



Thursday, 17 September 1959
at 3 p.m.

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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. LLOYD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon your election to your high office. You have had long experience at the United Nations. You're a well known, highly respected figure. Those who have known you for many years, as I have, add affection to their respect. We admire your intellectual capacity, your gift of oratory, your integrity and your very human personality. I hope you have a very happy and successful period of office.

2. I should also like to pay a tribute to the retiring President, Mr. Malik, of the Lebanon. He was elected at a time when conditions were not easy for him but he never faltered in his duty. He has our respect and good wishes.

3. This is the annual stocktaking of the United Nations. It is the occasion on which we have to examine the year's work against the background of world events. We have to consider the extent to which that work has been successful and how the United Nations can be strengthened.

4. British support for the United Nations is based on the following grounds. First of all the Charter embodies the hopes of the whole human race for peace and justice among men. It sets out a pattern for the regulation of international affairs. Notwithstanding human imperfections, the Charter enshrines the great ideals which should lighten the hearts of men in anxious times.

5. But quite apart from the idealism of the Charter, there are a number of practical ways in which the United Nations can help to promote peace and stability in the world. One of its most important functions is to try to stop aggression and war, and to keep the peace. Although, owing to the use of the veto in the Security Council, the United Nations cannot always act quickly and directly, nevertheless it can make vital contributions to keeping the peace. A conspicuous example of this has been the work of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East.

6. I dealt at some length in my speech in the general debate last year with the question of a United Nations force. I have always favoured this idea, but I have realized that it is a topic upon which one must carry with one a consensus of world opinion. The realities

impose upon us the necessity to hasten slowly. I understand the limitations. It could not be a fighting force. It could only be put into position by a decision of the United Nations. Its deployment would depend upon the agreement of the countries concerned. I also acknowledge the practical difficulties. To contemplate such a force in permanent being would raise great problems of administration and cost. What, however, I do favour—and I hope that serious consideration will be given to it by the Governments of Member States—is the earmarking by Member States of personnel, either as individuals or in contingents, who could be quickly made available. I also favour the setting up of a small planning section in the Secretariat to work out in advance plans for dealing with the problems resulting from a decision to assemble such a force for a particular purpose. Last year I said that I thought that international public opinion by and large was ready for some initiative of this sort. I hope that during this Assembly some indication will be given of the views of other Governments upon what I have been saying.

7. There is a second way in which the United Nations has shown its capability for helping to keep the peace. That is by the introduction of what we have come to call a United Nations "presence" in a troubled area. Again I look to the Middle East for an example. The special arrangements made by the Secretary-General following the Third Emergency Special Session in August 1958, his visits and Mr. Spinelli's work in the area have undoubtedly played a useful part in removing misunderstandings and contributing to the lessening of tension which happily has taken place since this time last year.

8. We know that lasting stability and true peace can only be brought about by the will and the efforts of the Governments and peoples of the region. It must be for them in the first instance to achieve harmony of aims amongst each other, or, at least, a reasonable working relationship.

9. It was with such hopes that we adopted in August 1958 a resolution submitted by the Arab countries [resolution 1237 (ES-III)]. We welcome signs that the spirit of that resolution persists, and, no doubt, the Governments of the area will backup the efforts of the Secretary-General.

10. In this connexion, to mention a somewhat controversial topic, referred to by Mr. Herter, Secretary of State of the United State [797th meeting], I hope the use of the Suez Canal will form a bond to further, and not a barrier to obstruct, the peaceful trade of all the countries of the area. I have made clear on past occasions the support of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for the principle of the free passage of ships of all nations through the Suez Canal—a principle which was embodied in the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and which has been adopted by the United Nations as its declared purpose.

11. The very fact that the United Nations has not, as a rule, been able to take speedy action to deal with par-

ticular crises, has led to these new methods and new techniques being developed. The Secretary-General has spoken of the United Nations serving a diplomacy of reconciliation, of mediation and conciliation. I think the United Nations representatives in the Middle East have quietly, unobtrusively and successfully sought to operate such a diplomacy.

12. We are filled with admiration for the work which the Secretary-General himself does, his journeys and his untiring efforts to find ways to iron out differences and to harmonize the relations between States. We have complete confidence in him and his work and he has our full support.

13. I have read with great interest the section of the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report [A/4132/Add.1] with regard to the role of the United Nations. He refers to the work of the permanent delegations and their growing diplomatic contribution outside the public meetings, often in close contact also with the Secretariat. He refers to the possibility of the organization of regular meetings of the Security Council in executive session. He also made an interesting suggestion at the Economic and Social Council this year [1074th meeting] about the possibility of short special meetings of that Council at Ministerial level. These are interesting and imaginative ideas.

14. The United Nations is also an invaluable forum for public debate. We, the United Kingdom, sometimes find ourselves at odds with other Members with regard to the inscription of items for debate. We hold certain views about the Charter and Article 2 (7), which are well known. We also think, however, that the inscription of items should be approached not just from the legalistic point of view; there also should be a practical political attitude towards the agenda. In other words, Members have to consider whether the inscription of an item, and a public debate here, is going to make a settlement more likely or less likely; whether it is going to create an atmosphere in which reasonable compromises are almost impossible, or the reverse.

