

September 19, 1958

**Address by Mr. Frank Aiken to the United Nations
General Assembly Official, 23th Session, 751st
Plenary Meeting**

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Summary:

Aiken's landmark address to the plenary of the UN General Assembly on 19 September 1958 launched his non-proliferation campaign. It is the first time he publicly identified stopping the spread of nuclear weapons as a concrete step in the collective interest to unblock the disarmament impasse, preventing a runaway arms race among the powers of the Earth. It was clearly framed as part of his wider campaign for global governance based on the rule of law rather than the threat of force. For Aiken, the challenge was stabilizing the arms race and generating trust to construct a world order based on justice and law - "to preserve a Pax Atomica while we build a Pax Mundi." This speech was a critical departure. The widespread positive reception encouraged Aiken, persuading him to draft a formal resolution.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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CONTENTS.

	<u>Page</u>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<u>continued</u>):	
Speech by Mr. Florit (Argentina)	33
Speech by Mr. Herrera Bález (Dominican Republic)	37
Speech by Mr. Aiken (Ireland)	39
Speech by Mr. Hekmat (Iran)	42

President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FLORIT (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Allow me first to convey to the President my congratulations and those of my delegation and the Government of the Argentine Republic on his election.
2. The Government of Argentina wishes special significance to be attached to its attendance at this, the thirteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. For Argentina, after a process which has not been without its difficulties, has returned to an invigorated constitutional order, with solidly-based democratic institutions and with the rule of law firmly established. My Government can therefore appreciate the true significance of this great Assembly, for our country has always been a champion of the tenets of international law; and through its behaviour in the most widely differing circumstances, has shown its respect for the juridical settlement of international disputes, and its obedience to peaceful authorities, to whose judgement it has always submitted the outcome of its own victories.
3. For us, the United Nations genuinely represents one of the most far-reaching ventures ever undertaken by man. It is a noble attempt to unite the international community through the rule of law and to give practical effect to that universal morality which we all desire, as being the only means whereby peaceful relationships can be established between all the peoples of the earth. But the high hopes which we place in the United Nations do not, of course, allow us to forget the extreme gravity of the problems which today darken the world scene and jeopardize the destiny of the civilization shared by all peoples here represented.
4. The existence of two powerful blocs around which vast numbers of the population of the world are grouped is an undeniable fact. And it is also a fact that the ceaseless interplay of power and national interests gives rise, within the restricted areas which it affects, to constant and ever-recurring disputes which bring mankind to the brink of chaotic and unpredictable

situations. By a curious paradox of history, that very progress which, with unparalleled and ever-increasing speed, has opened up new horizons of spiritual wealth and material to mankind can destroy all its work in a single instant. Thus the full realization of the freedom which this progress has created can easily annihilate the rich universe which has been won.

5. My country accepts the existence of this unfortunate state of world affairs, since the harsh reality of facts makes it imperative to do so. It believes, however, in the absolute necessity of finding an issue from this grave crisis. It believes that the instinct of self-preservation lays upon all peoples the urgent obligation to unite to find a solution to this potential conflict, and that this paramount objective cannot be achieved by resorting to vague statements or expressions of good will, but only through concrete measures which, by promoting progress and wealth, will make possible the appearance of new protagonists on the world stage. New influences will have to emerge, capable of restoring the balance endangered in our time by the disproportionate development of certain nations.

6. That is how the situation looks to the Argentine Republic, from its American and Western standpoint. We wish to make this standpoint perfectly clear. We Argentines are part of a continent which, geographically and historically, is one, a continent in which all countries are linked by the closest ties of friendship and mutual respect. And at the same time we are heirs to a civilization the vitality and spiritual wealth of which has made possible the great adventure which mankind is living today.

7. But it is precisely because we are Westerners, heirs to a traditional humanism, that we feel able to judge differences and antagonisms from a loftier standpoint. For we know that our civilization has spread its benefits throughout the world because it is inspired by Christian ideals which, in spite of the occasional weaknesses recorded by history, hold a universal message for all mankind. For that reason it is not difficult for Argentines to address themselves in a broad spirit of Christian cordiality to men who belong to other cultures. The interests of all peoples are interdependent and on many occasions it is obvious that to defend one of those interests in another part of the globe is simply to defend the interests of one's country.

8. Many countries, geographically remote from us, are faced with situations arising from economic and social structures similar to our own; they share the same problems, they believe that such problems should be solved in the same way and they consider, as we do, that joint action is the best, indeed the only, method of developing their own international personality. Against this background, it is evident that the activities of our country within the community of

nations must be based on the clear-cut principles which have characterized Argentine international policy at all times.

