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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>Opening of the general debate</i>	
Speech by Mr. Melo Franco (Brazil)	25
Speech by Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Cambodia)	27
Speech by Mr. Ghods Nakhai (Iran)	33
Speech by Mr. Kosaka (Japan).	36

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

1. Mr. MELO FRANCO (Brazil) (translated from French): Before beginning my statement, may I be permitted to extend to Mr. Slim my delegation's most sincere congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly for this session.

2. I would also wish to pay tribute to the memory of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. As Secretary-General of the United Nations he raised the status of his office to a remarkable degree by his competence, impartiality and courage. His death, which has deeply affected us, has proved that his conception of duty embraced even the final sacrifice.

3. Brazil, which once again has the honour of opening the Assembly's general debate, deems it necessary to state its position on the most important issues in the current international situation.

4. The main problem is the problem of peace. An atomic war, because of its unpredictable consequences, would be a disaster for all, and is, therefore, improbable. But even the "cold war" jeopardizes the future of mankind, not merely because of the expense involved in the arms race, but also by reason of the universal insecurity which destroys confidence in the present and hope for the future.

5. The most disturbing feature is the fact that, far from uniting under the influence of these dangers, the peoples tend increasingly to draw apart from one another. The world has never been so divided by struggles for power and by ideological conflicts. The equilibrium between the destructive forces of the dominant Powers has led the world towards an impasse. The stubborn clinging by these same Powers to their political positions threatens to convert the impasse into general catastrophe.

6. The peaceful unarmed nations watch the development of this threatening situation without belonging to the small group that decide on war or peace but they constitute none the less the great majority that will suffer from war's disastrous results. It is thus

entirely natural that countries like Brazil should be led to adopt an independent position on the world stage, with the rightful purpose of exerting their influence to reduce tensions, resolve disputes and gradually consolidate peace. Such a position of independence does not mean the abandonment of the values inherent in our traditions, or of our international obligations. Brazil is not prepared to discard the Christian and democratic features of its national personality, or to forget in the future, any more than it has forgotten in the past, the pledging of its word in international instruments. But countries like ours, although not armed for war, can constitute powerful factors for peace. Full awareness of their political maturity obliges them to direct their own destinies. Independence cannot be dissociated from solidarity, which, without independence, would be tantamount to subordination. But subordination is incompatible with responsibility, and responsibility is a necessary element in any international action.

7. In domestic affairs, political decisions are taken on the basis of authority. That is a prerogative of sovereign power, inherent in the institution of the State. In international affairs, on the other hand, political decisions can be taken only through a process of agreement. The modicum of authority existing at the international level transcends the sovereignty of States and rests with the international organizations.

8. Fully conscious of these facts, Brazil practises and encourages direct and peaceful negotiation for the settlement of disputes between States, and also collaborates without reservation in the work of international organizations. We have no commitment, no interest, no aspiration that can prevent us from acting in conformity with the highest purposes of the United Nations.

9. International action should always be undertaken in good faith—which does not mean that it cannot be flexible. The relatively homogeneous ideological and institutional patterns that characterized the States members of the international community when the number of sovereign peoples was still small are now a thing of the past. The contacts of our time are between States of a far larger international community, in which the most disparate forms of government are present.

10. It is clear that Governments should be tailored to men, not men to Governments, and that the ideal which merits our constant support is the universal existence, under all types of government, of laws that reflect human freedom and dignity.

11. This conviction and the resulting action do not, however, impose on us a rigidly doctrinaire policy in international affairs. Such a policy would involve inevitable collision with countries where such conceptions are unknown or countries where they are applied in a different way. This would rule out per-

suasive negotiation, the only method of securing the gradual recognition of human rights. It must thus be concluded that, in this field as well, peace is a prerequisite for the establishment of justice.

12. Furthermore, human rights are not confined to individual rights. True, individual rights are necessary to the assertion of man's spiritual dignity. But human rights are also social rights. Brazil thus recognizes that rights which we once regarded as being confined to the individual sphere should be extended to the social sphere. Human freedom and world peace necessarily depend on social progress.

13. The world is not divided merely into East and West. This ideological cleavage makes us forget the existence of yet another division, not ideological, but economic and social—that between the Northern and Southern hemispheres. But although "rapprochement" between the East and the West is attainable by ideological compromise, the immense contrast between North and South can be reduced only by planned action for effective aid by the developed countries of the North to the under-developed countries of the South.

14. The most important political event of the twentieth century is national self-assertion. Scores of nations have been transformed into new States. Pacifism is therefore no longer the supra-national doctrine that it once was. Pacifism today merges with respect for nationalism. Either peace will be built on the basis of acceptance of the self-determination of peoples, or nationalism will be converted into a pretext for wars that will lead merely to greater economic and ideological enslavement.

15. Brazil maintains that, under present world conditions, peace can be won only through plain respect for the principle of true self-determination—the ideal framework within which to negotiate the solution of differences between States, irrespective of their social and political structure.

16. We are well aware that this result will not be easy to achieve, but we hope that it will be possible, for it is the only formula likely to end the "cold war" and remove the threat of total war. Self-determination means the end of colonialism—whether in colonies overseas or in colonies close to the parent State—and the end of political, economic, ideological or racial oppression; the victory of peace. But self-determination, to be genuine, presupposes the free exercise of the people's will, in the only possible form—namely, the expression of the will of the majority.

17. The Brazilian people has given practical proof that it is unswerving in its loyalty to the representative principle, which alone can guarantee political freedom. Authoritarian democracy neither seduces nor convinces us. My country has recently resolved one of the greatest institutional crises in its history, without sacrificing its democratic and representative principles—as the whole world has witnessed.

18. Brazil is following very closely the development of the Cuban situation. It continues to maintain that respect for sovereignty, based on the principle of non-intervention, is a compelling obligation in international life and an essential condition for the restoration of continental harmony. Considering, therefore, that Cuba alone can forge its own destiny, Brazil expresses its conviction that, thanks to this process, the democratic ideals and principles which inspire

pan-Americanism and owe so much to the political culture of the Cuban people will prevail.

19. The liberation movement of the former colonial peoples will experience no retreat. Brazil, itself a former colony, is building a new civilization, in a land that is largely tropical and is inhabited by people of all races. Its destiny thus imposes on it a line of policy that is unalterably anti-colonialist and anti-racialist.

20. Our brotherly relations with Portugal and our traditional friendship with France cannot prevent us from taking up a very clear position on the painful differences that colonialism in Africa is raising between the United Nations and these two countries to which we owe so much and with which we still have so much in common.

21. We think that these two States should bring about self-determination in Algeria and Angola. Nothing will prevent the liberation of Africa. It seems clear that that continent has no desire to fall under the influence of any of the existing blocs. It wishes to assert its own personality, that is, to win its freedom. My country will always lend its aid to the African countries in this legitimate effort of theirs. It hopes that the new African States will guarantee complete respect for the rights of their citizens and of the foreigners living in them, including, naturally, the nationals of the countries which colonized Africa. This has been Brazil's attitude ever since its conquest of independence.

22. We must not forget that, while the world today is witnessing the liberation of non-European peoples, it is also witnessing the reverse and deplorable process of the oppression of other peoples in the very heart of Europe. The problem of Berlin is inseparable from that of the self-determination of Eastern Germany. The exodus of the refugees is proof of this type of neo-colonialism.

23. The German nation has the right to constitute a single State, by a democratic process guaranteeing the free expression of its people's will. Application of the principle of self-determination can have no other consequence. The United Nations cannot agree that any Power, on the basis of a status quo deriving from a position of strength, should permanently obstruct that development.

24. Brazil hopes that the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the United States, moved by the desire to maintain peace, can reach a compromise which will lead to a peaceful settlement of the Berlin problem.

25. The logical sequence of anti-colonialism is anti-racialism. Brazil cannot but deplore the survival of racialism in various parts of the world, especially in South Africa where the problem is assuming tragic proportions from the historical and human standpoint. My country will support any action which the United Nations may take to put an end to racial discrimination.

26. The struggle between the East and the West is essentially ideological in character. The present division between the United States and the Soviet Union is caused neither by economic rivalry nor by a fight for markets. It is a clash between two political philosophies, each of which maintains the primacy of its own concept in relation to the destiny of man.

27. Although its own ideological position is clearly defined, Brazil in its international relations seeks always to be guided by Article 1, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter, which states it to be a purpose of the Organization "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace". Hence, ideological differences per se will not prevent Brazil from maintaining relations with any other people.