15. Last year we did not oppose the inscription of the item on Cyprus. In the event the debate here was conducted with restraint and dignity; no doubt because of that fact, it contributed to creating an atmosphere in which direct talks between the Greek and Turkish Governments, and later the Greek, Turkish and British Governments and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, became possible, talks which happily resulted in complete agreement. I do not think, speaking quite frankly, that the earlier debates on Cyprus helped at all, but last year's one was, in our view, timely and did help. It seems to me to be a matter of judgement. I cannot accept the conception, although I know it is held by many, that inscription should be automatic. I think that such an attitude involves a certain abdication of responsibility.

16. Lastly, on the question of inscription, may I just say this. Yesterday the General Committee agreed to recommend the inscription of an item on Algeria. Since then, we have read the statement of policy made in Paris yesterday by the President of France, in which he declared his intention that:

"...The men and women who live in Algeria will be in a position to decide their own destiny, once and for all, freely and in the full knowledge of what is at stake."

17. I warmly welcome President de Gaulle's statement of policy. It is clearly one of the highest importance. I hope it will be very carefully considered by all those interested, and that it will form the basis for the settlement of this problem.

18. There is one aspect of the activities of the United Nations which does not arouse any controversy and that is the work of the specialized agencies. We will continue to give our full support to those agencies. We believe in the great importance of the practical work which they do in all aspects of economic and social development, for example improving health, agriculture and technical skills throughout the world.

19. One way to show our realization of the imperative necessity for further effort along these lines is to increase the contributions to the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance.

20. The United Kingdom Government propose, provided we receive the approval of our Parliament, to give next year to the Special Fund the sterling equivalent of \$5 million, as compared with \$1 million this year. We also propose to give the equivalent of \$3 million to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. This represents an increase of over three-quarters of a million dollars upon our present contribution. The total of \$8 million is well over double our present combined contribution to the programmes. This is more than just a gesture on our part: it is an earnest of our confidence in the value of the programmes undertaken by Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Director of the Special Fund, and Mr. David Owen, Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board, and of our belief in the great role of the United Nations in promoting economic development.

21. But apart from technical assistance, and apart from the help which the Special Fund can give, we all recognize the urgent need of capital for development. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliate, the International Finance Corporation, have done valuable work. We were enthusiastic participants in the recent measures for increasing the resources of the Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We hope that the Bank will be able to maintain and indeed increase the volume of its lending.

22. The Commonwealth is also playing its part in this work of providing capital. Discussions at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference in Canada last year were very much to the point. One of the main purposes of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council, which was then set up, is to study means of mobilizing resources to finance the development of less-developed countries in the Commonwealth. The United Kingdom also announced its intention at the Conference to make Commonwealth assistance loans for this same purpose.

23. We are also giving favourable examination to proposals made at New Delhi last autumn for the formation of an international development association. We are ready to play our full part in working out plans for its establishment and contributing to its capital. We believe that such an association has a key role to play.

24. We also intend to increase next year our contribution to the United Nations Children's Fund by \$280,000.

25. In my speech last year [758th meeting], I referred to the proposal for a World Refugee Year. The idea of

this came from a group of young men in Britain. It received the support of the British Government, and, as you will remember, it was supported in this Assembly by an overwhelming majority [782nd meeting].

26. In the United Kingdom the Year was launched on 1 June. Our Committee is under the patronage of Her Majesty The Queen. The target of the British Committee is £2 million to be raised by voluntary subscriptions. The Government is also making a contribution, and we have agreed to accept for admission to the United Kingdom a certain number of handicapped refugees. It is a source of great encouragement to us that some fifty-six other countries have taken up the plan with enthusiasm. It is a timely example of international co-operation for a common purpose. I earnestly hope that it will have far-reaching results in the alleviation of one of the greatest of human tragedies.

27. I should like now to say something about the British Government's special responsibility towards the peoples of the dependent territories under British administration. We are guided by one objective, to help the peoples of these territories to advance towards self-government or independence, to become nations which can stand on their own feet in conditions of stability, prosperity and freedom.

28. In the last fifteen years there have been great changes, above all in Asia and Africa. The membership of the General Assembly is the best proof of our record in this matter. We see here today the representatives of many nations which were formerly under British rule and which have gained their independence in this period. Very soon I have no doubt that we shall welcome here another African nation, the Federation of Nigeria.

29. This task of building nations is not easy. It cannot always be quick. The problems have to be tackled step by step. But it is a great creative work in which the representatives of the territories concerned are playing an increasing part. With them, we are overcoming the many problems which stand in the way of advance, problems of under-developed natural resources, of shortages of trained personnel and, particularly in certain territories, the problems of human relationships.

30. In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side, the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well-being of these countries. We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy therefore is non-racial; it offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations.

31. We are greatly encouraged in this task by the sympathy of all those who are contributing in many different ways to these developments. We prize very highly the Commonwealth ideal which provides the setting and context for our efforts. From the international community as a whole, we ask for understanding of our problems, recognition of what we have done and appreciation of the efforts we are making to build for the future.

32. In this annual stocktaking, the thoughts of many of us are dominated by two sets of problems which are

interrelated. First of all, East-West relations, and secondly, the problems of modern armaments. Since shortly after the end of the war, the world scene has been bedevilled by bad relations between the Communist bloc and the Western countries. At times there has been open, if limited, warfare. At other times there has been the cold war with its bitter propaganda and political manoeuvring. Occasionally little shafts of sunlight have come through the clouds when, for example, the State Treaty with Austria was signed in 1955 or when the Geneva agreements about Indo-China were reached in 1954. But on the whole the record has been a sad one, and when in November last year it culminated in the Soviet Note about Berlin, I think many of us had our feelings of anxiety as to exactly where the world was drifting, acutely reinforced.

