields will, we believe, help to create the atmosphere of confidence which is required for further effective steps to be made on the road to internationally-controlled disarmament.

57. Furthermore, while we would be the last to want progress halted by procedural complications, I feel in duty bound to state that the Norwegian delegation is anxious that the United Nations should again assume its proper role in the disarmament work. I am sure that most Member Governments feel, as we do, that the follow up of any agreement arrived at between the great Powers should take place under the auspices and within the framework of the United Nations. Disarmament remains a matter of immediate concern to us all. The Norwegian Government therefore hopes that it will be possible at this session to arrive at a generally acceptable agreement on the structure and composition of the Disarmament Commission. In our view, this should not be an impossible feat, the more so, since obviously any achievements will not come as a result of majority votes but only as a product of mutual confidence and agreement. Even a small country, like Norway, can and will only disarm, if the general international atmosphere and workable agreements on effective international control warrant it. Nobody will even suggest, I am sure, that the great Powers should start to disarm on the basis of a majority vote in any commission or assembly.

58. The Norwegian delegation welcomes the initiative of the United States suggesting that an organization be set up to ensure an internationally co-ordinated approach to the conquest of outer space [749th meeting]. In our view, this question should be treated separately as a matter of peaceful co-operation, and we hope that adequate action will be taken by the Assembly.

59. To my mind, the results of the Geneva talks on technical methods of controlling a ban on atom tests, the report of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838], together with the results of the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Geneva, demonstrate convincingly the importance, from the point of view of lessening of tension and, consequently, for fresh constructive efforts towards agreed disarmament, of the fullest possible freedom of information on scientific and technical development in the field of nuclear armaments. I venture to suggest that the time has come to appeal to all Governments to consider whether a greater measure of openness of

information might not be a significant positive step on the road towards disarmament and peace.

60. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland, Mr. Gudmundsson, urged strongly in his speech last Thursday [759th meeting], that this General Assembly should take up and endeavour to find a solution to the controversial and difficult problems concerning the extent of coastal jurisdiction. He stressed the importance of having the matter settled without any further delay. My Government fully understands Iceland's grave concern in this matter, which vitally affects its economic and social progress and the general welfare of its people. We understand it all the better, because a large part of Norway is also inhabited by a population which is overwhelmingly dependent upon coastal fisheries for its livelihood and economic development. It is, consequently, an important objective for the Norwegian Government also to preserve the basis of its fishing industry.

61. What is before the Assembly, however, is the resolution of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea inviting the Assembly to study the advisability of convening a second international conference for further consideration of the questions left unsettled by the Geneva Conference. 1/ That Conference succeeded in elaborating four conventions covering a wide range of the law of the sea. This achievement bears witness to the spirit of co-operation of the participating States and demonstrates that the progressive development and codification of international law can be effectively promoted by international conferences, even in the present troubled atmosphere of world politics.

62. I feel confident that, given good will on all sides, the question of how far States are entitled to extend their territorial waters and fishing zones can be peacefully solved on a global basis to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. The Norwegian Government, for its part, considers the Canadian proposal, 2/ which would allow States to extend their territorial waters to six miles and their fishing zones to twelve miles, as a reasonable and well-balanced compromise solution. It is my earnest hope that the Assembly will decide to convene a second United Nations conference on the law of the sea, and that the participating Governments will do their utmost to facilitate a solution of this controversial problem.

63. I now turn to the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the field of economic and social welfare.

64. In the past few years, we have witnessed the rise of serious international economic problems which call for our consideration and action. The Secretary-General discusses these problems in his World Economic Survey 1957 [E/3110], 3/ and, in the introduction to his annual report, he expresses the view, which my Government shares, that lack of co-ordination of national

economic and financial policies carries dangers for the international economy.

65. The international economic recession, which we are now passing through and which is seriously affecting individual national economies, cannot be met effectively by unilateral policies. There is need for measures against a possible deterioration in world trade, production and employment. The downward trend should be met by international action to counterbalance the fluctuations in the foreign exchange reserves which are directly due to changing terms of trade and, therefore, beyond the control of individual Governments. In these circumstances, a concerted policy of renewed economic expansion would make the solution of these problems much easier and thereby facilitate the task of national Governments in maintaining full employment. It goes without saying that in this effort to set the world economy once more on the road to expansion, it is necessary that the larger countries, and particularly the creditor nations, take the lead.