28. Furthermore, Brazil believes that the United Nations cannot shirk the open discussion of questions which concern it or are submitted to it by one or more of its Members. My delegation accordingly favours discussion of the question of the representation of China, which, despite its undeniable importance, has long been evaded.

29. Brazil's political philosophy is basically democratic in nature. We are not neutralist in the sense of belonging to a "third group", although we often find ourselves in agreement with the group of countries so described.

30. For that reason we shall continue to advocate world disarmament, utopian though it may, as at present, seem. Brazil is convinced that the United Nations must be the focal point for the discussion and control of world disarmament. Financial savings resulting from disarmament can help to solve the problem of countries' under-development, and contribute materially to the strengthening of peace.

31. Unfortunately, the only advance achieved in this field—the voluntary suspension of nuclear tests—has just been brutally cancelled out by actions which can only be regretted. Brazil, like other peaceful nations, cannot but protest against this new menace, and urges immediate negotiations with a view to restoring and, if possible, consolidating the de facto truce through the conclusion of a treaty.

32. The resumption of atomic testing is all the more grievous in that the resuming Power is the very one which had placed itself at the head of the world movement for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests.

33. It is our constant endeavour to strengthen the United Nations, as the main instrument for peace in today's world. We shall, therefore, strongly oppose any proposal likely to reduce the effectiveness or power of action or, in particular, to break up the unity of the Secretariat.

34. Brazil has remained steadfastly faithful to the American community throughout its evolution.

35. Independence and democracy were achieved by our countries at different times and in varying degrees. These basic prizes, however, do not represent the close of our development. They are the instruments for further achievements—above all, economic progress and social justice. Brazil, without claiming any special position of prominence or desiring the creation of blocs, does not forget the community of ethnic and cultural origin which links it to the other Latin American countries, and it will always be at their side in the struggle for the advancement of their peoples.

36. Brazil is convinced that the United Nations, despite all its weaknesses, is the only body which can hold the balance between the contending camps and make peace secure. Eschewing all considerations of

interest or prejudice, Brazil will, within the United Nations, dedicate itself to the cause of the self-determination of peoples, the struggle against every form of colonialism and racialism, the social advancement and progress of the under-developed countries, democratic freedom within the framework of true coexistence, and peace among men under the protection of God.

37. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now call upon His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia.

38. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Cambodia) (translated from French): I wish first to say how deeply moved I am at the thought that our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, is no more. On behalf of Cambodia and its people, I desire to pay a formal tribute to the illustrious man who has fallen in the service of justice and peace. He was the friend of the small countries that are fighting for survival in a world where the law of the stronger is asserting itself ever more forcefully. He was an invaluable conciliator, a mediator of consummate tact, always available to help in the settlement of international disputes. More than once has Cambodia had occasion to value his lofty understanding and his lasting concern for impartiality. His memory will remain with us for all time.

39. As last year, and in my capacity as Head of State of Cambodia, I have ventured to take part in the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly at this sixteenth session; I am, however, fully aware of the delicate and difficult nature of the role which Cambodia, as a non-aligned country, has to play. We come to New York and the United Nations with a somewhat invidious reputation, owed in large measure to the recent Belgrade Conference.^{1/}

40. Western observers and the Western Press have either condemned the meeting of the non-aligned countries out of hand or commented ironically with more or less success, on its results. Thus we have noted, in the most responsible newspapers and from the pens of the most objective of journalists, observations of this sort: "The Belgrade Conference endeavoured to confer upon those taking part in it a kind of mandate to act as arbiters of world policy"; "Twenty-four nations are trying to form a consortium for intervention in world affairs... They feel they have a call to teach others... We see them falling victims to a superiority complex"; and so on and so forth. This illustrates well enough the feelings of the aligned towards the non-aligned countries.

41. In these circumstances, Cambodia feels compelled to state that it has not come here with the intention of setting itself up as an arbiter, censor or judge, or even as the "world's conscience". And, since it is fully conscious of its small size, there could be no question of its having a superiority complex.

42. That being so, it may well be asked what importance Cambodia attaches to its presence in the United Nations.

43. The fact is that the United Nations is our only refuge, our sole support, our only comfort, however insubstantial these may be in an epoch so prodigal of disappointment. In coming here, we have no desire

^{1/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 1 to 6 September 1961.

to make propaganda, to give anyone lessons in ethics, or to communicate truths that have been revealed to us alone.

44. Our sole desire is to be in some sort a simple citizen of the world, called upon to sit in a quasi-universal parliament, and to do our duty scrupulously, assuming our responsibilities in a serious spirit but without any passion, hatred, prejudice, complex or excessive zeal.

45. All we want is to do our duty, so that we may give proof of our realization that we belong to mankind, and of our desire to continue a peaceful existence in a world which talks so much of war. Nothing more!

46. That we are neutral does not necessarily mean that we are abstentionist. Should we deem it right to support a proposal made by one or another bloc, it is our duty to do so, even though as a result our neutrality and non-alignment be impugned and we be classed as tools or playthings of imperialism, of the right or of the left as the case may be. When we are called upon in this Assembly to take a stand with regard to problems which affect each one of us and the fate of mankind as a whole, we must assume our responsibilities. We must state our views, opt, if necessary, for what seems to us the right or least undesirable solution, or even put forward, ourselves, a solution that we consider possible and reasonable.

47. Is it logical that we should be censured for being conscious of our solidarity with all the peoples of the earth, for trying, on occasion, to make our feeble voice heard—particularly on matters of direct concern to us, as when we search for means of escaping involvement in a cold, lukewarm or hot war that is leading our neighbours to self-annihilation or prompting them to seek our own destruction?

48. Is it logical that we should be upbraided for venturing to speak on disarmament, on the ground that we are not rich enough—or mad enough—to make weapons ourselves? After all, one need not be a Japanese to realize the dangers presented by these nuclear tests which have been multiplying over the past few weeks!

49. Is it logical that our poverty, and the aid we receive from Powers of both blocs, should expose us to contemptuous reproach? The idea was recently put forward, in the Western Press, that we neutrals constituted the "bad conscience" of the great countries, and that it might be asked what would happen to us if the great Powers of the two blocs reached an agreement.

50. On this point I must say plainly that, although we are poor, we are not accustomed to beg. We are ready to dispense with all foreign aid, if that is necessary for the preservation of our dignity. Above all, we are prepared—and gladly prepared—to give up all foreign aid if that is the price to be paid for an honest and lasting understanding between our friends of both blocs.

51. Cambodia has been an organized State for fourteen centuries; its economy and finances have always been such as to enable it, not perhaps to modernize itself at an ultra-rapid rate, but at least to live in freedom and happiness. A cessation of all foreign aid would not spell the death of our country; it would simply mean that more time would have to elapse be-

fore we covered the distance that separates us from modern nations.

52. It must be clearly recognized that for us—as for most of the other small, so-called "under-developed" countries—honour and freedom are possessions which we prize and are determined to defend.

53. In this respect, the United Nations constitutes the small and medium-sized countries' last hope of safeguarding their dignity. All or nearly all the Powers which were represented at Belgrade gave resounding expression to this hope.

54. What of dignity? That word, for us, covers many things. We regard dignity as signifying a love for independence, justice, equality and peace, with mutual respect for sovereignty, national integrity, régimes and ideologies. Dignity, for us, is to be found in peaceful coexistence, which is not a mere slogan but a vital need.

55. I shall not tax the patience of representatives here with comments or opinions on all the problems that at present exercise the world. I simply wish to state our own views on certain key questions, in the hope—which some may find rash, but will doubtless forgive—of making a positive though modest contribution to their solution.

56. The problem of disarmament is on the agenda. The smallest countries in the world are kept informed, hour by hour, of the negotiations between the giant Powers of the two blocs—of their plans, of their frequent setbacks, of all the ups and downs that they experience. We might adopt a passive attitude with regard to these questions, which it is for the great Powers, and them alone, to solve. But these same great Powers never cease pestering us—calling on us to bear witness to their good faith, to praise their sincerity and to condemn the duplicity of their adversaries. Yet it is a fixed principle with us that we judge for ourselves and turn a deaf ear to all canvassing. Paradoxically enough, this attitude of ours brings down upon us criticism from both sides, as well as the accusation, from certain quarters, that we are meddling with matters which do not concern us.

57. Unfortunately, however, over-armament or disarmament, war or peace, are matters of concern to every single country in the world, whether it be large or small, rich or poor. The so-called nuclear "experiments" or "tests" are of concern to us no less than to Western Europe or Central Africa; for what country can hope to escape radioactive fall-out? Admittedly we are forced to submit to this man-made scourge, but let no one ask us to submit to it in silence.