33. It was because of our anxiety on this score that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, and I went to the Soviet Union last February to see what might come of frank talks with the Soviet leaders about the state of the world. Those talks were frank. I believe that they had a measure of success in improving the atmosphere. They were followed by the acceptance by the Soviet Union of a Foreign Ministers' Conference. We, the two Governments, also agreed to take practical steps in the fields of trade, cultural relations, personal contacts and the improvement of communications in order to promote a better state of affairs in the relations between our two countries. Since our meetings in Moscow, agreements have been reached covering all those matters, agreements which I regard as a sound beginning, but only a beginning. I profoundly believe that if we know more about one another, if Governments and peoples have the opportunity of meeting and mutual understanding, nations may cease to try to tear each other apart.

34. The Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva was lengthy. It did not reach positive agreements. In spite of that, I believe that it did end with the respective points of view more clearly defined and the differences narrowed. The Conference made a definite contribution to the creating of an atmosphere in which further improvement in relations between the two blocs is in my view possible.

35. The view of my Government is that this process will be assisted by a meeting between Heads of Governments. It is of course quite unrealistic to think that Heads of Governments at one single meeting can find some magic formula for solving the problems of this troubled world. We hope it will be the first of a series at which differences will be frankly discussed, and we hope that, taking the problems one by one, some progress can be made toward their solution.

36. I want, however, at this point to make one thing absolutely clear. We do not regard this as a process exclusive of the United Nations. This is not an attempt to push the United Nations on one side. In pursuing this course of reconciliation we consider that we are trying to fulfil our obligations under the Charter. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report, said some very wise words on this subject. He put exactly the right interpretation, if I may say so, upon these developments. He said that they were not only in keeping with the principles of the Charter. He reminded us that:

"...the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and

mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security. Viewed in this light, the various diplomatic and political activities in the course of the past year are in full harmony with the intentions expressed in the Charter. They may even be said to reflect obligations which Member nations have assumed in the Charter." [A/4132/Add. 1, p.1.]

After referring to one or two matters requiring attention, the Secretary-General continued by saying that in his view:

"These developments are not only in keeping with the principles of the Charter but are also free, I believe, from implications which impair the position of the Organization in principle." (*Ibid.*)

37. Although I have spoken encouragingly of certain aspects of East-West relations, there are other matters which cause us deep distress. These are the situations in Hungary, Tibet and Laos.

38. Over Hungary, I much regret that the Hungarian Government has refused to co-operate with the work of Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations representative. The flagrant disregard of the recommendations of the General Assembly is a matter of deep concern to us.

39. Over Tibet, we have been greatly grieved to hear accounts of massive repression there by Communist China, of the suppression of ancient liberties, and ruthless assaults upon the historic life of a sturdy and friendly people.

40. Finally, over Laos, I have had many discussions on this topic with my fellow co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, Mr. Gromyko. We have not been able to reach agreement on a common course of action. I believe, however, that the recent action of the Security Council is having a pacifying effect. The Sub-Committee established by the Council [848th meeting] will report back in due course. I do hope that then there will be agreement on measures to alleviate the situation and to preserve the rights of a sovereign people to live their own lives in independence and security. We for our part will certainly be ready to consider at that time any proposals from any quarter designed to achieve that result.

41. The second great problem is disarmament. There are some who say that you can have no disarmament without political settlements, but others who say that you will not get political settlements while the present race in armaments continues. The truth is that if we can get political settlement it will make agreement on disarmament easier; if we can get an agreement on disarmament, it will make political settlements easier. Progress in either field will cause a correspondingly favourable reaction in the other field.

42. I myself have been concerned in most of the disarmament discussions which have taken place since November 1951. There was the work in 1951 in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in Paris under the chairmanship of the then President of the Assembly, my colleague Mr. Padilla Nervo, whose election as chairman of the Disarmament Commission last week I warmly welcome. There was the work in London in 1954, when the Anglo-French plan was prepared. There were the debates here in New York at successive Assembly sessions. There was a consideration of the Soviet proposals of May 1955 and our

amended Anglo-French proposals of 1956. There was the work in the Sub-Committee in London in 1957, when certain partial, or first stage, proposals were put forward by the Western Powers. I do not want to cross old battle-fields again today or to revive old controversies.

43. One satisfactory feature of the 1957 discussions was that a proposal, which I put forward myself, for a meeting of technical experts and scientists to discuss the possibility of controlling a ban on nuclear tests was accepted in the following year by the Soviet Union. A successful conference of experts took place in Geneva 1958,^{1/} and the present conference between the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom began in the same year.^{2/} Since the Soviet tests in November 1958, no further tests have taken place and there has been steady progress in working out a treaty relating to the cessation of nuclear tests. Many articles have been agreed, and without doubt this conference has been the most realistic and sustained attempt to reach an agreement upon one aspect of armament development ever undertaken. We have learnt a lot during it about some of the problems of control. In spite of the remaining difficulties—and there are remaining difficulties—I still have high hopes of an agreement which will pave the way for wider agreements.