9. Thus, we Argentines believe in the principle of self-determination of nations. Brought up in the democratic tradition which is deeply rooted in America, we cannot conceive of any legal basis for power other than the free consent of the community, when that community is bound together by spiritual, traditional, racial and historical ties which constitute the nation itself. And since we believe that power can only be legitimate if it is based on the free consent of the community, we cannot refrain from encouraging the endeavours of genuine national groups that seek to achieve self-government.

10. My country has also a profound respect for human values. Consequently, it is deeply concerned with the safeguarding of the rights and concrete freedoms which are part of the deeply-cherished inheritance of the Christian and Western tradition. The human person is sacred and my country feels that battles waged anywhere in the world in its defence are its own battles.

11. We also uphold the right of all peoples to cultural and economic development, and we feel that that problem, on the satisfactory solution of which the peace of the world depends, must be the focus of the activities of countries in a position similar to our own within the framework of the United Nations.

12. We jealously defend the principle of national sovereignty. We have resolutely taken up this attitude on more than one occasion, as the sister republics of this hemisphere can testify. It is a principle which we proclaimed in times when international affairs did not engage the public attention to the extent that they do today.

13. Not having been involved in the conflicts which have made our century one of the most dramatic in history, we can say that it has been our invariable policy to defend the cause of world peace—a Christian peace, of course, the fruits of a genuinely peaceful coexistence in freedom, combined with a scrupulous respect for the dignity of man—and, naturally, not a peace which is merely the expression of order imposed by force, by the exercise of overwhelming power.

14. Argentina believes that the greater the frankness with which problems are discussed by the United Nations, the nearer that Organization will come to achieving the aims that inspired its creation. Since international politics are, to a great extent, the visible expression of the internal conditions and circumstances prevailing in a given country, the success of the Assembly's work will largely depend on the frankness with which those circumstances are stated before it. Accordingly, the Argentine delegation wishes to set forth with absolute frankness the situation prevailing in its country.

15. The Argentine Republic is still a country in which economic development is inadequate. That is the first fact which must be frankly admitted, in spite of the impression which may be made on the casual foreign observer by its capital, one of the great cities of the world, and in spite of the vigour of the Argentine people.

16. It is a country well endowed with human and natural resources, but it has not yet experienced that upsurge which will one day lead it to greatness. Its population is sparse in relation to the extent and wealth of its territory. Up till now it has been content to concentrate on its immense agricultural and livestock resources which continue to be the basis for its participation in the international markets, but it has not rationally and methodically developed other factors making for a rich national life, although these are a necessary complement to the country's activity if it is to attain true greatness in keeping with the exigencies of our time.

17. The struggle to protect our products, which have always been dependent upon the conditions imposed on the world market by the most influential economies, has been a hard one. Conditions of equilibrium in the market on which we depend have been subject to sudden fluctuations which we have not been strong enough to control, and this on more than one occasion has discouraged our producers and left them with a sense of helplessness. Nor can we overlook the steady decline in agricultural and livestock production resulting from our inability to take advantage of the latest advances and techniques which are today indispensable. Although the country is endowed with immensely rich coal and water-power resources, it still suffers from a shortage of energy which weakens its creative impulses.

18. In short, the situation in Argentina has been typical of the group of countries in which the effects of the technological revolution have not made themselves fully felt and which are therefore lagging behind in a period of bewilderingly rapid progress. It cannot be denied today that we are living in an age of rapid industrialization and intensive mechanization which presents backward countries with the terrifying alternatives of keeping abreast of the times or becoming colonies of countries which are already industrialized. Lastly, these phenomena are closely related to the simultaneous development of industrial technology and large-scale industrial organizations.

19. It should be made absolutely clear that this state of dependence is advantageous neither to those countries which have to endure it nor to mankind as a whole. Mankind is the chief victim of imbalance between nations in times when misfortunes and their repercussions affect the most distant regions in entirely unexpected ways.

20. The Argentine Republic is therefore perfectly frank about its present position; equally, it does not conceal the way in which it intends to face and overcome its difficulties. We do not believe that development in a national vacuum is feasible. There have been no instances of it in history and it would be senseless to harbour any such idea in this day and age. We do of course believe that we must encourage national savings in every conceivable way, if only to demonstrate our respect for moral values. But we are also aware that we must have the cooperation of foreign savings if we are to undertake the task of expansion and development to which we are committed.

21. It is absolutely essential for our country to raise the investment level and Argentina is therefore offering watertight guarantees to all those who are willing to co-operate sincerely in a mutually profitable task.

Now that constitutional government has been restored, we realize that a sound fiscal policy, real social stability, scrupulous respect for the existing legal system and firm guarantees against improper expropriation and an arbitrary policy of restricting transfers of profits abroad are essential if we are to obtain the cooperation we need.