58. Moreover, let no one ask us to applaud unreservedly the conquest of outer space when the purposes to which the super-Powers contemplate putting that conquest are all too clear. Whether it is a case of atomic energy or of the conquest of gravity, is not the first objective that of achieving world domination, if necessary by annihilating half or three-quarters of the world's population? The tragedy of Hiroshima, whereby tens of thousands of human beings were vaporized and tens of thousands of others were condemned to the torture of a slow death, is today no more than a vague memory of the first steps taken in the technique of mass destruction. And yet, how salutary it would be if those few persons who hold the fate of mankind in their hands were constantly to

have before their eyes the picture of those bodies so horribly maimed, burned and tortured.

59. How could we ignore the consequences of the great Powers' over-arming, when it is our immediate neighbours that are the victims thereof? In Laos, a peaceful people, certainly one of the most peaceful in the world, has been plied with deliveries of arms by the two blocs and urged, by means of every sort of propaganda, to make use of them. In South Viet-Nam, the civil war continues to spread and has reached our very gates. Refugees from the ethnic minorities in the mountains of central Viet-Nam are streaming into our country, and face us with very complex problems of reception and resettlement. Armed incursions into our territory occur from time to time, and it is not always possible to distinguish to what side these Viet-Nameese belong; only recently, we had to resort to bitter fighting, costing us eight in dead, to repel these people who were better armed than we were.

60. In Laos, the great Powers proclaimed their desire to see peace restored there. But each of them believes that the best way of achieving that purpose is to provide its supporters with superior military means which will ensure its victory. In South Viet-Nam, the situation is not very different. This concept of over-armament in the cause of peace is indeed a strange one!

61. We have just learnt that, after a period of grave tension, the United States and the Soviet Union have apparently agreed to resume, on a new basis, their conversations on disarmament. We rejoice at these glad tidings, of course, and we should like to believe that these two great friends are clearly aware of what an atomic conflict would hold in store for both of them. But the very disappointing results of the Geneva meetings lead us to think that the mistrust which dominates their relations will make it difficult for them to accept reciprocal supervision of their nuclear and other weapons. The establishment of a general and complete system of supervision will doubtless require large resources and entail a great deal of trouble. But such supervision is indispensable.

62. There is, I believe, only one way of achieving effective supervision. It consists in having recourse to inspection teams supplied by countries that do not manufacture arms and whose neutrality and good faith are recognized by both sides. I repeat that there is no question of the "non-aligned" countries attempting to impose their arbitration, or even their presence, in connexion with the settlement of the major world problems. But I do believe that the two blocs should understand that some countries are in a position to render them disinterested help, and that such help can be used or abused. These countries have no material power, but they have one very valuable thing—namely, willingness and good faith. That is a great deal. However, while patiently awaiting a disarmament agreement between the great Powers, we associate ourselves with the vast majority of peoples all the world over in hoping that the "atomic" nations will agree to halt once more, and without delay, their dangerous experiments.

63. In conclusion, on this question of disarmament, I wish to express our fears of seeing an atomic war "triggered off" by mistake. These fears are well founded and are shared by the leaders of the two blocs. Until the hopes of general and complete disarmament are realized, we would, therefore, urge

them to increase the number of "safety-catches" in their arsenals. In particular, I wish to emphasize the danger inherent in supplying ultra-modern weapons, on an over-generous scale, to allies or satellites which are too impulsive or too irresponsible.

64. Finally, may I be permitted to protest against the attitude of certain Western circles which consider that the "non-aligned" countries are pressing for disarmament merely in the hope of persuading the great Powers to employ for their benefit the enormous appropriations thus saved. This contemptuous accusation is entirely unfounded. Cambodia, for example, although poor, is an exporter of agricultural produce and can live without aid from any quarter. All that our people, who are deeply imbued with the teachings of Buddha, desire is peace for its own sake and for all other peoples, not the financial or material assistance of the "tycoons" of this world.

65. There is another problem about which we are much concerned, namely the crisis—for why not call a spade a spade?—that our Organization is going through. This crisis is becoming more serious every year, and we must face up to it resolutely. I therefore believe that each of us, recognizing this fact, should express his views quite clearly, because a passive or sulky attitude, while possibly putting off the moment when the situation must be faced, would at the same time lead to bankruptcy, which we do not want at any price.

66. The United Nations represents a noble initiative on the part of the Powers that emerged victorious from the Second World War. Today, those selfsame Powers, for lack of ability to make use of the Organization, seem to be bent on destroying it. But, as His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia recently emphasized at Belgrade, we reject the proposition that the United Nations can experience the fate which overtook the league of Nations.

67. In our humble opinion, the main responsibility for the crisis in the United Nations lies with the Security Council, to which the Charter assigned, as it were, the task of acting as the secular arm of the world community. I can only repeat what the French newspaper Le Monde said on this subject:

"If the Council is to play its essential part, it must first be reformed so as to consist of Powers that have authority in the world by reason of their military strength, material resources or moral standing."

The absence of India and of the People's Republic of China is more than a shortcoming; it is a serious mistake.

68. The Security Council has failed entirely in its role, because it is composed of great Powers which have abandoned the attitude of serenity that the whole world expected of them and have imported into the Council their quarrels, rivalries and struggles, employing tactics and strategies which do them no honour. The veto is no longer used by these great Powers in order to defend justice, equity, law and the principles of liberty according to their conscience, but simply as a weapon directed against their adversaries.

69. In these circumstances, certain peoples, such as our own, are wondering whether the Security Council should not be abolished—if proposals for its thorough reform, or expansion, are turned down—and whether

it would not be preferable to transfer its functions to the General Assembly itself.

70. We, the Cambodians, are prepared in all circumstances, to accept and comply with the decisions of the Security Council. But we are none the less determined to emphasize the incoherence and illogicality that are at present its main characteristics. How can we agree that Formosa, taking China's place, should be included among the five great Powers endowed with the veto? How can we tolerate that certain great Powers should formally and publicly advertise their contempt for the United Nations, while continuing to sit in the Security Council? Our Organization has been nicknamed the "Disorganization", the "Disunited Nations". Admittedly, such names are not unmerited. But who is to blame? No doubt we are all collectively responsible, but the lion's share of the responsibility is indubitably that of the great Powers which wield the veto. It was for them to set a good example, instead of symbolizing the spirit of blocs, intolerance, partiality, injustice and recourse to force and violence. In addition, certain Powers confer upon themselves special privileges within the United Nations. One such privilege consists in denying our Organization's right to any authority or competence in connexion with the settlement or even the discussion of a given problem if those Powers feel that the problem in any way affects them; another privilege is that of not sitting in the United Nations "for reasons of personal convenience", but of resuming their seats when other countries are to be judged or the fate of other peoples is to be decided; and finally there is the categorical refusal of certain countries to share in the financing of United Nations missions, on the grounds that they disagree with the dispatch of such and such a mission or regard it as inopportune.

71. We for our part cannot but observe that such an attitude involves a major inconsistency; for either one is a Member of the United Nations, sitting permanently there, accepting all the attendant rights and duties and recognizing its authority on all occasions, or else one considers that it is in one's interest to be absent from the United Nations and withdraws from it altogether.

72. Another cause of our Assembly's malaise is still more glaring. It is the absence of the People's Republic of China, whose admission is each year resisted in certain quarters with unrealistic stubbornness. I venture to ask, as I did in 1958 and in 1960, that China be at last permitted to take its rightful seat among us.

73. We consider that it is equally unjust, and utterly inexplicable, to refuse to give the peaceful Mongolian People's Republic its legitimate place in our Organization.

74. I shall now pass, if I may, to the problem of the office of the Secretary-General, which with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld's passing has become particularly acute. I shall not attempt to hide our concern at the prospect of an inevitable crisis that has been foreshadowed in recent months. There is every reason to believe that our Western and our socialist friends will register their opposition to possible suggestions for changes with regard to the office of the Secretary-General. For our part, we can only hope that both sides will show moderation and have at heart, above all, the unity of our Organization.

75. Today, however, there seems to be emerging a majority opinion in favour, not of making the Secre-

tariat three-headed, as the socialist Powers demand, but of attaching to the Secretary-General three Assistant Secretaries-General or an advisory council representing the three trends that symbolize the division of our world.