44. Throughout these discussions, however, I have been anxiously awaiting the moment when it would be appropriate once again to attempt progress towards an agreement on disarmament in its most comprehensive aspects. I need not remind you of the abortive attempts in 1957 to set up a disarmament commission with a new limited membership, and the failure since the discussions in the Sub-Committee in 1957 to get anything resembling a negotiation going on these wider aspects. But Mr. Couve de Murville, Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Herter and I myself took advantage of our meetings in Geneva on certain European problems to discuss the forum in which new talks on disarmament might take place. We had also been able to exchange views individually with the Secretary-General when he visited Geneva for the opening of our conference. In the event, we reached an agreement which was announced in a "communiqué" from the four Governments on 7 September 1959^{3/}. That agreement was at once communicated to the full Disarmament Commission, and the Commission by a resolution adopted on 10 September 1959^{4/} welcomed the resumption of negotiations announced in the "communiqué". The resolution recognized, as had the four-Power "communiqué", that the ultimate responsibility for general disarmament measures rests with the United Nations, and it welcomed the intention of the countries concerned to keep the Disarmament Commission appropriately informed of the progress of their deliberations.

45. The way is thus open for a fresh start, and I am confident that the work of the Ten-Power Committee will help the United Nations in its future discussions and, I hope, decisions.

^{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.

^{2/}Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, convened on 31 October 1958.

^{3/}Document DC/144.

^{4/}Document DC/145.

46. In my speech in 1957 [685th meeting] I tried to indicate certain principles which I believe have to be accepted if progress is to be made towards an agreement. The first of those principles is that disarmament must proceed at all stages with a balance between disarmament in the nuclear and conventional fields. Secondly, control is the test of progress. Verbal agreements without control, however solemnly concluded, are more likely to add to insecurity than to security. Bearing those considerations in mind, we in Britain have been examining the lines on which it might be possible for progress now to be made.

47. Our aim is to move forward by balanced stages towards the abolition of all nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, and towards the reduction of other weapons and armed forces to levels which will rule out the possibility of aggressive war. Obviously progress must be made by stages. I will now try to indicate the way in which I think it might be made.

48. In the first stage the following matters should be dealt with.

49. Firstly, nuclear tests. If, as we very much hope, agreement is reached at the present conference between the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, that agreement should be endorsed by other nations. We believe that that is an important step towards dealing with the vexed question of the spread of nuclear armaments.

50. Secondly, there should be a technical conference on the feasibility of controlling what is called the "cut-off", in other words, ceasing to use fissionable material to make weapons. That is an even more important step if we are indeed to stop the spread of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

51. Thirdly, the great Powers should agree to maximum limits for their forces. There should be the establishment of an international body charged with the task of collecting information on present levels of forces and conventional armaments. The object of this would be to try to establish some basis for limiting conventional armaments. In this context armaments are even more important than the levels of forces.

52. Fourthly, we should pursue the idea of the handing over of specific quantities of designated types of armaments to the custody of an international control organization.

53. If these other ideas are acceptable, I think we should follow up the not very successful conference of experts on measures against surprise attack^{5/} with a further conference to consider the political as well as the technical aspects of this particular problem.

54. There should be a study of the problems involved in the use of outer space. It is true that some work has been done on this in the United Nations, but the Soviet Union has not taken part in that work. I hope that their attitude will change on that point and recent remarkable events make that hope not unreasonable.

55. Finally, in this stage, we should study between us the nature and functions of the international control organ which will not only have to control disarmament measures, but also will have increasing responsibili-

ties within the framework of the United Nations to preserve world peace as purely national armaments diminish. In 1954 in the Sub-Committee we did spend considerable time studying the problems of the control organization. The United States paper^{6/} submitted on that occasion might provide a basis for this further study. We have also gained considerable experience as a result of the discussions at the nuclear tests Conference in Geneva.

56. All this would be the beginning, the first stage.

57. At the second stage, or intermediate stage, the following steps should be taken:

(a) There should be a progressive reduction of conventional armaments and military manpower under proper control.

(b) There should be the introduction of the cut-off of production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

(c) We should begin to reduce stocks of nuclear weapons by successive transfers, under international supervision, of existing military stocks of fissionable material, whether fabricated into weapons or not, to non-weapons uses.

(d) There should be the establishment of a system of inspection against surprise attack.

(e) There should be agreement on a system to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

(f) We should begin to develop the capacity of the international control organ to take measures to keep the peace.

58. That would be the second or intermediate stage, at which real progress was actually being made with real disarmament.

59. The ultimate objective, or the third stage, should be comprehensive disarmament by all Powers under effective international control, including the following matters:

(a) There should be a ban on the manufacture of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction.

(b) There should be a ban on the use of such weapons.

(c) There should be a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes.

(d) There should be a re-examination of the possibility of controlling and then eliminating the remaining stocks of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

(e) There should be the establishment of effective international control of military budgets.

(f) As progress is made in dealing with remaining stocks of nuclear weapons, there would be the final reductions of conventional armaments and military manpower to the levels required for internal security purposes only.

(g) The international control organ should reach its final form and attain its full capability for keeping peace.

^{5/}Conference of Experts for the Study of Possible Measures which might be Helpful in Preventing Surprise Attack held at Geneva from 10 November to 18 December 1958.

^{6/}See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for April, May and June 1954, document DC/53, annex 4.