22. There is today in the Argentine Republic an attitude of mind which makes the accomplishment of the great undertaking already begun not only possible, but possible with the speed of a veritable mobilization, as required by present circumstances. We have successfully fought against two views of long standing which have constantly hampered any really serious attempt at national emancipation. The first is the so-called doctrine of international division of labour under which for many years our country was assigned the simple task of supplying raw materials at low prices to the countries directing the world economy in exchange for manufactured goods at high prices. The second is the attitude of mind which, on the false pretext of fighting the just and popular cause of the home-made product, has actually favoured the maintenance of the status quo, the position of dependence and stagnation.

23. Such an outlook is a thing of the past in our country. There is a real, genuine national consciousness and awareness of exactly what we want to achieve, and on this foundation our Government has introduced within a few months and with great resoluteness a vigorous development policy. That is the significance of the recently-launched battle for oil; it is the first great fight for national fulfilment. In fighting it, we are facing at an ever-growing pace the task of exploiting fully our underground mineral wealth and thereby solving our energy problems. The oil and coal which lie hidden in huge quantities beneath our American soil are now ready to be added to the world's production and made available to the world markets, provided the capital to which Argentina is offering highly favourable terms is forthcoming.

24. International commitments assumed by previous Governments have been and will be scrupulously respected. This has already been proved in the few months during which the Government has held office, and it can be regarded as evidence of the maturity of a country which is fully aware of the solemn nature of its international obligations.

25. This in broad outline is the course which Argentina intends to follow now in preparation for the great mobilization which will give the impetus to national development. It is a mobilization similar to those carried out in earlier days and other latitudes by the enterprising pioneers who laid the foundations for the great Powers of our time. What it has so far accomplished shows clearly that our country has already passed the stage of mere talk and is determined not to lose a single day in the great battle to make it free and great.

26. But while we are conscious of our vigour and our potentialities, we are also alive to our real difficulties. This simple and unadorned picture of our country's position makes it clear that if the efforts of our people are to be fruitful, they must not be made in isolation but as part of a joint effort with other countries in like circumstances, first and foremost in association with our sister republics of the American continent.

27. We have already referred to our peculiar situation in the Americas. We now reaffirm the solidarity of all the countries of the continent without exception, a family which extends from pole to pole; but at the same time we have to recognize the fact that while one particular country has reached a stage of development unprecedented in history there are others which, despite their wealth in human and natural resources, remain stagnant and backward. Our own case and that of other Latin American countries shows the difficulty of acting in isolation and the extreme vulnerability of economies which are not diversified. That is why any speech by a Latin American should be addressed in the first instance to all those nations which share with us the legacy of the civilization which made our nationhood possible.

28. We Latin American countries have the unique privilege of belonging to perhaps the only group of nations in the history of the world which can legitimately call themselves "sister nations". Doubtless each of us has genuine national characteristics based on a spiritual structure of its own, individual in pattern. But we have also been united from our historical beginnings by the closest ties that have ever bound people together anywhere in the world. The Latin American countries all came into existence at practically the same time; they inherited the same tradition; they are of the same racial origin and of the same religious faith. All the ties which are ordinarily taken to be characteristic of a single nation closely unite our countries, even though each of us may have decided to go its own way in the intriguing enterprise of forming a community.

29. Both this irrevocable decision and our fundamental unity of origin suggest that at this time, on the basis of strict respect for national entities—the foundation of international law—we should resolutely embark upon joint action for mutual development in the economic sphere, with a view to removing the obstacles, sometimes less real than they seem and often at variance with our wishes, which prevent us from cooperating in the joint solution of our common problems.

30. Latin America is today playing an important part in the concert of nations and it aspires to a decisive role. For that purpose it can draw on the most extensive resources to be found anywhere in the world. Its rich cattle-lands, its enormous mineral wealth, its mighty sources of energy extend from the tropical zones of the north to the most southerly continental latitudes. Lastly, it can be said that of all the continents it offers the brightest prospects for the increase of its present population without the risks of overpopulation.

31. The ills of Argentina to which we are now drawing attention are, of course, the same ills that stunt the growth of the American countries and their great potentialities; and they can be overcome only by the joint efforts of those of our countries which suffer from them. At the same time, such efforts are bound to have a decisive influence on the development and cohesion of every single one of our countries. In short, joint solutions must be sought for common problems. We need one another's assistance in world markets; we need to face the problem of relations among ourselves squarely and decisively, using peaceful means for solving our disputes and our little boundary problems; we need to help one another to liberate our

economies completely from the shackles which hamper their development. This genuine respect for each of our countries as legal and political entities, with no thought of subjugation or rivalry, must be translated into a vast plan, judiciously worked out, to enable each of our national entities to expand within the framework of the development of the Americas.