76. Cambodia will bow to the decisions of the majority of the Organization's Members, as it bowed to those of the majority at the Belgrade Conference. It will also support all resolutions submitted on behalf of that Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

77. It does, nevertheless, make us feel rather uncomfortable to concur in the theory that there is now a third bloc—of non-aligned countries—claiming its place in all United Nations organs. We had always hoped that the United Nations would succeed in doing away with the "bloc" spirit, and even with the blocs themselves. Year after year, in this very place, we have expressed that desire. We had always hoped that the only criteria for selecting the heads of United Nations bodies would be competence, integrity, devotion to the general interest and to the Organization itself, and a sense of equity and impartiality. We had never thought that the colour of a man's skin, or adherence to a bloc, could be of more account than value as a human being.

78. In our view, it was the task of the United Nations to train men for realization of their solidarity and their unity, to cause them to rise to a "world" level and abandon out-moded considerations of narrow nationalism or stubborn sectarianism. Our hopes have been completely and utterly thwarted. Wrangling, intrigue, competitive bidding, discord and even violence have penetrated our Assembly and its subsidiary organs. All these things that today poison the atmosphere and that we should have liked to see abolished, at least within these precincts, are developing here like bacteria in a culture medium, and all too often rob our discussions of any vestige of world significance.

79. With your permission, I should now like to bring up a question which in our opinion is of the utmost importance, for it involves perpetuation of a wrong in regard to several peoples. I refer to the situation of the divided countries.

80. I am aware that to raise this subject is not considered by either bloc to be in good taste. Nevertheless, we take the liberty of raising it, and of asking the Assembly one question. Will the United Nations some day, frankly, directly and without evasion, venture to attack the problem of the reunification of the divided countries?

81. Several reasons impel us to refer to this problem. First, the tensions which are exacerbated in the divided countries constitute a threat to world peace. Secondly, we ourselves are neighbours of one country divided *de jure* since 1954, and of another country divided *de facto* for the last few months—a situation that accounts for several of our external difficulties. Finally, the Cambodian people is entitled to wonder whether the rivalry between the two blocs, extending to our own area, might not result in our own subjection to a similar division. Indeed, such attempts have already been made—one at Geneva in 1954, by the Eastern bloc, and another in 1959, through a secessionist plot for the benefit of the Western bloc. There is every reason to believe that the game has merely been postponed.

82. Three countries are artificially divided: Germany, Viet-Nam and Korea. Three peoples are, amid general indifference, suffering from this situation, and awaiting from us the decisions that will restore to them their legitimate right to full participation in international life.

83. The ideal solution would undoubtedly be that each of these peoples should be reunified through a general referendum organized and supervised by the United Nations, without intervention from the Government of either part of the divided country, since each such Government is aligned with one of the blocs originally responsible for the division. In the present state of the world, however, such unification would be possible only if both blocs recognized and guaranteed the military neutralization of the reunified countries—which for the time being would seem to be out of the question.

84. The second solution would be to recognize that the rivalries of the blocs make reunification impossible but that nevertheless the German, Viet-Nameese and Korean peoples should no longer be deprived of their seats and votes in the United Nations. There are today 75 million Germans, 30 million Koreans and 26 million Viet-Nameese who have been put quite arbitrarily in quarantine, not to speak of the exclusion—in defiance of all common sense—of 700 million Chinese.

85. The United Nations is of course, it will be said, neither a world Government nor a universal parliament. Its decisions have often only moral and platonic force. But we are at least entitled to expect that it will have the courage to defend certain sacred principles—such as the right of nations and peoples to unity—or to acknowledge that, so long as reunification remains impossible, it is only right to arrange for representatives of a divided people's two Governments to sit among us. The Bandung Conference acted in that way in the case of Viet-Nam, and the Geneva Conference even offered our Lao brothers three seats. It is worth while paying attention to these precedents.

86. To give each Government of a divided country a seat would in no way upset the balance, for we know that each would faithfully follow the leader of its own bloc. But this solution would have the advantage of giving the divided countries smooth access to the Concert of Powers, and it might even hasten a return to normal conditions—namely, the necessary reunification.

87. Turning now to a different subject, I should like, on behalf of my countrymen, to express our profound grief at the events in Katanga which have brought about the tragic death of our Secretary-General. Together with most Members of the United Nations, we hope that it will be possible to bring the crisis in the Congo to a speedy end; it is essential that the Congo regain and preserve the territorial integrity which it enjoyed under Belgian rule.

88. The numerous and highly complex questions on the agenda of the General Assembly's sixteenth session include one that will certainly lead to polemics and discussions, probably with no productive result. I refer to the Algerian question.

89. I am impelled to state Cambodia's position on this problem, not because it is of direct concern to us, but because our French and our Algerian friends have for years been urging us from opposite stand-

points, to do so. We have been forced to follow the development of the Algerian affair with particularly close attention, and to draw the necessary conclusions. This recently led us, at Belgrade, to grant de jure recognition to the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, a step which ought in no way to be interpreted as an act unfriendly to France.

90. This act of recognition reflects no ill-considered or unexpected decision. Our Arab brothers (especially the Algerians and Tunisians) had since 1958 been pressing us to signify our support of them. With their assent, however, we preferred not to maintain official relations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, in order that we might try to serve as a "bridge" between that Government and France. But we omitted no occasion of attempting to persuade France that it could only profit from a bold gesture—that of granting independence to the Algerian people.

91. In 1958, we were met by the laconic reply "One does not negotiate with murderers", as though the adversary in every war were not a murderer. Yet in 1954 France had, at Geneva,^{2/} put its signature to the transfer of powers to the Viet-Minh, which it had also termed a "murderer".

92. In 1960 they told me: "Self-determination yes, but after the cease-fire". I then suggested intervention by the United Nations, acceptance of its arbitration, and supervision of the referendum on self-determination—which seemed to me to be the only logical way of achieving an unchallengeable result. The Algerian representatives—who are present in this very hall as observers—at once accepted this suggestion, but France took the view that it was a French domestic affair and that, in those circumstances, United Nations intervention could not be accepted.

93. In 1961 it was possible to consider that France had recognized the de facto existence of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic by holding conversations with it, first at Evian^{3/} and, later, at Lugrin.^{4/} It thus became normal that we should recognize the Algerian Government de jure.

94. France justifies its reserve in the matter of granting independence to the Algerian people by asserting that Algeria has never been a State. Even if this assertion were well-founded, there is a recent precedent which we take the liberty of recalling.

95. Cochinchina—today South Viet-Nam—was, when the French arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century, Cambodian territory partly occupied by Annam. France then simply annexed that territory, including the provinces in dispute between Cambodia and Annam, and turned it first into a colony and subsequently into a French department with elected deputies sitting in the French Parliament.

96. In 1946-1947 France, having to fight the Viet-Nameese insurrection which was particularly well entrenched in the North, set up a provisional government of South Viet-Nam. Later, in 1948-1949, it recalled Bao Dai, the ex-Emperor who had abdicated in 1945, proclaimed him Chief of State, and transferred to him Cochinchina, a French territory, with the

^{2/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 21 July 1954.

^{3/} Held 20 May-30 June 1961.

^{4/} Held 20-28 July 1961.

assent of the French Parliament. The King of Cambodia protested officially against this transfer of territories over which our country continued to maintain its legal rights—but in vain.

97. The installation of Bao Dai, whom the people of Viet-Nam had not recalled to power, and his *de jure* recognition by France and its allies were indisputably less legal and less justifiable than recognition of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, which enjoys the support and confidence of the Algerian people in its struggle for independence. Moreover, if it was constitutionally possible to transform the French department of Cochín-China into an independent territory, we find it hard to understand why this cannot be done in the case of the French departments in Algeria.

98. France also stresses its duties towards a million French citizens who live in Algeria. This concern is quite understandable and legitimate; but it leads me to mention the fate of the Khmer community of 600,000 persons, handed over with no guarantees at all, to the Government of South Viet-Nam. Moreover, these 600,000 compatriots of ours were the first occupants of the land—which is not exactly the case of the French in Algeria. I am convinced that the Algerian leaders will grant these French citizens guarantees which we dare not hope to see granted to our compatriots under the jurisdiction of Viet-Nam.

99. I have recalled these few facts only to show that France can still follow its own precedents in order to solve the tragic Algerian problem by a gesture of greatness, worthy of its past and consistent with its basic interests. Only by granting independence to Algeria without any mental reservations can France, casting off the heavy burden of a hopeless war, regain the friendship of the Arab and African peoples and recover its full international prestige.