66. We note with satisfaction that some of the relevant problems are already being tackled through international action. In this connexion, I would like to mention the efforts being made to counteract fluctuations in commodity prices. This situation is of primary concern to the less developed countries with un-diversified economies. It also bears, however, upon the economic life of the more industrialized countries. In the long run, nobody is served by severe price fluctuations. We should realize that this sort of instability not only has harmful economic consequences but political and social repercussions as well. My Government welcomes the negotiations now taking place concerning several commodities and, in particular, we appreciate the reconstitution of the Commission on International Commodity Trade which has made it possible for the world's largest trading nations to resume their membership in the Commission, thus enabling it to deal more effectively with problems within its competence.

67. My Government realizes that the under-developed countries are the ones which are most seriously affected by the present economic situation. Not only is their trade and thus their balance of payments severely upset, but their development plans are retarded. Against this background, we are most appreciative of the increased activity we have seen in the past year in the field of economic aid programmes. We are greatly encouraged by the emphasis placed on the activities in this field by the Secretary of State of the United States of America in his intervention in this general debate [749th meeting], and sincerely hope the General Assembly will follow the lead Mr. Dulles gave us.

68. This Assembly is invited to take final action on the establishment of a special fund for technical and economic assistance. We are aware of the fact that this is not the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), so fervently wanted by the less developed countries and always supported by my Government. Nevertheless, I think we can take comfort in the fact that a beginning has been made towards the realization of a United Nations capital investment institution.

69. We are also glad to note that steps are now being taken to increase the financial resources of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and

1/ United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, Official Records, Volume II: Plenary meetings (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol. II), annexes, document A/CONF.13/L.56.

2/ Ibid., Volume III: First Committee (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol. III), annexes, document A/CONF.13/C.1/L.77/Rev.3.

3/ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.II.C.1.

of the International Monetary Fund. The United States Government has also proposed the establishment of a new lending agency, to be named international development association, which will make available long-term, low-interest loans. In the view of the Norwegian Government, this would be a most welcome addition to the existing finance institutions. I cannot leave this subject without mentioning the plans for a development institution in the Middle East and the decision to establish a development bank for Latin America. We are also glad to see that the Economic Commission for Africa has been set up. All this shows that we are in a period of fruitful thinking and constructive action.

70. To sum up, in three of the most important fields of United Nations activity—namely, mediation and conciliation, disarmament, and economic development—the last year has seen encouraging progress, which gives grounds to hope for further constructive results in the years to come.

71. Yet, Governments and peoples the world over dare hardly rejoice in past achievements or future prospects. They are all holding their breath and are watching in deep anxiety the situation in the Strait of Taiwan, arising out of the historic accident of Nationalist China having retained some of the off-shore islands.

72. Such is the state of tension in the world in which we live, so deep the mutual distrust between the most powerful nations, and so far apart the positions of the principal parties concerned as to the questions of legitimate rights and the problems of international law involved, that a most determined effort of mutual accommodation will be needed on both sides to avoid steps which may start a chain of events fateful for all of us. The Norwegian Government therefore hopes and urges that the parties carry on the discussions now being held in Warsaw, in the realization of this, with full sincerity and in a spirit of true conciliation.

73. Surely, this is not the moment to discuss from this rostrum the substance of the questions at issue, while talks are going on between the parties. It is only prudent, however, to acknowledge that these negotiations are extremely difficult in themselves and that they are further complicated by the military actions going on and by the regrettable but, none the less, real mutual distrust between the parties. At the same time, the risk of further military actions which might eventually lead to a catastrophe is so great that the world cannot be kept in a prolonged state of anxiety and suspense.