32. Because our aims are ambitious our methods must be wise, simple, well-defined and concrete. For instance, the efforts which must be made towards the establishment of a Latin American common market must be based on a series of agreements between countries as they gradually overcome both the apparent and the actual difficulties. In this way we shall move towards our goal realistically. We can never hope to reach it merely by making declarations and building castles in the air.

33. It must be realized, indeed it should be clearly emphasized, that the constantly changing pattern of world economy raises at the present time a number of questions which in conjunction with the situation just described bring the important prospects of the future into nearer focus. The economy of European countries seems for the first time to have reached a point of stagnation in its hitherto uninterrupted expansion since the war.

34. The most recent developments in the United States are affecting world economy differently than might have been expected in the light of earlier experience. At the same time, the sharp decline in the price of commodities to which we have already referred is a determining factor in international trade reacting most sharply on countries undergoing development which are traditionally exporters of commodities.

35. In the next few months, at this Assembly and other important international and regional meetings, problems and proposals of great significance to the future development of the world economy will be discussed. We would draw particular attention to the questions to be examined at the forthcoming conference of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to be held at New Delhi, to the regional meetings of the Latin American and Commonwealth countries and more especially, in connexion with the work of this Assembly, to the prospective decision to set up a Special Fund for economic development.

36. This brief survey reveals the need to co-ordinate efforts and programmes. To this end the Argentine delegation is anxious that I should put before you some of the basic views held by the Argentine Government. In the first place we wish to point out the need to attach a realistic and very flexible meaning to the idea of international economic co-operation. We believe it essential that within the framework of the United Nations the Economic and Social Council should assume that responsibility which rightly devolves upon it as a major consultative body. We hope therefore that the Secretary-General will spare no effort to gain the co-operation of Member States in relieving the Council of responsibilities of minor importance, thus giving it an opportunity to fulfill actively and effectively the mission entrusted to it under the Charter.

37. Without entering into detailed consideration of the other aspects of international economic co-operation, which will be discussed in the appropriate technical

and geographical contexts, we do wish to stress most particularly one aspect of economic co-operation which in our view is essential to the economic development of the less developed areas. Experience in this field since the war has shown that almost all the efforts towards co-operation for the purpose of economic development have been concentrated on the provision of financial aid and technical advice, and the expansion of international trade. While fully recognizing the need to maintain and increase efforts in those directions to the greatest possible extent, the Argentine Government wishes to take this opportunity of putting on record the need to give equal attention to intensive concerted action to overcome what it regards as one of the most serious obstacles standing in the way of economic development in the less developed countries, in other words to the need for training teams of technical and scientific experts among the nationals of the less developed countries. Such teams would not only make possible the joint execution of development plans; they would also provide both the Governments and private enterprises in those countries with responsible leaders capable of carrying through the arduous task of national economic development.

38. It is our intention, therefore, at meetings of the appropriate bodies, to advocate the allotment of a high proportion of the resources earmarked for international technical co-operation to the establishment in the less developed areas of permanent training and research institutes.

39. Lastly, we must express the Argentine Government's deep satisfaction at the final establishment of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, which provides the United Nations with an appropriate organ for the discussion of one of the most difficult economic problems facing the world.

40. We wish to avail ourselves of the world forum provided by the United Nations to give out a message from Argentina as a member of the American community. Conditions now exist in Argentina which make a policy of progress and national development possible: deep faith in the country's destiny; real legal security guaranteeing proper respect for individual rights, and the management of the economy in the country's interest. There are the three principles on which the young countries of the American continent are waging a great battle for self-realization; we now put these three principles before the countries of the world in the conviction that success in the battle will provide a considerable guarantee of stability in the immediate future. For just as the stature of each country in the American continent stands as a pledge of the stature of all the others, so also the greatness of the American continent as a whole is a pledge of security and peace throughout the world. The countries of the American continent are well aware that their situation is similar to that of other countries elsewhere in the world; they are aware that under-development, helplessness, discouragement and backwardness are to be found in other parts of the world which, in some cases more recently than they themselves, have joined the world movement towards political co-operation and progress.

41. The countries of the American continent feel themselves to be the heirs to Western civilization and are aware of the immense debt they owe to the old countries of Europe from which they have inherited

race, culture, language and creed. At the same time they have a sense of fellowship with those peoples for whom the hour of awakening has struck and feel with them in their trials and tribulations. We fully appreciate that national freedom and progress are desirable not only for our continent; indeed it is the duty of the great Powers, as well as fundamental to their own interests, to spread material progress throughout the world in the same way as they propagated the doctrines of freedom that were born of their cultures.