60. This is an outline on which I believe progress can be made if there is the will. It is comprehensive. The development of the plan would, of course, depend upon the development of the techniques of international control. Just as the nuclear tests Conference has been slowly working out a draft treaty for dealing with a cessation of nuclear tests and has reached agreement on many of those articles, so I think we should seek to work out a draft treaty embodying the proposals which I have outlined. It would mean the attainment of the objective which we all have in mind. This may seem too ambitious a plan. But once we can get started and get some mutual confidence, I believe things could go quickly.

61. I have tried to put before this meeting of the General Assembly, frankly and without bitterness, the British views upon some of the great problems confronting the statesmen of the world.

62. The British attitude can be summarized in this way: We earnestly desire peace and stability in the world. We know that peace is the common interest of all of us. Global war, whether nuclear or conventional, would be a disaster, infinitely worse in its consequences than World Wars I and II. Under modern conditions no one can be a victor in global war. Such a war would constitute a common defeat.

63. The role of this Organization is clearly defined. The United Nations cannot be a substitute for the efforts of individual Governments. It can supplement and consummate such efforts.

64. If humanity is to survive, the great power blocs have got to learn to live in peace, one with the other. I am not at all despondent about the future. So much is at stake that I am certain that the basic wisdom of those who lead the world, reinforced by the universal instinct for survival, will lead to better and more fruitful relationships between the nations. This view may be regarded as unduly optimistic, but there are many forces working for good in the world.

65. I think all of us here are conscious of our responsibilities. Let us do everything within our power to see that the verdict of history is that we did meet the challenge of our times, that we were not found wanting, that we did make our individual contributions to the promotion of world peace and world stability, we did try to satisfy the aspirations of so many for an international society from which there will be banished inter-racial hatred, want, ignorance and disease, the fear of war.

66. Mankind can destroy itself. Mankind has also the opportunity to achieve higher levels of spiritual and material well-being than have ever before been possible.

67. Mr. ARAM (Iran): Mr. President, I would like to congratulate you on your election to the office of the presidency of the present session of the General Assembly. Your knowledge and experience of the United Nations, and the fact that you are identified with the noble causes which are deliberated here, all amply warrant your occupying this high office.

68. I should also like to pay a tribute to the wise statesmanship and outstanding ability of the Secretary-General, whose wholehearted devotion to the cause of constructive international co-operation is a great asset to this Organization.

69. This is the opening of our annual general debate on international affairs, and an opportunity for me to pre-

sent the views of my Government on some of the most important world problems.

70. At the outset, let us once again reaffirm our faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations—principles of international concord and the maintenance of friendly relations among nations. The Charter is the fundamental declaration of the principles of international conduct. It is based on the rule of law, equal rights for all, non-interference, and respect for the territorial integrity of States. In accordance with the Charter, all States are under the solemn obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means; to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force or any other means inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

71. In the present troubled state of the world, divergences and disputes among nations are inevitable; but it is feared that their persistence tends to a succession of crises and tensions which give rise to a growing sense of peril. If the world is to live in peace and security, sustained efforts must be made to eliminate mistrust and suspicion among nations, and to remove obstacles to the implementation of the principles of the Charter.

72. Much discussion has been devoted, during the past years, to the idea of promoting peaceful and neighbourly relations among States, and indeed, the General Assembly, during its twelfth and thirteenth sessions, passed two important resolutions in this regard [resolutions 1236 (XII) and 1301 (XIII)].

73. As pointed out during the discussions of these two resolutions, peaceful and good-neighbourly relations among nations are a matter of necessity. Failing this, the resources going into the production of terrifying weapons, and their destructive potential place before us the spectre of the annihilation of man.

74. As a first step, to promote our aim of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations, every effort should be made to eradicate the cold war in all its manifestations.

75. One of the manifestations of the cold war is the subversive form of propaganda campaign directed at times by one country against another. My own country has for the past six months been a victim of such a campaign waged persistently and fiercely. It need hardly be said that the state of tension produced by such a campaign is not conducive to good-neighbourly relations. We must, notwithstanding philosophical and ideological differences, refrain in our international relations from any word or deed of a violent nature, either calculated or likely to increase tension. Only then is the way paved for the promotion and development of friendly relations among nations.

76. It is in this spirit that the Iranian Government welcomes the contacts which are taking place between two great nations in the form of the exchange of visits between the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and we earnestly hope that they will achieve their purpose of lessening international tension and paving the way for effective international co-operation.

77. I should like to say a few words on the important discussions among the great Powers on Berlin and disarmament.

78. We noted with satisfaction that the countries concerned in the crisis in Berlin deemed it advisable to

resort to negotiation. This is of paramount importance. Although the negotiations were held outside the forum of the United Nations, the first step was taken towards giving effect to the system of law of the United Nations which prescribes settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

79. Moreover, in seeking a solution of the Berlin question during the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva, the advisability of utilizing the machinery of the United Nations was frequently admitted.

80. One constructive suggestion in this direction was the proposal to establish a United Nations group in Berlin to report on propaganda activities which might disrupt public order. We have seen that, in the pattern of the development of the United Nations, the concept of the "United Nations presence" has successfully evolved in recent years and that this concept has rendered most striking service in removing sources of friction among nations. To have carried this concept to its rightful conclusion, among other methods, the establishment of an impartial body under the aegis of the United Nations to supervise propaganda activities would have had to be considered.