74. If the parties are not able, in the near future, to make progress in their endeavours, I venture to suggest that they be assisted either by a small balanced group of nations acceptable to the parties, or maybe by the Secretary-General, with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable solutions which will ease the immediate tension. As one of the parties is not at present represented in the United Nations, attempts to have the normal machinery of this Organization render real assistance may prove very difficult. On the other hand, no matter how severely we condemn the resort to armed force to achieve one's aims, surely, the interests and issues directly at stake in the Strait of Taiwan are not such as to justify, on the part of anyone, measures which might jeopardize the peace of the world. That is also why the Norwegian Government

holds that a peaceful and honourable way must and can be found out of the present predicament and that, to this end, no stone must remain unturned.

75. Prince Wan WATHAYAKON (Thailand): On behalf of my delegation and myself, I extend to you, Mr. President, our cordial congratulations on your election to this high and highly responsible office of President of the General Assembly during its thirteenth regular session. We know that you will discharge the duties of your office with your well-known qualities of competence, efficiency and impartiality. But it is a further source of satisfaction to us to see in you a representative of our Asian culture, who will bring to the accomplishment of his task a spirit of humanity and a sense of spiritual values which are essentially and urgently required for the solution of the grave problems now confronting us.

76. I regret that I could not attend the General Assembly during its third emergency special session personally, but I wish to associate myself with the general gratification expressed at the fact that the Arab States themselves drew up resolution 1237 (ES-III), which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly.

77. I am happy, too, to see cited in the preamble of that resolution the Charter aim that States should "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". I never tire of citing this provision of the Charter, for it appears to me to express in a positive and correct form what is purported to be conveyed by the term "peaceful co-existence". The practice of tolerance is a prerequisite of peaceful coexistence, for live and let live must go together, and the practice of tolerance is to let live. It is only when you let live that you can live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. Thus, aggression, direct or indirect, is to be condemned, precisely because it is a violation of the practice of tolerance.

78. The practice of tolerance, as representatives are aware, was given its due importance in the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation, adopted by the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in 1955 in its final communiqué. The declaration says in part:

"Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and good-will towards one another, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

"1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

"3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.

"4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

"5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

"6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of

collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers.

"(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

"7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

"8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

"9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

"10. Respect for justice and international obligations." It will thus be seen that the ten principles of friendly co-operation of the Bandung Conference are more comprehensive than the five principles of peaceful coexistence of the Moscow declaration of 24 May 1958 and, in the opinion of my delegation, represent more closely the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

79. The first principle of friendly co-operation is respect for fundamental human rights and for the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As the General Assembly's special representative on the Hungarian problem, I made a humanitarian appeal to the Foreign Minister of Hungary and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, but in vain, as I reported to the General Assembly on 9 December 1957.⁴ In that report, I expressed my regret that I had been unable to find an opportunity for negotiations. I could not believe, however, that the Hungarian and Soviet Governments would remain insensible to the voice of world opinion and the conscience of mankind. I therefore hoped that, as the international tension relaxed, I would be given an opportunity to assist in establishing full international co-operation in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Hungary.

80. Unfortunately, events have afforded me no such opportunity, but, worse still, on 16 June 1958, it was reported that Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter and two of their associates had been executed. The news came as a great shock to me, as I said in the statement which I issued at the time, as follows:

"I am terribly shocked to learn of the execution of Premier Imre Nagy, General Maléter and others. As Special Representative of the United Nations General Assembly, I did my best to impress upon the Hungarian delegation the insistent demand of world public opinion, including Asian opinion, for humanitarian treatment of Hungarians detained in connexion with the revolution. I therefore deeply deplore this inhuman act of execution, which surely will be universally condemned by people with a human heart all over the world. The United Nations must continue to devote its attention to this matter of Hungary."

And to the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary I sent the following message:

"I warmly appreciate excellent communiqué issued by Special Committee which has received whole-

⁴ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 63, document A/3774.

hearted approval throughout the world. After careful reflection, I am of opinion that Special Committee is doing the right thing in collecting more information for report to the General Assembly which alone can determine further action."

81. The special report of the Special Committee [A/3849] is now submitted to the General Assembly and will be duly acted upon. The practice of tolerance on the part of the Hungarian and Soviet Governments would, I am sure, bring about an effective solution to the problem, and thus I make an earnest appeal to their delegations to that effect.