42. We are especially anxious, of course, that the development of Latin America should be hastened, since we are convinced that if the countries of the American continent lag behind in their efforts towards economic development the result might easily spell disequilibrium between the great world systems with fatal consequences for the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world.

43. We have tried to speak of Argentina's problems frankly and directly, and we have explained why. Argentina is convinced that this is the attitude most consistent with the spirit and purpose of the United Nations whose avowed aim as set forth in the Charter is to strive for the rights and progress of peoples. Our aim was to give a full and clear idea of the situation in a country aspiring to a great national future in the service of mankind.

44. Today when once more ominous clouds are gathering overhead, we of the countries which are on the threshold of virility and maturity and are preparing in peace to fight for peace, offer unstintingly the fine promise of our future to those who suffer discouragement, tribulation and fear.

45. Mr. HERRERA BAEZ (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): I should like first to convey to you, Mr. President, the Dominican delegation's warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The breadth of your culture, your long experience in the United Nations and your personal identification with the great causes under debate here, fully justify your election and are a guarantee that the course of our debates will be wisely directed.

46. Reaffirming its faith in the United Nations, the Dominican Republic takes part in the work of this thirteenth session of the General Assembly in order to combine its efforts with those of all States which are sincerely seeking, through the practice of the principles and methods advocated by the United Nations, the best solution to the urgent problems which are at present threatening the peace, security and well-being of the international community.

47. My Government firmly believes in the fundamental purpose of this Organization, to whose creation it contributed as a charter member of the great alliance formed on 1 January 1941, while the struggle was being waged on the battlefields of Europe and the Far East for those same principles of freedom and the independence of nations which are now being debated amid the anguish and dangers of the cold war.

48. In accordance with the guiding principles of Dominican foreign policy, the Dominican Government has pursued a course of staunch support for the United Nations. This is demonstrated by our collaboration in the Organization's collective security

programmes and, more particularly, in those which are inspired by a genuine sense of human solidarity, such as the programmes concerned with refugees, child relief and technical assistance, to which we have contributed with a generosity and regularity which have already become proverbial.

49. The interval between the twelfth and the thirteenth sessions of the General Assembly has been one of the most anxious times in the history of the United Nations. The expansionist forces of international communism, faced with the Western Powers' policy of containment, have once again embarked upon a political manoeuvre comparable to the advance and withdrawal of the ocean waves and having the same effect of subterranean erosion, endangering as it does the defence of international peace and security.

50. We have witnessed an exchange of mutually recriminatory letters, which has vividly illustrated the clash between the two opposing points of view; charges have been brought without substantiation and the same subterfuges and sophistries have been brought out time and again, in the apparent belief that the nations witnessing this unedifying spectacle have short memories. This display of barren diplomatic exchanges is proof positive of the need to maintain the system of regional alliances provided for by the Charter at the highest level of effectiveness and unity of thought and action.

51. But what is the real significance of these associations for collective security? Alliances do not rest solely upon networks of bases and the mere interchange of material and equipment. It is essential to bear in mind the spiritual factors involved, for it is those factors which constitute the active principle holding them together. The word alliance signifies mutual respect, sincere friendship, a genuine readiness to afford mutual help and a deep understanding between the parties pledging their respective strength and resources.

52. The ideological conflict which developed in international relations during the period I have mentioned is not, however, confined to a sharp tactical contest on the diplomatic front. The wide disparities in economic development on the present international scene have given international communism a broad avenue for ideological and political penetration, and an opportunity for competition which is fraught with such implications for the future that concerted efforts of the widest and most vigorous kind are required to eliminate these disparities and to direct the fight against want, ignorance and disease along the only acceptable ideological lines, namely those defined at the beginning of Chapter IX of the Charter.

53. Economic and social co-operation may not be used as an instrument of political penetration or of intervention in the affairs of States. It must serve only the ends prescribed by the Charter, which stipulates that social progress and the raising of standards of living must conform to a more ample concept of freedom and that the creation of conditions of stability necessary for peaceful and friendly relations must be based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

54. The vital need to mobilize resources of capital and technical knowledge and to secure steadily improved conditions for the international exchange of goods and

services in order to better the social and economic situation of the under-developed countries is confronting the Americas with an extremely painful dilemma, which cannot go unheeded by American statesmen. Either we yield to the blandishments of those who seek to draw the American economy into the orbit of that economic policy which is governed by the principles of dialectical materialism and the class struggle transposed to the sphere of international relations, with all the unforeseeable consequences which a progressive trend in that direction might have, or we accept the challenge to establish in the Americas economic and social institutions of the kind required for the purposes of collective security against aggression and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

55. We share the conviction of those who believe that the historical community of the American nations has sufficient moral and material resources to develop in our continent, in accordance with our traditions based upon Western Christian philosophy, an outstanding example of international co-operation for the purposes of Chapter IX of the Charter.