100. Basing ourselves on the obvious fact that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic fully represents the Algerian people's aspiration to independence, we did not think, when we gave it official recognition, to hasten the end of a "sticky" war by selecting *a priori* a winner and a loser. Our intention was simply to contribute to the return of peace and to the establishment of a sincere friendship between France and an independent Algeria, by suggesting that France should venture to reconsider its Algerian policy.

101. We consider that the most realistic solution would be to recognize the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic as the fully qualified representative of the Algerian people and to negotiate with it on the granting of independence. I am convinced that this solution would be not merely realistic but profitable to the French community in Algeria, which could very easily secure the maximum of guarantees. We have before us the example of the excellent relations between France and Cambodia and of a French community living and working in the best possible conditions in Cambodia itself. In this connexion, we were very happy when General de Gaulle removed another barrier by recognizing Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara,^{5/} and when, a few days later, President Ben Yousef Ben Khedda most wisely expressed his hope that the independence of Algeria would mark the beginning of an era of "fruitful co-operation" be-

tween France and Algeria and between their two peoples.

102. There is another problem which I mentioned to you last year and to which, with your pardon, I now revert. It concerns the advantage, with a view to maintaining peace, of recognizing the existence of buffer zones in sensitive areas of the "cold war".

103. At the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, I saw fit to call attention to the dangerous development of the situation in Laos, and proposed that Cambodia and Laos should be declared neutral zones between the two blocs. That proposal was considered unrealistic and pointless. There then broke out in Laos a civil war which very nearly degenerated into an international conflict. With a return to reason it was realized, although a little late, that neutralization was in fact the only means of stamping out these new flames of war.

104. The next development was the Geneva Conference,^{6/} at which both blocs rivalled one another in enthusiasm for the recognition of a neutral Laos. That Conference still continues, despite a unanimity which in any case is far more apparent than real. In fact, each of the two blocs has its own idea of neutrality—a neutrality that must conform to the tactical plans of each, which are in no way disinterested.

105. We are still, therefore, very far from neutralization as we had envisaged it, and we may be moving towards a conflict still more dangerous than that which cast its shadow on the horizon early in this year of 1961. Moreover, we can only regret that certain Lao circles cannot see the facts of the problem clearly and reject the guarantee and control of their country's neutrality, on the pretext that these would impair the nation's sovereignty and independence.

106. So far as we are concerned, we do not think that a small, weak and defenceless country, an arena in which the world's great Powers confront one another, is in a position to preserve or regain peace and independence, without an international guarantee. Cambodia, for its part, has insisted on the permanent retention in its territory of the International Commission for Supervision and Control^{7/} set up in 1954 by the Geneva Conference on the armistice in Indo-China.^{8/} So far, we have only had reason to be thankful for the presence of this Commission. But, in any case, would it not have been more reasonable to have prevented the Laos bomb from being set so easily—reasonable both for the Lao people, which is the first victim, and for the two blocs, which now do not know how to escape from the dilemma without losing face?

107. What has happened in Laos can happen in any part of the world where the two contending blocs are in direct contact, and particularly in areas where one of them thinks, often wrongly, that it can gain an advantage at the expense of the other. We know the countries which experience, against their will, the effects of the rivalry between the blocs, and we also know that their peoples ardently desire to have no part in the quarrels of the great Powers. For this reason I venture once more to suggest to our Organization, in the interests of peace and of the small

^{6/} Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question, opened on 16 May 1961.

^{7/} International Commission for Supervision and Control in Cambodia.

^{8/} Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

nations, that it should study practical means for the neutralization of countries which wish to be neutralized, and of those whose geographical position would make this very desirable for world equilibrium.

108. If Members of this Assembly will excuse the length of this speech, I wish now to ask our Organization to consider a human problem which, I think, deserves its attention. It is the problem of ethnic minorities, and particularly of communities living in foreign countries.

109. This problem is of direct concern to us because 600,000 of our compatriots live in South Viet-Nam in the most difficult circumstances and have practically no remedy against the extra-legal measures to which they are subject. The Cambodian community in South Viet-Nam consists of descendants of the land's first occupants who were submerged by Viet-Nameese invasions but who have maintained an underlying unity of religion, language, custom and tradition. By an arbitrary decision of the Government of South Viet-Nam, Viet-Nameese nationality has been imposed on these people and they have been refused the right to preserve their customs and language and even to practise their own form of Buddhism. Sermons in Cambodian, Cambodian religious texts, etc. are not permitted. These violations of the sacred rights of the human person have been supplemented, in recent months, by extra-legal measures of extreme brutality, resorted to not only by the ordinary authorities of South Viet-Nam but also by the rebels opposing the Saigon Government. Several hundreds of these unfortunate compatriots of ours have tried to flee from this oppression and to seek refuge on Cambodian national territory; they have been pursued, arrested, tortured or shot down with machine-guns.

110. Cambodia has its own Viet-Nameese minority, which lives freely among our people and has kept its nationality, language and customs. The status of these 400,000 Viet-Nameese is the same as that of all foreigners living in Cambodia, whether they are of Western, Asian or any other origin.

111. It was impossible for us to turn a deaf ear to the desperate appeals of our compatriots in South Viet-Nam. For that reason we tried on several occasions to negotiate with the Saigon Government with a view to a regularization of their status, or at least an improvement of their condition. But we were met virtually with a blank refusal. We then turned to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Investigators came, interrogated representatives of refugees from this community, and made a report. Again, no results ensued.

112. The Saigon Government's refusal to join us in studying the problem raised by this minority of 600,000 persons has no parallel anywhere. We have before us the example of Austria and Italy, seeking together a solution for the question of the populations of the Alto Adige. But South Viet-Nam refuses to hold any talks, on the ground that it does not belong to the United Nations—which proves the disadvantage of keeping certain countries and peoples outside our Organization. This disadvantage is also reflected in the difficulties which would arise if it were suggested that the question of Laos should be laid before the United Nations, in which neither the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam nor the People's Republic of China is represented.

113. The problem of the Cambodian minority in South Viet-Nam is not the only one of its kind. This is why I believe that the United Nations should make a greater effort to protect the rights of groups of people who are delivered up, tied and bound, to arbitrary rule.

114. In conclusion of this over-long speech, may I, on my own and Cambodia's behalf, most warmly congratulate Mr. Mongi Slim, the new President of the General Assembly, on his very auspicious election. May I also express to the delegates our most genuine good will towards the peoples they represent, and our hopes for success in their work at this sixteenth session. In the difficult circumstances through which our Organization is passing, it is still our hope that all countries will succeed in ending their rivalries and disputes and saving the world from the chaos which threatens it.

115. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I address my most sincere thanks to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

116. Mr. GHODS NAKHAI (Iran): It is indeed a pleasure for me to congratulate Mr. Slim on his election as President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that the Assembly will benefit greatly from his wisdom, experience and judgement, qualities so befitting the office of its President. The distinguished record of his country in international co-operation and its many ties with my own country make the expression of these congratulations a most pleasant duty.

117. I should also like to say a word of sincere appreciation to Mr. Boland who presided over the last, somewhat turbulent session of the Assembly with great dignity and authority.

118. This is the first time that I visit the Headquarters of the Organization. It is very heartening to look around at the many nations represented here, belonging to different races, cultures and creeds and all forming part of that greater whole—the United Nations family. At a time when weapons of mass destruction continue to be produced, in a world which is ideologically divided and whose constant upheavals provide so many opportunities for major discord, the role played by this annual gathering becomes increasingly evident.

119. Now that the small and medium Powers are instrumental in shaping the decisions of the Assembly, it is their responsibility to utilize their opportunities with objectivity, so that the Assembly may evolve as a great force in international relations and its authority be effectively applied for the solution of any international controversy, whatever its origin, nature and scope.

120. Reviewing events since the last session, we can claim, it is true, to have avoided so far a major disaster leading to global war. But we have abided by the ideal of coexistence only in practice—not in spirit. In the past year we have been able to eradicate none of the causes of old controversies. Problems that have lain dormant have reappeared. And now, new crises, with awesome implications, have emerged.

121. The Berlin crisis looms threateningly over us all and its immediate and tragic consequences have been an acceleration of the arms race and the cessation of the disarmament talks. The truce in Laos

is precarious and the future of that Kingdom uncertain; the position in Angola is steadily assuming the characteristics of another international crisis. As to the situation in Algeria and in Bizerta, although there have been some recent encouraging statements, the crucial issues have yet to be settled.