82. The tenth principle of friendly co-operation of the Bandung Conference is respect for justice and international obligations. The corresponding provision in the Charter is couched in wider terms: it is to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained. One such condition is the encouragement of the progressive development of international law and its codification. I had the honour to be elected President of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held at Geneva earlier this year. Thanks to the monumental basic work of the International Law Commission and the good preparatory work of the Secretariat, the Conference was able to open for signature four conventions, namely: the Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, the Convention on the High Seas, the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas and the Convention on the Continental Shelf, and also an Optional Protocol of Signature concerning the Compulsory Settlement of Disputes.

83. These instruments constitute not only a codification of international law, but also a progressive development of it, for new rules are laid down, such as those on the continental shelf, for instance. The achievement of the Conference stands as a concrete evidence of the spirit of co-operation shown by the eighty-six participating States, to which I wish to pay a warm tribute of appreciation.

84. The law of the sea is a delicate subject in regard to which there are divergent views and wide differences of national interests. The wonder to me, therefore, was not that complete agreement could not yet be reached, but that so much could already be agreed upon; in fact, every matter was agreed upon except that of the breadth of the territorial sea, and even in regard to this matter, points of view were getting closer together, as is evidenced by the simple majority vote obtained for the United States compromise proposal.⁵

85. It is my belief that a second conference should be held in 1959 or 1960 in order to resolve the outstanding question of the breadth of the territorial sea. Some time should be allowed for interested Governments to negotiate, but there should be no long delay in convening the conference lest unilateral declarations of the breadth of the territorial sea and the contiguous fishing zone should complicate the situation. Agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea and, in particular, of the fishing limits would certainly pro-

⁵ United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, Official Records, Volume III: First Committee (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol. III), annexes, document A/CONF.13/C.1/L.159/Rev.2.

mote and improve good-neighbourly relations among nations.

86. Although the world is now one and indivisible and peace, too, is one and indivisible—that is why Thailand has sent troops to serve under the United Nations Command in Korea and has sent officers to join the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon—yet, the development of friendly relations among neighbouring countries is a contribution which small nations can most usefully make to peace in a particular region. That has been and is the policy of my country, and I am glad to report that Thailand's relations with its immediate neighbours, Burma, Laos and the Federation of Malaya, are excellent. Of course, with a long common frontier, frontier problems of various kinds are inevitable, but, if the relations are friendly, they are settled amicably and permanent arrangements are made for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations along the common frontier.

87. This policy of friendship and good-neighbourliness of my country naturally applies to Cambodia as well and, I may even say, applies particularly to Cambodia, because Thailand and Cambodia are, in fact, sister nations. As such, however, we are sometimes afflicted with a family quarrel. There is an ancient shrine on the Thai side of the watershed frontier line, as defined in the treaties, and Thailand has been in possession of it even before Cambodia became independent. Cambodia now claims it, starting with a press campaign and a demonstration. The negotiations in Bangkok, unhappily, did not succeed; and so there, too, a press campaign and a demonstration occurred. But both sides have declared themselves in favour of further negotiations and a peaceful settlement. Thailand did not close the frontier, but merely redeclared the state of emergency on the frontier in order to prevent communist infiltrations.

88. In this connexion, I am happy to note the statement by the Prime Minister of Cambodia [756th meeting] that his Government respects the decision of neighbouring countries to adhere to organizations for common defence and that they would keep a constant and vigilant control over questionable elements in the Chinese and Viet-Nameese minorities living in Cambodia that would tend to cause trouble to a neighbouring Government.

89. On behalf of my Government, I wish to state that Thailand, for its part, fully respects Cambodia's neutralist policy. As I have already stated, Thailand's relations with its other neutralist neighbours are excellent and there is no reason why the same should not be the case with Cambodia, especially, as the Charter enjoins us to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours; and tolerance is a Buddhist virtue common to both Thailand and Cambodia.