56. We are faced, and this should be stressed again, with a real challenge to the future of inter-American solidarity. Just as at the conferences of Havana in 1928^{1/}, Montevideo in 1933^{2/} and Buenos Aires in 1936^{3/}, we succeeded in overcoming the dangerous indecision which was vitiating continental policy towards certain practices incompatible with the principles of the independence and sovereignty of States, and again reaffirmed the principle of non-intervention; and just as, at the conferences at Petropolis in 1947^{4/} and at Bogotá in 1948^{5/}, we established rules for collective security and the peaceful settlement of disputes which are an example to the rest of the world, it is now time for us to go beyond the stage of oratorical statements and of reservations inconsistent with the principles of economic and social co-operation which we claim to support, and to overcome the frustrations which attended the abortive Economic Agreement of Bogotá, the meeting of Ministers of Finance in 1954 and the Economic Conference in Buenos Aires in 1947^{6/}, in order to set up a vigorous and effective system of economic and social co-operation.

57. The Dominican Republic shares to the full the anxieties which beset the American continent and which have placed the solution of the serious economic and social problems of the Americas in the forefront of public concern. The Dominican Republic, with a territory of 48,442 square kilometres and a population of 2,698,126 inhabitants, now offers, owing to the programme of political, social and economic rehabilitation introduced by Generalissimo Trujillo in 1930, the spectacle of a nation which is achieving its rightful aspirations within the American community of nations.

58. Yet, twenty-eight years ago the situation in the Dominican Republic offered one of the most depressing examples of economic and social under-development.

1/ Sixth International Conference of American States.

2/ Seventh International Conference of American States.

3/ Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.

4/ Inter-American Defense Conference.

5/ Ninth International Conference of American States.

6/ First Inter-American Economic Conference.

Our nation was plagued by internal upheavals which precluded any attempt at civilization and culture and threatened to place us outside the ranks of the civilized nations.

59. During the early decades of this century, it became obvious that we must eliminate periods of social depression and embark upon a programme of national rehabilitation. We had to give force and meaning to our constitutional provisions which defined the Dominican Republic as a democratic and representative State, based upon the sovereignty of the people and on the fulfilment of certain essential human rights.

60. Up to 1930 our constitutional history was one of disharmony between the principles proclaimed by our institutions and the underlying economic and social facts. That being so, it was impossible for us to contribute in any way to international co-operation. The limits of our national territory were still undefined owing to the failure to solve the age-old frontier problem; our financial system had collapsed, bringing us to the verge of bankruptcy and anarchy; and our people were decimated by diseases which sapped their productive capacity and were deprived of the most elementary educational and cultural facilities, surviving precariously in a primitive economy. In those circumstances, it was clear that our Government, if it was to salvage the nation, was faced with the exceptional task of breathing life into the shadow of an almost vanished State and society.

61. Our territorial boundaries were fixed by the frontier agreement of 1936 and the gradual economic, social and cultural development brought about by the various Governments which have ruled the country under the same continuing political leadership has made possible such results as the following. In 1930 the country's entire public health budget was no more than \$160,000. Today the budget of this important government service is some \$8,062,000; it has thus multiplied more than fifty times. Whereas in 1930 we had eight hospitals with 400 beds, we now have fifty-one hospitals with 7,000 beds, some of the hospitals having a greater capacity than all the hospitals in the country together in 1930. The malaria eradication programme is reaching a decisive phase, with a marshalling of health resources never before seen in our history.

62. Our social policy protecting the working classes is reflected not only in our accession to the more important International Labour Organisation conventions but also in the incorporation of the standards laid down in these conventions in our own labour legislation. Our minimum wage regulations are at present being amended in accordance with a plan recommended by the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the objective being to ensure that the level of wages of the lower-paid working classes rises gradually in step with the expansion of the national economy and thus to preclude inflationary pressures or disturbances likely to make the continuous operation of undertakings uneconomic. Among the more important social security advances is legislation introducing compulsory life insurance for all civil servants and government employees earning less than \$400 a month.

63. One interesting item in our legislation for the protection of the needy classes is Act No. 4,107, promulgated in 1955, which provides for the payment of State allowances to the children of persons serving

prison sentences, if they are without means of subsistence.