122. As we gather here, the prospect of arriving at a solution of the vital problem of disarmament is most discouraging. Serious and sustained efforts to reach an agreement have been quite abandoned. Indeed the general mood prevailing among the big Powers is not one of disarmament but of rearmament; existing stockpiles, far from being reduced or eliminated, are being reinforced by new weapons with greater destructive power. The recent resumption by the Soviet Union of the testing of nuclear weapons shattered all long-cherished hopes that agreement in this field might serve as a basis for an agreement on the general question of disarmament. With the ending of the voluntary moratorium, the big Powers apparently feel at liberty to perfect their nuclear arsenals in a bitter, competitive mood, and potential nuclear Powers will feel equally free to develop their own nuclear devices. Humanity is being brought closer than ever to the brink of a thermo-nuclear war; in the meantime radio-active fall-out serves as a constant and appalling reminder of the deadly perils we face if testing is to continue.

123. The Iranian people received the news of the resumption of testing with great shock; their alarm and anxiety, particularly as regards the danger of fall-out, is more than justified by their geographical position. There is no conceivable justification for the cynical and incoherent way in which the disarmament question is being treated. It has been postponed so often in order that certain procedural considerations be satisfied, and even when negotiations started, the big Powers have been primarily concerned with their national interests. The disarmament meetings have followed this pattern for so long now that it would seem that future negotiations will again prove unproductive in such an outworn framework. Any further talks must be animated by far greater foresight and realism than before. We need to take a new look at the old issues, to establish new precedents in order to achieve that which has been denied us for so long. Whether the arms race is absorbing the energy and resources of industrialized nations or of less developed countries, its heavy weight is felt by us all.

124. The sixteenth session of the Assembly has been convened at a time when international tensions have reached unprecedented heights. The reopening of the Berlin crisis has added still more fuel to the boiling cauldron of international friction. It is our earnest belief that there are two major factors to be considered in solving the problem: that force, and threats to use force, must be abandoned; and that the rule of international law with respect to the right of peoples to self-determination must be observed.

125. The most, and perhaps the only, hopeful aspect of the present situation is that the general apprehension and feeling of insecurity may bring the large Powers to realize how fast we are drifting towards a nuclear holocaust. I sincerely hope that the present debate will contribute to establishing a better understanding of the paramount importance of disarmament and of the means by which it can be translated into reality. I should like to emphasize to the Assembly that the role of the medium and small Powers in

this vital issue is, and can only be, one of inducement and persuasion.

126. The lack of progress in disarmament negotiations also has grave implications for the economy of the international community. It has resulted in the expenditure of an enormous and increasing proportion of world resources for the piling up of armaments across our little globe. A very small fraction of such resources could, if devoted to peaceful purposes, make a significant contribution to the material well-being of humanity, and especially of those who live in the under-developed countries and who account for over half of the world population.

127. The urgent need of under-developed countries for foreign economic aid is matched by an equally pressing need for trade—namely, the need for adequate opportunities to sell their products in the industrialized countries. In this respect the industrial countries have an opportunity of showing their solidarity with the rest of the world in two ways. First, they should give more vigorous support to the various price stabilization and compensatory financing schemes for stabilizing the foreign exchange earnings of the primary exporting countries. It is essential to reduce the wide range of fluctuations in these earnings if the development programmes of the primary producing countries are not to be periodically disrupted, as they have been since the end of the last war. Secondly, it is important that the industrialized countries adopt more liberal policies in admitting the products of under-developed countries. Would it be too great a burden on them to reduce the protection now being accorded to those domestic industries whose products compete with imports from the under-developed countries? It is now generally recognized that developing countries are morally and economically justified in extending a certain degree of protection to infant industries against competition from the industrialized countries if they are to make any progress at all in their plans of industrialization. No comparable justification can be given by developed countries for protecting a few sectors of their economies against competition from under-developed countries, enjoying as they do a high standard of income, also a high degree of resource mobility in their diversified economies.

128. While stressing the necessity for increasing international economic co-operation, I should like, in passing, to voice the hope that the proposal for the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund, which has been under consideration in one form or another for over ten years now, will at last become a reality. The operations of such a fund, which should follow the twelve principles unanimously approved for it, would enhance the authority and prestige of our Organization. It would add substance to the structure of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and the operations of these two important agencies would take on new and significant meaning. I therefore appeal to the prospective contributing members to give their blessing to the immediate establishment of the fund.

129. Having dwelt briefly on certain problems in international economic co-operation, I should like now to turn to the question of Algeria, which still remains a source of international tension. The people and Government of Iran have watched with deep sympathy and admiration the development over the years of the Algerian movement for independence.

After a long period of bloodshed and political stalemate, a new realistic policy was initiated by President de Gaulle, which culminated in the acceptance by France of Algerian independence. This caused great joy in Iran. Not long ago, negotiations were undertaken to explore the possibility of transferring sovereignty to the Algerian people, but the introduction of certain elements into the talks has so far hindered further progress. We are indeed happy to observe that President de Gaulle recently recognized the Algerian people's right of sovereignty over the Sahara; this declaration^{9/} strikes a most promising note. More than ever before, the whole problem requires an objective appraisal at a round-table conference, so that an honourable accord may be reached between France and Algeria. I sincerely trust that negotiations will remove the last obstacles impeding a settlement of this long and dramatic struggle, and that we may soon be able to welcome among us the presence and co-operation of an independent State of Algeria.

130. In another part of Africa, the Congo (Leopoldville), for whose unity Mr. Hammarskjöld gave his life, we supported the way in which the situation was handled by him, and once again we confirm this support. The recent operation undertaken by the United Nations Force was, in the view of my delegation, in accordance with the Security Council's resolution of 21 February 1961.^{10/} Indeed, we must not shirk our responsibilities in following through with such action as is necessary to achieve a united Congo.

131. One of the basic issues confronting this session is the reorganization of the Secretariat. Reorganization is a necessary process in any administration. In general, it tends to make an agency more effective and also more responsive to the needs of a given period. In its relatively short existence the United Nations Secretariat has already undergone certain changes. What is needed now is a reorganization of the Secretariat which will render it more efficient, more representative and less costly. It is indeed to be regretted that these urgent and practical requirements, which are a natural development in any organization's evolution, have now become entangled with a far-reaching proposal which is evidently based on a very different interpretation of the concept of the United Nations from that held by the majority of Member States. According to the proposal, the United Nations should be turned into a "realistic" political body through the introduction of present-day ideological trends into the Secretariat, through replacing the present single-headed office of the Secretary-General by a triumvirate representing the Western, the Eastern and the neutral blocs, and through making execution of every political decision dependent on the unanimous consent of the three officers.

132. The proposed formula clearly goes far beyond the classical definition of "reorganization". If the formula were applied, it would certainly paralyse the normal operations of the Secretariat, as well as impede the natural development of the Organization. Graver still, the concept of an international civil service as a manifestation of the corporate quality of the United Nations, which is clearly reflected in Articles 24 and 25 of the Charter, would suffer a

mortal blow if the triumvirate proposal were put into effect.

133. We see in this formula a close analogy with the so-called "reform of the League" movement of the early twenties, the general purpose of which was to minimize the authority of the League of Nations, Article 10 of the Covenant—the core of the League's collective security—bearing the brunt of the attack. Believing then, as now, in an effective international organization, Iran vehemently opposed this assault on Article 10. I am glad to recall that our single vote kept this principle, against strong opposition, at least theoretically intact. Convinced as it is of the necessity for a strong international organization, Iran cannot accept the triumvirate as a basis for the reorganization of the Secretariat. It would certainly result in an attrition of the very principles upon which the United Nations is founded. In this connexion I should like to refer to the introduction [A/4800/Add.1] to the annual report of the Secretary-General, which is devoted this year to an analysis of the character and authority of the United Nations: what it is and what it ought to be. We feel that this is a particularly timely presentation and appreciate highly the late Secretary-General's choice of subject.

134. My remarks would be incomplete without a reference to the geographical region to which Iran belongs. The Middle East cannot claim that, since we gathered here last year, any of its political problems have been solved completely, but at least its controversies, both old and new, have remained within the bounds of logic and tolerance. Though this is not an end in itself it may at least be regarded as an auspicious beginning to the settlement of controversies.

135. Iran, occupying as it does an important strategic position in the Middle East, must contend with one of the most insidious weapons of the cold war, ceaseless and subversive radio propaganda. An admirable invention of modern science has become, in the hands of unscrupulous agents, a vile instrument for inciting nations to act against their loyalty to traditional institutions, with intent to create chaos and disrupt world peace. In addition to this vicious radio propaganda, which is directed to the undermining of morale, press cliques belonging to the same agents have issued distorted articles on the internal affairs of other countries in an attempt to kindle a spirit of hatred in the hearts of nations.