81. True, that settlement of the Berlin dispute was not achieved, but the Geneva Conference did bring about propitious and satisfactory results—the dissipation of the atmosphere of crisis and the prevention of the dispute from assuming wider proportions. The Conference, moreover, cleared a path for the resumption of negotiations on the question of disarmament.

82. As a result of consultations among the great Powers, agreement was reached for the setting up of a new committee for disarmament negotiations—the Ten-Power Committee. My Government welcomes this initiative leading to the resumption of the consideration of disarmament matters, and is hopeful that the Committee's deliberations will achieve positive results.

83. The Iranian Government endorses all negotiations aimed at the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the solution of international problems. However, it could hardly be over-emphasized that all important international questions remain within the purview of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations, representing the conscience of the world community and standing above considerations of national interests and prestige, bears the responsibility for international peace and security, including the question of disarmament.

84. It is noted that the results to be achieved in the deliberations of the Committee will provide a basis for consideration by the Disarmament Commission. This is imperative, and we sincerely hope that the results achieved will assist the Disarmament Commission in its future deliberations.

85. On the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, the progress attained has been encouraging. By patience and in a spirit of compromise, the participant scientists reached agreement on methods of banning nuclear weapons tests as well as on a system of detection. The negotiations towards the drawing up of a treaty among the nuclear Powers have made some progress, and it is our ardent hope that they will result in the early conclusion of a treaty. Such meeting of minds on the vital issue of a system of control over the cessation of nuclear tests would facilitate the reaching of final agreement on the disarmament question.

86. The report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838], as studied by the General Assembly last year, revealed the nature and scope of the danger of atomic radiation and fallout. The conclusions drawn by the Committee left no room for doubt that atomic radiation threatens not only the present generation but future generations as well.

87. To such a danger the United Nations cannot remain indifferent. The splendid record of our Organization in the humanitarian field calls for a sustained and vigorous effort to eliminate this peril. The Committee, with the assistance of the specialized agencies concerned, must continue its studies and make the results known to the public.

88. Only agreement among the nuclear Powers to cease the testing of these weapons can ensure the end of this menace. We have been gratified by the public pronouncements of the nuclear Powers to the effect that their ban on the testing of these weapons has been extended. No effort should be spared, however, to attain permanent cessation of such tests.

89. Yet another important and immediate question which has direct bearing on world security and which must be examined within the sphere of the disarmament question is the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons.

90. The idea of trying to stop the spread of nuclear weapons is an important and responsible one, for it heightens the possibilities of attaining international control at an early stage and mitigates the dangers of an atmosphere polluted by indiscriminate testing of atomic weapons.

91. Furthermore, to make the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons conditional upon a general agreement on world disarmament is a dangerous policy. For, once a number of states succeed in acquiring nuclear weapons, international control will be almost beyond attainment. The wider the distribution of these weapons, the greater the risk of a devastating war, to say nothing of the potentially dire consequences of development tests.

92. All nations are rightly apprehensive of the prospect of a world armed with mass-destruction weapons. We heartily endorse any initiative which would facilitate the conclusion of a general disarmament agreement and relieve the community of nations of the nightmare of a future war. We admit that many difficulties lie ahead, but the stakes are great and the chances of success should not be underestimated. There is no problem for which the art of negotiation cannot find a solution.

93. Now I should like to turn to some other important subjects on the agenda of the General Assembly.

94. The great inspiring event of recent times is man's penetration into outer space, and the opening of a new and challenging horizon for human endeavour. The question of the use made of this new phenomenon is of the utmost international importance.

95. Our attitude towards this question is based on two fundamental principles: that outer space be used only for peaceful purposes, and, from the outset, space activities be conducted on the basis of law and for the benefit of all.

96. Moreover, since space exploration is inherently beyond considerations of national boundaries, the entire question of outer space should be approached with a universal outlook. Indeed, it is significant that the idea of international control of outer space has gained ground. The ad hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has rendered a highly valuable contribution towards international co-operation in this field. We endorse the general conclusions of the Committee, and stress the need for a suitable centre within the framework of the United Nations, serving as the focal point for international co-operation in the use of outer space. It is also important that all developments in connexion with space activities be regularly reviewed by the United Nations.

97. It is indisputable that man's entry into outer space, if properly exploited, can have most beneficial effects on the progress of human society. The United Nations, as the body representing world opinion, must and indeed has already begun to play an immense role in this sphere and to ensure that the common interest of mankind in outer space be utilized for the prosperity and well-being of the human race.

98. Another question of great significance and one which cannot be omitted in any discussion of contemporary international life is that of the emergence of nations from foreign domination. In the course of the last decade, a number of nations have gained independence, and more will undoubtedly join in the community of sovereign nations. Indeed, independence movements represent the spirit of our times; they are the logical process of an historical phenomenon, and forces of freedom and social progress constitute a most potent factor in shaping our present and future world.

99. We welcome the newly-independent nations to our midst in the United Nations and their contribution to the work of our Organization.

100. As a final item, may I mention another important aspect of the work of the United Nations—the economic field. The 1958 United Nations World Economic Survey^{Z/} indicates that a salient economic feature of the prevailing world situation is the vast and increasing gap between the industrialized and the under-developed countries, and the insufficient demand of the former for the primary commodities of the latter.

101. Among the generally accepted solutions for this problem, including industrialization, one remedial step, as the Secretary-General suggested, is that the United Nations should now begin to consider dealing more directly with the formulation of a collective international economic policy through consultations with Governments.