64. The Dominican Republic's achievements in the sphere of education clearly demonstrate that government activities in our country are firmly rooted definitely and unquestionably in the people. In order to give a rough indication of the growth of education in the Republic in recent years I need only mention that, whereas the population has doubled in the last twenty-two years, primary schools have multiplied their capacity eleven times during the same period. Altogether, 491,158 pupils are enrolled at schools in urban and rural areas; 10,080 adolescents are attending secondary schools and 21,000 are undergoing training in vocational schools, while 4,034 young people are receiving higher education at our university. The most spectacular effort has been the Trujillo universal literacy campaign, whose effectiveness can be judged by the fact that whereas the illiteracy figure in 1950 was 56.8 per cent, it has now fallen to 33.9 per cent. There was, therefore, every justification for the statement made by Mr. Barón Castro, in addressing the third Latin American Education Congress at Ciudad Trujillo in January 1957, on behalf of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization that illiteracy had shown a lightning decline in the Dominican Republic. This year the Republic's education budget will be more than \$11 million, which is a higher figure than that of the country's entire budget before the year 1936.

65. The extent of the Republic's economic progress can be estimated from its agricultural production and industrial development. As a result of the advances made in both these areas, the per caput income of the Republic has risen in 1957 from \$174 to \$229.1. This result has been secured through an exceptional increase in the area under cultivation; national production for export, the value of which in 1935 did not exceed \$15 million a year, in 1957 reached the highest figure in the country's history—\$161 million.

66. With regard to industry, as a result of the Government's policy of stimulating development, there were, in 1957, 2,993 industrial establishments representing a total invested capital of more than \$206 million. Economic development policy is based on the provision of absolute guarantees for domestic and foreign capital investments.

67. Great advances have been made in the electrification of the country since this source of power was nationalized. The Government has invested \$13 million in the development of hydro-electric installations. Between 1947 and 1956 the country's consumption of electricity rose to 232 million kilowatt-hours, the increase in 1955-1956 alone being 37,300,000 kilowatts.

68. One of the Government's largest undertakings at present, under the programme for the electrification of the entire country and for the improvement of the irrigation system, which has given such an impetus to agricultural development in the Republic, is the building of the Tavera dam which, when completed, will irrigate 31,400 hectares and will have a capacity of 150 million cubic metres of water. This project is being financed entirely by Dominican capital.

69. This mobilization of the country's natural resources and manpower in order to ensure a steady increase in the rate of economic and social develop-

ment of the Dominican people is best reflected in the Dominican Government's five-year plan, launched on 16 August 1958, which calls for the investment of some \$650 million in economic development and in the expansion of health and educational services.

70. As the Dominican Republic's economy is primarily an export economy, the rate of our economic development depends very largely on the existence of favourable terms of trade. The Government of the Dominican Republic will co-operate to the utmost in the execution of plans already drawn up for the so-called "Operation Pan-American", but it considers that this programme should also provide for the elimination of certain restrictive agreements resulting in discrimination against the Dominican Republic's most important export product in the United States market. My Government feels that there should be no permanent quota restrictions which discriminate against certain countries. This is a problem which affects not only the Dominican Republic but also the great majority of Latin American countries exporting agricultural and mineral raw materials; it is, therefore, a problem of general concern, and should be included in any programme designed to bring about a real inter-American economic unity.

71. The delegation of the Dominican Republic earnestly hopes that the United Nations will not disappoint the hopes mankind has placed in it and that, during the present session, we shall be able to make a real and constructive contribution to the easing of international tension and come to realize—even those of us who see international relations as a dialectical process—that one of the most absurd contradictions and one which we all have an equal duty to seek to resolve is the paradox of a world becoming increasingly interdependent, yet at the same time riven by fears, antagonisms and rivalries absorbing energies which should rather be directed towards raising the general standard of living of all peoples.

72. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Mr. President, may I, first of all, congratulate you on your election and wish your presidency every success.

73. The annual general debate of this Assembly is the nearest approach we have to humanity's appraisal of its own situation and of the outlook for human civilization in the context of a given year. The item on the agenda, though not formally inscribed, is always essentially the same. It is: What can this Assembly do or advise which will best serve at the present time the purposes of peace? What can we do to divert the skills and resources of humanity away from the preparation of war and towards economic and social improvement? How can the course of history be turned away from death and towards life?

74. So far as our delegation can learn, there is little doubt that the great Powers have already, or are on the point of having, the military resources to destroy themselves and to destroy us all. There is little doubt, either, that if general war is brought upon the world for any motive, however good or however bad, it will neither democratize nor communize it; it will annihilate it. Our problem therefore is how to hold our destructive powers in check, how to avoid destruction and anarchy while we evolve and perfect the arts of living in peace, of using our skill and resources co-operatively for our common welfare.

75. Like most other representatives in this Assembly, I am sure, I have long been convinced that the growing destructiveness of modern weapons demands a world rule of law. Since the beginning of time, as the striking power of weapons became more deadly, reasonable men have advocated the rule of law for ever widening areas.