136. I do not wish to elaborate the point and thus take up further the time of the General Assembly, but would nevertheless reaffirm our unshakable belief in the maintenance of friendly relations among States, a fundamental concept expressed in the United Nations Charter. We have always adhered strictly to this policy and naturally expect it to be upheld by others so far as Iran is concerned. The continuation of this infamous radio propaganda, and the attacks by certain irresponsible sections of the press, constitute a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter and of the special resolutions on peaceful and neighbourly relations among States passed at the twelfth [1236 (XII)] and thirteenth [1301 (XIII)] sessions of the General Assembly.

137. Clearly there is no easy way out of the present world dilemma, no ready-made solution of these problems. However, though present prospects for international peace are bleak, though military build-up and threat seem the order of the day, we must pursue with determination and patience the ultimate

^{9/} Made at a press conference on 5 September 1961.

^{10/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1961, document S/4741.

purpose for which we have come together—the establishment of peace and order throughout the world. May I conclude by urging that it is by applying the machinery of peaceful settlement and not by making shows of strength that the issues at stake can be truly resolved. This has been attested time and time again in the past.

138. Mr. KOSAKA (Japan): On behalf of the delegation of Japan, I wish to express to Mr. Slim our warm congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. Because of his great wisdom and wealth of experience in the field of international diplomacy, I am confident that he will lead this session to a successful conclusion.

139. Also on this occasion I should like to express to the former President, Mr. Boland, the profound thanks and appreciation of my delegation. With broad vision and fair judgement, he has ably led the fifteenth regular session and the third special session of the General Assembly, despite a multitude of difficult and perplexing problems. Under his leadership, the United Nations has continued to fulfil its high task of maintaining world peace and to enhance its position as the great hope of mankind.

140. With a heavy heart, my country joins with other Member States in mourning the tragic and untimely death, in the performance of his duties, of the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. My country has always held him in high esteem as a splendid example of devotion to the great ideals and purposes of the United Nations, which he served with such selfless dedication and great distinction. His passing is a very deep loss to this Organization. In paying tribute at this time to the loyalty, devotion and self-sacrifice of the Secretariat, I should like to express our confidence in this great international civil service. Its burdens are always heavy and the sudden and tragic loss of its chief will not make its tasks any easier.

141. As this session of the General Assembly gets under way, I should like to reaffirm the faith of the Government of Japan in the United Nations as an Organization dedicated to the all-important task of maintaining world peace, and to emphasize that my Government supports the United Nations with all its heart and is resolved to co-operate in all the Organization's endeavours to its fullest capacity.

142. The life of man is no longer limited to this planet. It may now advance far and wide into cosmic space. The United States and the Soviet Union are to be commended for their ventures into space—for their steady successes in utilizing fully their superior knowledge and skills in science and technology in the performance of feats unexcelled in all human history.

143. Mankind, moreover, is receiving more and more the blessings of an increasingly prosperous and better life such as it has never known. One by one, the various peoples who have lived under colonial rule and were obliged to lag behind in the political, economic and cultural fields, have achieved independence and are endeavouring with pride and zeal to live a fuller life in self-respect.

144. All of these facts generate in us great hope for the future of mankind. Yet we must admit with regret that the realities of the world do not permit us to entertain any rosy optimism. Inequities of all kinds still exist and must be rectified. There are peoples who do not yet enjoy the right of self-determination.

There are peoples who have won political independence, but who still face great difficulties in consolidating their independence in the economic and other fields. There are peoples blessed with rich national traditions, but who are denied the true exercise of the right of self-determination. And there are countries which take pride in their progress and prosperity, but whose people do not necessarily fully share those benefits.

145. In the field of international relations, a state of grave uncertainty prevails. The world lives under an uneasy peace that rests on an uncertain balance of power. Man's prowess in science and technology may enable him soon to reach the moon, but in the realm of the spiritual he lags far behind. A sense of doubt about peace is spreading throughout the world. The critical situation centring around the Berlin problem and the recent resumption of nuclear weapons tests have thrown the peoples of the world into a state of serious concern.

146. How, we ask ourselves, can we have real peace when a strong Power, while talking peace, openly threatens other countries with displays of its military might and its newest scientific achievements? These pose a serious challenge to the United Nations.

147. In meeting this situation we must recognize that, in the world we live in, there are different political philosophies and social systems and different nations in different stages of economic development. We must recognize that between countries, especially between those living under different systems and conditions, there must be strict adherence to the principles of the Charter—the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, refraining from the threat of force, and absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Under these principles we must endeavour in a spirit of world solidarity to deepen mutual understanding and strengthen mutual co-operation. This, I believe, is the only way to realize true world peace under conditions of freedom, justice and prosperity for all peoples, as envisaged in our Charter.

148. With such concepts in mind, I should like to express my Government's views on some of the major problems which we face today.

149. The foremost of these problems is that of Berlin and Germany. On the status of Berlin, a four-Power agreement^{11/} continues to be in effect. There can be no lasting settlement of the Berlin question by unilateral denunciation of valid international agreements or by threatening gestures. There is no question but that its settlement should be reached by mutual agreement through negotiations, and that such settlement should be in accord with the United Nations Charter. Any settlement of the Berlin and German question must also, of course, fully reflect the freely expressed will of the citizens of Berlin and of the people of Germany themselves.

150. One of the major problems taken up by the General Assembly last year was the problem of the Congo (Leopoldville). As we open this session, it is a matter of disappointment and deep regret that the

^{11/} United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France: Agreement (with annexed map) regarding amendments to the Protocol of 12 September 1944 on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin". Signed at London, on 26 July 1945. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 227 (1956), II, No. 533.

peace restored to that country under United Nations auspices, after considerable difficulties, has been upset by renewed trouble. We must see to it that there is no outside interference in the present situation, that no additional difficulties or outside obstructions are placed in the way of continued United Nations efforts to restore peace and stability. In the interest of the Congolese people and for the very peace of Africa and of the world, the United Nations should, my delegation believes, endeavour to bring about the earliest possible stabilization of the situation. In this connexion, it is my hope that the Congolese leaders themselves, on whom the ultimate solution depends, will manifest the wise judgement they have shown in the past.

151. Most of the newly rising nations in Africa require the co-operation of the economically more advanced countries to establish stability and to enjoy economic progress. It goes without saying that such co-operation should not be utilized by any country for political ends. Co-operation and aid should be extended solely to ensure the freedom, prosperity and development of these nations. To use economic co-operation and aid as instruments of the cold war would be an insult to these countries. The older nations must fully understand and sympathize with the feelings of the newly rising nations, which, after many years of foreign domination, want to advance on the road to full independence and self-respect.

152. In this regard, the Japanese Government welcomes with enthusiasm the adoption at the last session of the General Assembly, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Since the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, my country has consistently and tirelessly made every effort to establish the principle of racial equality. The eradication from this earth of racial discrimination is still a problem requiring urgent solution. It is a matter of deep regret that the concept of racial discrimination still exists in this twentieth century. As long as this situation continues, we cannot expect to establish peace, in the true sense of the term, among the peoples of the world.

153. A moment ago I spoke of the Berlin crisis. In face of the present world tensions we feel all the more the impelling need for disarmament as an indispensable means for the attainment of a secure peace. Yet, what is the situation now? The Ten-Nation Committee created for the purpose of discussing disarmament has not met for a year, and there is as yet no agreement on the question of an agency to take over this task. There has been too much exploitation of this question for propaganda purposes, and no progress. It is primarily the great Powers which have the heavy responsibility of realizing disarmament. It is up to them to make efforts in good faith to find practical approaches and concrete methods toward the solution of this important problem.

154. It is the opinion of my delegation that the only realistic and constructive approach to the solution of the disarmament question is for the Powers concerned to adopt such disarmament measures as are presently feasible and possible of effective control and, by restoring international trust and confidence, to expand the scope of disarmament step by step. Although my delegation is in favour of general and complete disarmament, it believes that a settlement

of this most difficult problem at one stroke, without adequate preparation for effective international control and supervision, is impracticable.

155. In this connexion, my delegation welcomes the joint statement of agreed principles relating to disarmament [A/4879] of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which has just been reported to the United Nations. This is a promising sign and my delegation hopes that, on the basis of these principles, renewed efforts will be made to work out a satisfactory disarmament agreement.