102. For, while the problem of developing a stable economic pattern lies primarily with a given country itself, it cannot be denied that in less-developed countries the need for capital far outweighs the internal governmental and private funds available. Many such countries, among them my own, have taken systematic measures, including legislation, to encourage the inflow of foreign capital investment to supplement finances available for economic development.

103. In their search for economic advancement, the less-industrialized countries have benefited from the

United Nations technical assistance work, and we are anxious to see that work intensified.

104. Last year the Special Fund was inaugurated—a body designed to expand the field of United Nations technical assistance. This newly-created organ will undoubtedly play an increasingly efficacious part in the process of economic development. The main function of the Special Fund is to bring to light the wealth-producing potential of unsurveyed natural resources in less-industrialized countries and to promote early investment, as well as to establish training and research institutes to take care of yet another crying need, namely, experts and technical know-how.

105. Iran, for its part, has fully supported the purposes of this Special Fund, and we feel confident that the Fund will be in a position to help implement the economic programmes of the applicant countries.

106. Moreover, to supplement our international economic co-operation through the United Nations, Iran last year joined the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Our association with this Commission has been beneficial in acquainting us with the economic problems of those areas, and from it we have gained valuable experience for our economic activities.

107. In conclusion, the Iranian delegation, animated by the hopes and expectations which I have just mentioned, expresses the sincere wish that the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly, striving as always for peace and justice, will be crowned with success.

108. Mr. SON SANN (Cambodia) (translated from French): The Cambodian delegation takes particular pleasure in associating itself with the delegations which have previously extended congratulation to you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. This election is the crowning point of a career that has been devoted to the United Nations' efforts for peace and to understanding among peoples, and it is all the more welcome to Cambodia because some twelve years ago, at an important international conference, the representatives of my country had the opportunity of appreciating to the full your spirit of impartiality and fairness. Like all other delegations, the Cambodian delegation is certain that under your wise guidance the work of the present session will be accomplished in an atmosphere of full co-operation and mutual understanding.

109. Our Governments have sent us as representatives to this Assembly in the confident hope that our work will lead to positive and constructive results in the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

110. More than ever before, the main concern of all peace-loving people is the stabilization of the international situation. This goal towards which we are all striving is based on mankind's continually increasing awareness that it has a common purpose.

111. In view of the fearful possibilities of destruction created by modern science and technology, the division of the world into rival blocs has become a deadly danger.

112. The United Nations now exercises a sure influence on the international scene, and it is in our Organization that men of goodwill place all their hopes for the building of a better future. There has been some progress in this direction, and it can be said that in

^{Z/}United Nations publication, Sales No.:59.II.C.1.

spite of some unavoidable fumbling and occasional setbacks, the United Nations has done valuable work.

113. In that connexion, I feel in duty bound to call the Assembly's attention to the recent intervention by the United Nations, at the instigation of our wise and energetic Secretary-General, in the dispute which arose between Cambodia and Thailand. There was a full report on this intervention in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/4132/Add.1] and in the report itself [A/4132]. After a period of rather alarming tension between the two countries, the Secretary-General was kind enough to send his personal representative, Ambassador Johan Beck-Friis, to Thailand and Cambodia. Full credit for the happy outcome of this intervention is due to the weighty influence of Mr. Hammarskjöld and the skill of his representative, which made possible the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the creation of a better atmosphere.

114. As a result the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand paid a visit to Cambodia, during which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two countries explored the possibilities for a friendly settlement of the problems at issue. As a result of this visit a joint "communiqué" was issued expressing the wish of both Governments to strengthen good neighbourly relations between them, and their determination to refrain from any form of interference in each other's internal affairs, in a spirit of understanding and mutual respect for the freely chosen policy of each of the two Kingdoms. For its part, Cambodia is resolved to settle these disputes in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

115. But it is important to stress the entirely novel character of the procedure adopted by the Secretary-General. His representative was neither an observer responsible for reporting the facts, nor an arbiter whose task was to induce the parties to accept a given solution. Ambassador Johan Beck-Friis was simply an intermediary who placed himself at the disposal of the two Governments in order to facilitate the restoration of diplomatic relations between them and pave the way for improved relations between the two countries.

116. We believe that this new course followed by the Secretary-General is a most promising one. It made prompt intervention possible without involving the prestige of the Organization in case of failure. This is a tactful and ingenious procedure which provides a most useful method of solving problems for those nations which have a genuine respect for the United Nations Charter.

117. The Cambodian delegation earnestly hopes that the prestige of the United Nations, and its activities, will help to solve other such grave problems as those relating to security, disarmament, the peaceful co-existence of different systems and ideologies, the reunification of countries now divided, and all forms of under-development; in short, that it will help to establish a new kind of international stability, based on new rules.

118. But unfortunately, as the Chairman of the Cambodian delegation, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, pointed out last year, although the United Nations is playing an ever greater part in the life of all nations, its activities, which should have a universal character, are still seriously hampered by the existence within the Organization of hostile and conflicting

blocs, so that the United Nations is prevented from playing its full role of supervision and censure, and is slowly being transformed into a forum for propaganda and the clash of opposing beliefs, while the Charter and the real aims of the United Nations are forgotten. Certain problems are inevitably raised year after year, and the result is inevitably a deadlock for which a purely illusory solution is found by the adoption of a large number of resolutions which are theoretical rather than practical.