90. Nor must political divergencies distract our attention from the common interests which draw us together in economic co-operation. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has had the happy idea of setting up a programme for the integrated development of the Lower Mekong River Basin, involving co-operation among the four riparian States of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and the Republic of Viet-Nam. I attach great importance to this programme, because it is economic development that is needed in

the under-developed countries. That is why Thailand is in favour of bilateral, as well as United Nations, programmes of technical and economic assistance, and we cordially welcome the establishment of the United Nations Special Fund. Thailand itself is encouraging private investment by a new law offering greater security and inducement.

91. Another matter which is of great concern to the under-developed countries is the problem of fluctuating commodity prices, and thus my delegation gladly welcomes the reconstitution of the Commission on International Commodity Trade. In the meantime, however, the co-operation of the Soviet Union is urgently needed in regard to tin. My Government has already approached the USSR Government with a view to its adhering to the International Tin Agreement. I hope for its favourable consideration.

92. The mention of atomic energy conjures up great prospects of industrial power for the good of humanity, on the one hand, the dire terror of utter destruction for the annihilation of mankind, on the other. But we must not be pessimistic. The technical talks on the detection of nuclear weapons tests succeeded, and it is our earnest hope that an agreement to suspend such tests will be forthcoming from the conversations at the end of October. It is also our ardent hope that the technical talks regarding security from surprise attack, which are to take place in November, will be successful and that an agreement in that matter will also be reached. There would then be better prospects of further progress in the disarmament talks. Furthermore, the very terror of the devastating power of a nuclear war serves as a deterrent in itself and cannot fail to instil into the Powers concerned an imperative sense of responsibility to avoid war.

93. The situation in Quemoy and the Taiwan Strait is certainly very serious and fraught with great danger. But you, Mr. President, no doubt, recall with me the statements of Premier Chou En-lai at the Bandung Conference pointing to the possibility of a peaceful solution to the question of Taiwan. Indeed, the resources of peace are many. Besides the negotiations at Warsaw, the success of which is the ardent desire of all peace-loving people throughout the world, there is the United Nations, which has the duty of preserving world peace and which has shown itself to be a good instrument of reconciliation. We have, in particular, the Secretary-General, in whom I have great faith as a conciliator. We also have Member States with diplomatic representatives in Peking, who could lend their good offices. Indeed, the call of world public opinion for the prevention of a major war must be answered. The United Nations is not yet bankrupt in its statesmanship, and I am confident that a peaceful outcome will be found.

94. Mr. VARGAS FERNANDEZ (Costa Rica) (Translated from Spanish): The delegation of Costa Rica takes pleasure in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly during its thirteenth regular session. My delegation is convinced that the vast experience you have acquired in the service of the United Nations as well as your remarkable moral and intellectual gifts have been the essential factor in your wise guidance of our debates and the skill with which you perform your high office.

95. My delegation will participate in the discussion of

the questions and problems submitted for consideration by the United Nations, fully aware of the fact that, in reality, all it can contribute to a solution of these problems is its unwavering intention to be guided in its votes by the highest ideals of solidarity and universal justice.

96. Our intervention in this general debate will be brief and we shall refrain from any examination of the complex and vital questions on the agenda. We wish only to state without rhetoric from this world rostrum, at this opening phase of our session, that Costa Rica, although a minute country from the point of view of the size of its territory and population, is imbued with a lofty sense of its membership in the United Nations. Mindful of this spirit, Costa Rica desires once again to make known its unshakable belief in the need to keep in force a set of ethical principles and standards, which constitute the sole course for the maintenance of world peace and the achievement, in the near or distant future, of that era of happiness to which we, as members of the human race, are entitled.

97. My delegation will give its complete support to any proposal, any declaration or any cause put forward in the United Nations, which will tend to strengthen politically those systems which respect the dignity of man. We shall support social measures which will not only promote employment but will also enable those obtaining employment to live a dignified and respectable life with adequate remuneration. We shall always support with our vote any measure designed to prevent the outbreak of a further world conflagration which, it is logical to assume, would endanger all humanity.

98. We shall condemn any direct or indirect intervention which endangers the independence of peoples or impairs the integrity of States.

99. We wish to express our full agreement with and great hopes for the efforts being made to promote a world disarmament plan which will free the peoples of the world from fear and enable Governments to devote all their resources to better and more humanitarian causes.