156. Since last year, the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests came to agreement on a number of provisions and gave hope that the final conclusion of a treaty was near at hand, thus removing a great threat to mankind. This hope has been dashed. Only a few weeks ago, in the midst of these negotiations, one of the parties suddenly and unilaterally announced the resumption of nuclear testing. Not only that, it has actually conducted such tests one after another and opened the way for nuclear test competition.

157. This is a most regrettable and disheartening development. Nuclear power should be utilized solely for peaceful purposes, to enhance the prosperity and welfare of mankind. Competition in nuclear weapons can only increase the danger of another world war, total and more destructive than anything mankind has ever known. Having lost over 200,000 lives at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and seeing their fellow countrymen dying from year to year from the after-effects of radiation, the people of Japan, speaking from their own bitter experience, cannot withhold expression of their deep concern over the question of nuclear testing. Reflecting this national sentiment the Japanese Government has protested whenever and wherever nuclear weapons tests have taken place.

158. We are also gravely concerned, apart from the question of radio-active fall-out, at the fact that the resumption of nuclear testing will mean competition in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It is for these reasons that I express the strong hope that the negotiating Powers at Geneva will make supreme efforts to reach an early agreement, abandoning narrow self-interest and upholding above all else the security and happiness of mankind now and in the future.

159. At the last session of the General Assembly, my delegation, jointly with many other Member States, worked actively for the passage of a resolution [1578 (XV)] for the suspension of nuclear tests and the prevention of the dissemination of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. These efforts notwithstanding, the present world is now witnessing a worsening of the situation. My delegation therefore sincerely wishes to see the Assembly pass an effective resolution which will respond to and satisfy the crying demand of all mankind for the stoppage of all nuclear testing. To this effort we will contribute with all our mind and heart.

160. Turning next to the recent phenomenal progress in space science, the problem of the peaceful use of outer space has become an extremely important matter. An international agreement for the prevention of the use of outer space for military purposes is an indispensable condition for world peace. We further believe that exploration of outer space should be conducted by international co-operation, peacefully and openly and in an orderly manner. These should be the

guiding principles for the use of outer space for the benefit and not the destruction of mankind.

161. The maintenance and advancement of a prosperous world economy is, together with the maintenance of peace, one of the principal purposes of the United Nations. I should therefore like to touch upon the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields.

162. The goal of the economic policies of Japan, like that of other industrialized nations, is rapid economic growth on a stable basis. This is generally being realized. But on the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the gap in living standards between the economically advanced nations and the less developed nations is growing.

163. It goes without saying that the primary responsibility for the economic development of any country rests with itself. Only when there is a genuine spirit of self-help can ways be found to overcome such difficulties as lack of development funds or of skilled manpower. At the same time, however, the attainment of world prosperity is the joint and urgent task of the entire world. In this sense, it is a gratifying fact that the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, based upon the technical assistance programmes, are making an increasing impact on the economies of the receiving countries. I, for one, hold in high estimation the assistance that is being provided by the United Nations through these programmes.

164. Another feature of recent life in the international community is the increasing co-operation that is being extended to the developing nations by various capital assistance agencies both within and without the framework of the United Nations. For example, the International Development Association has begun to function as a specialized agency of the United Nations. I need hardly say that it is essential to give the fullest attention to project co-ordination between these agencies and the countries concerned, so that the maximum total results can be achieved. My country desires to co-operate fully with these multilateral agencies and, at the same time, to extend bilateral economic co-operation to the developing countries to the maximum extent of our ability.

165. As an Asian country and an Asian Member of the United Nations, Japan holds high expectations of the steady growth of the development of the countries of Asia. Most of them are presently making positive efforts in accordance with long-term plans. The various types of assistance that are being made available to them are being effectively utilized. But in order to help them consummate their energetic efforts, greater help is necessary. The many unlimited areas for development require many new plans, and to make these plans possible it is desirable that the United Nations and other sources should provide increased assistance.

166. From time to time, the late Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, emphasized the importance of a dynamic division of labour in the field of world trade. Nations which are in the process of internal expansion will, as a result of economic development, not only be exporting primary commodities, but also semi-processed and manufactured articles. As this development occurs, it is to be hoped that the advanced industrial countries, by providing markets for the goods of the new exporting countries, will respond

sympathetically to the efforts of these countries for economic development and growth. In some advanced countries, there is pressure to impose import restrictions or to protect home industries on the ground of relatively cheaper costs of production in the less advanced countries. I should call the attention of the Assembly to the fact that when such measures are applied, especially to countries which are in the process of development, they entail the danger of arresting their progress towards economic diversification.

167. I should like next to touch briefly on a matter which my delegation has advocated in the past. We should like to see the United Nations study thoroughly the basic problems relating to the effective utilization on an international scale of the world's manpower resources. This problem of international labour utilization is related to the problem of emigration. On behalf of the Japanese Government, I should like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the Governments and peoples of those Latin American countries which have warmly received our emigrants, and I hope that they will continue to maintain an understanding attitude in this matter in the years ahead.

168. In summary, Japan believes that world prosperity is indivisible and that world prosperity and world peace are also indivisible. Not only in the political field, but also in the economic field, Japan will not spare its efforts to further the cause of international co-operation, both within and outside the United Nations.

169. I have outlined the basic position of my country on some of the major problems now before us. But more important for world peace than any other problem is the problem of the United Nations itself. When we think of the many achievements of this great Organization for world peace and welfare and when we face the many difficult problems besetting the world, we feel very strongly the need to build up even more the strength and effectiveness of the United Nations. All of its Members share the grave responsibility of co-operation in a manner that will enable the United Nations to carry out its high objectives.

170. In order that the United Nations may serve more effectively the cause of world peace and welfare, I want to say that we, the Members, must uphold the interests of the entire world as our primary purpose. This is not an arena for the pursuit of selfish interests, nor for propaganda or vilification. I want also to say that there have been some instances among Members of the United Nations of not conforming to its duly adopted resolutions and avoiding participation in the collective actions of this Organization. This has exposed the United Nations to the danger of losing its prestige as an agency for the maintenance of world peace.

171. Furthermore, the financial condition of the United Nations has become extremely serious since last year. This is due to the refusal on the part of a few Members to share in the cost of the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo operations, despite decisions of the United Nations. I appeal to the Assembly that it is our urgent duty to effect an early correction of this situation and place the United Nations on a stable financial basis.

172. If the United Nations is to meet the problems of today effectively, its very organization must conform

to the conditions of today. Since the establishment of the United Nations, its membership has almost doubled. This fact must be reflected in the composition of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. I also believe that it is time to review the structure of the Secretariat to conform with the new situation. For instance, in order to enable the Secretary-General to perform his duties more effectively, I believe that it would be appropriate to strengthen his staff, especially at the top level, and in the employment of Secretariat personnel to give greater regard to geographical distribution, to the extent that efficiency will not suffer.

173. In connexion with the organization of the United Nations, my delegation does not support the proposal calling for a system of three Secretaries-General. Such a system would bring into the key position in the United Nations conflicts that exist between different political philosophies and systems, paralyse the functions of the Secretariat and destroy the very basis of its international neutrality as called for by Article 100 of the Charter.

174. The time has come when all the Members must undertake a serious soul-searching with regard to the manner in which they should co-operate with the United Nations as an agency for international peace and co-operation. To the major Powers which have permanent seats in the Security Council and the right of veto, I should like to say that they have an especially heavy responsibility for the maintenance of peace and for the sound development of the United Nations, and to express to them the strong hope that they will conduct themselves with full awareness of that responsibility.

175. On the other hand, the proportionate strength of the voice of the other Members has increased with the rapid rise in new membership. As their collective influence in the United Nations becomes stronger, they have the potential power to influence the confrontation between the major Powers. This carries with it a heavy responsibility. It is the duty of us all to exercise prudence and restraint and to maintain a practical and constructive attitude in handling all problems, even those relating to vital national interests. In the past sixteen years, the United Nations has succeeded in preventing such incidents as Korea, Suez, and the Congo from flaring into global war. It is gratifying to note that so much has been achieved by the United Nations, but we must not forget that its survival is entirely dependent upon the continuous and untiring efforts of all Member States.

176. In closing this statement, I should like to say that all of us here must recognize that we have now come to a decisive stage when we are called upon to renew our resolve for world peace and for the future of the United Nations and to make our resolution effective. We must be aware of the grave responsibilities that rest on the shoulders of each of us. If we are, the first and most urgent task of this session is to fill without delay the important post of Secretary-General which now lies vacant. With full cognizance of these responsibilities, we must make this session purposeful and meaningful by upholding the authority and integrity of the United Nations in all our actions.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.