119. During the thirteenth session, the head of our Government had occasion to outline to the Assembly steps that he thought might usefully be taken in order to enable the United Nations to play a more effective role. I shall not repeat what was said then, but there is one point that I would like to stress: the role of the small Powers, especially those that do not belong to any bloc.

120. In the present circumstances the neutral countries, with their lack of military strength, their absence of any spirit of conquest and in general their disinterested attitude, appear to be best fitted to make a clear and dispassionate estimate of international crises.

121. My country is more than ever convinced that it is perfectly possible for peoples to achieve friendship, mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence in spite of differences in their ideologies and political systems, and it was in that belief that we recently reaffirmed, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, our faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence, the only principles that will enable countries with different ideologies to maintain friendly relations on a basis of equality, honour and dignity.

122. Neutrality may not be the best solution for our country, but it is the least harmful, since it enables us to achieve national unity, and to avoid the disappointments that we would probably suffer at the hands of some countries and the blows dealt us by others against which we would be powerless to defend ourselves.

123. I would like to stress that we have never sought to act as propagandists for neutrality, and that we fully understand that nations may wish to undertake commitments or align themselves with others if they believe that they can thereby better safeguard their interests or their national existence. We naturally deplore the division of the world into blocs, but we do not feel that we have any right to criticize the attitude of any other country, so long as it does not attempt to interfere with our own right to self-determination.

124. As a logical consequence of this position our Government has not hesitated, despite the serious cause for alarm that it was given at the beginning of this year, to seek agreement with neighbouring Powers whose system of government and foreign relations are very different from its own. Notable progress has been achieved, which has contributed to the maintenance of peace and stability in South East Asia.

125. We believe that the time has come for statesmen to realize that the age of imperialism and foreign conquest is over, and that Governments should bend their efforts not to interfering in the internal affairs of their neighbours but to promoting the economic and cultural development of their own country and of the world as a whole. What we must fight against now is the spectre of poverty, hunger and all forms of under-development.

126. The Cambodian delegation believes that the present session of the General Assembly could make a major contribution, in more ways than one, to the decrease of international tension.

127. The few results that were achieved by the Foreign Ministers' Conference show that it is possible for East and West to agree on certain crucial problems. There have already been reassuring signs, for example the Soviet exhibition in New York and the United States exhibition in Moscow, the official visits of Soviet leaders to the United States and of United States leaders to the Soviet Union, the fairly encouraging results of the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, the official visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the United States, and the forthcoming official visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union. We gladly welcome these signs of a relaxation of tension.

128. Our organization should strive to direct more of its efforts and those of its specialized agencies towards solving the vital problems confronting the world, especially the problem of under-development and the problem of the rational use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in order to improve the economic and social life of all peoples. In that field it must be frankly admitted that, despite its praiseworthy efforts, the United Nations has taken no more than the first step.

129. In 1958, for example, despite an overwhelming population pressure, the increase in world production was a mere 3 per cent. Such a situation has a direct influence on the maintenance of peace and international security.

130. Our Secretary-General himself has often stated that the gap, already wide, between the prosperous countries and those less fortunate is steadily increasing.

131. The Cambodian delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the far-sightedness of the Secretary-General, who has also stated that the difficult economic situation of many Asian and African nations calls for a new sense of responsibility and a heightened desire to help on the part of those more fortunate. If such reactions do not find expression in practical and constructive action, there is bound to be a danger of instability in the poorer countries, which would reflect on the political world situation. The Cambodian delegation hopes that these words will be heeded by all Member States.

132. The Cambodian delegation welcomes with deep satisfaction the news that an Economic Policy Board, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General, has

been established for the purpose of providing greater flexibility and better co-ordination in handling requests to the United Nations for technical assistance. Nothing is more to be desired than a closer co-ordination of the various international technical assistance programmes with those of the Special Fund and other bodies. The Cambodian delegation is confident that this Board will play an effective role in the judicious allocation of United Nations technical assistance.

133. The whole world is looking to the United Nations, on which are centred mankind's hopes for the building of a peaceful and prosperous future. Our Organization must at all costs avoid disappointing those hopes.

134. We should act in order to clear this cold war atmosphere, an atmosphere of constant suspicion, mutual recriminations, scarcely veiled threats, and even deliberate interference in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries; if that situation is allowed to continue indefinitely, it will expose mankind to certain material and spiritual self-destruction.

135. We have long witnessed the heartrending spectacle of two-thirds of the globe living in poverty, hunger and distress, side by side with the remaining third which has the means that are needed to banish those evils. We believe that our Assembly should at last launch a widespread movement to promote understanding among all Powers. Such an understanding is more than ever necessary for the establishment of a lasting peace, based on coexistence in the form of constructive competition among the different civilizations and technologies of the world.

136. Cambodia is a neutral country, allied to none but friendly to all, and in participating in the fourteenth session of the General Assembly it is firmly resolved to make its full contribution, however modest, to the relaxation of international tension.

137. In conclusion, I wish to recall the words of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk to this Assembly at its thirteenth session:

"We want to be able to support any proposal which we regard as just and reasonable, regardless of its sponsors' political complexion. We believe that the truth is not the prerogative of any particular system, but is to be found to some extent in all, and that the most elementary common sense requires us all to recognize this." [756th meeting, para. 5]

138. If this view, which I believe many of you at heart share, were accepted, we would have made a great stride forward on mankind's path of progress.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.