100. I should like to make a brief reference to Costa Rica in support of the position taken by our delegation on the question of disarmament. Since it gained its independence, Costa Rica has always maintained a markedly civilian tradition. It has preferred teachers and schools to soldiers and barracks. We can truly say that we have never had an army. We have always lived in a state of disarmament. The limited quantities of weapons acquired recently, breaking with this tradition, are now being exchanged for agricultural implements. The machete for clearing paths and the plough for opening furrows in the soil have, throughout our history, been the expression of our pacifistic creed and of the civilian bias to which I have referred. Nevertheless, the Costa Ricans have known how to handle a rifle or a cannon in their defence.

101. The delegation of Costa Rica therefore welcomes every effort made in the United Nations to achieve disarmament. We hope that, if an agreement on total disarmament cannot be reached between the great Powers, at least some agreement may be reached to limit with safety the manufacture of implements of war. Consistent with this desire for peace, which is so strongly felt by all Costa Ricans, my delegation is following with particular interest the efforts being

made here to regulate atomic tests and to use this tremendous energy in the service of humanity and not for the total destruction of civilization.

102. My delegation has noted that economic studies are growing in importance every day. We have also decided, therefore, to support any proposal to promote these studies or give them their due priority, particularly in view of the many grave implications of the serious condition of under-development in some of the Latin American countries.

103. We are eager to find some positive solution to the problem created by the fall in prices of some of the so-called basic products. The strength of many of our economic systems depends on the possibility of finding for this problem a permanent solution and not merely a temporary remedy.

104. The existence of stable prices for their basic products is an essential condition for the progress of many of the peoples of this continent. Costa Rica, a single crop country, whose principal export product is coffee, has been seriously affected by the impossibility of securing an adequate demand for this basic commodity. In our country, coffee production is carried out on a small-holder basis. Thousands of owners of small coffee plantations are bound to suffer losses if prices cannot be stabilized. The coffee industry provides permanent employment for thousands of workers and farm labourers, and our economy is, to a great extent, based on our foreign trade, the sale of coffee abroad constituting the major source of gold currency revenue. In 1957, exports of this commodity brought in 49 per cent of our foreign currencies, followed by the banana trade with 39 per cent.

105. Large-scale unemployment and fluctuations in the value of our currency would be two of the most serious consequences for our country if we cannot sell our coffee or if we have to sell it at low prices. We have naturally rejoiced at the agreements recently signed in Washington, in this connexion, by certain Latin American countries, but my delegation is greatly concerned that the competent commission should continue the study of the whole question of these basic products, with a view to finding some permanent solution.

106. The programmes of technical assistance have been most beneficial to the Republic of Costa Rica. This kind of co-operation is certainly one of the most effective applications of the principles of service proclaimed by the United Nations. Considerable progress in various branches of national activity has been made possible by the assistance of experts sent to my country under the technical assistance programmes. Many Costa Ricans have been granted scholarships, in some cases, for the purpose of taking up new studies and, in others, to specialize in different subjects. These students have increased their knowledge of certain subjects or learnt new skills and have made a great contribution to our development. Certain phases of education have been given preferential advice and assistance under this programme.

107. The Electrical Institute and the Housing and Town Planning Institute have been wisely and generously assisted under this programme in certain branches of work. I wish therefore to take this opportunity to express our thanks to the United Nations for this valuable assistance and to repeat that Costa Rica has

decided to co-operate, in so far as its limited possibilities permit, in furthering and increasing this type of assistance, since it is one of the most positive expressions of the solidarity which should prevail between peoples united in the same desire for peace and prosperity.

108. I said before that, in participating in this general debate, my delegation did not wish to raise or examine in detail any particular question or problem. We only wished to come forward at the opening of this

new session of the General Assembly to reaffirm our belief in the high ideals of universal amity, referring only briefly, in passing, to certain matters which are of particular interest to our delegation.

109. I said I would be brief, and I shall now conclude by expressing our sincere wishes for the success of the United Nations on which rest the hopes of the entire world.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.