76. When a man could bar himself in his cave and ensure the survival of his family with his club, he could afford to be a law unto himself. Today, as the offensive power of weapons threatens the destruction or mutilation of people everywhere, the question for us all is how, in the shadow of the atom bomb, to build a world order in which our disputes will be resolved by an accepted common authority whose decisions are implemented by an international force—in short, how to preserve a Pax Atomica while we build a Pax Mundi.

77. It would be presumptuous to expect a miraculous peace. Building a stable peace will require not only great skill and wisdom and respect for the rights and interests of all peoples, great and small, but, above all, patience, tolerance and charity.

78. It appears to us that, whatever allegations may be made about the motives and intentions of Governments, there is no doubt that all the peoples of the world deeply desire a just and stable peace. I am personally convinced also that every Government would prefer such a peace to the best that general war could bring it. That grim best could only be domination by the remnants of its own people over the remnants of a shattered civilization.

79. While we all wish for complete nuclear disarmament, we must confront the terrible fact that in the present stage of our political development it is quite vain to expect it in the immediate future. Even had we reached an agreement in principle, there are at present, I understand, no technical means of making sure that all nuclear weapons and their components are in fact destroyed. And, as even a few of these weapons can cause such havoc, it seems to us that until they can be effectively controlled, and until it is clear beyond any possibility of doubt that they are no longer necessary for the national defence of the larger Powers, there is no hope of securing agreement to complete nuclear disarmament. Our best hope, for the present at any rate, is that we have already reached, or will soon reach, the stage of perfect nuclear stalemate or stable balance of terror between the great Powers: the stage in which it is known and acknowledged by each of them that no Power can touch off a general war without of a certainty being destroyed itself.

80. I do not of course mean to imply, as I shall emphasize later in this speech, that within that basic condition of nuclear stalemate it is not possible for the great Powers to make useful agreements tending to limit competition in nuclear armament. Indeed, we all welcome with deep thankfulness the progress that has recently been made towards agreement on suspension of nuclear tests, and we hope that similar progress can also be made before long on supervised limitation of future production. But, even so, we shall have to live for many years in the presence of enormous destructive potentiality. The ultimate objective of those who work for peace is, of course, to get rid of that potentiality by mutual consent. But the immediate objective must be to render its use less likely.

81. The difficulty of keeping war in check will increase with every addition to the number of the nuclear Powers. There can be no mistaking the urgency of the danger. It would be tragic if, at the very moment when these Powers seemed to be moving towards suspension of tests, smaller Powers began to make, test and perhaps even use these terrible weapons. One can think of antagonisms between small Powers which are so bitter that one side or the other might not hesitate to use such weapons.

82. It is therefore, we believe, in the interests of the existing members of the so-called nuclear club—the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France—as well as in all our interests, that it should be restricted to its present membership. We would urge as a first step that there should be an international agreement to that effect; and that no State outside the club should manufacture or purchase or be supplied with or be in possession of nuclear weapons; in the interests of world peace the rest of us should agree to accept that condition as permanent. We recognize that this suggestion calls for a much greater sacrifice from the larger non-nuclear Powers than from the small States. There is one test, however, that we should all apply to our policies. That is to try to imagine whether, if nuclear war broke out, we would not then regret having failed to make the sacrifices which might have helped to avoid it. Nor is the condition of the members of the nuclear club altogether enviable. They have the formidable task of arranging for the security of these weapons which are becoming so dangerously small and portable. The sooner they agree to stop manufacture the easier their task will be.

83. I should like to stress that, if this Assembly is in present circumstances to recognize to certain Powers the privileged status of being the only countries entitled to possess nuclear weapons, these Powers should undertake not to supply these weapons to any other country. I could appeal to them in God's name not to spread these weapons around the world.

84. Having obtained such undertakings from the nuclear Powers, the Assembly could pass a resolution calling on all other States to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons. Such a resolution could be followed by a convention in which these States would bind themselves not merely to renounce nuclear weapons but to accept United Nations supervision of their nuclear development for peaceful purposes. Special arrangements would of course have to be made to secure adherence to the proposed convention by States not members of the United Nations. Among these, as we know, are States of great territorial and industrial importance whose co-operation would be necessary for any effective scheme of nuclear restriction.

85. Nuclear restriction would not be just a negative and precautionary measure. It would be a positive one, interlocking closely with the most pressing political requirements of peace.

86. The gravest threat to stable peace, in the period of nuclear stalemate between the major Powers, is the contest between them for the adherence and control of the non-attached and the detachable States. How can we prevent this contest inadvertently bringing about the general war which no one wants? How can we also prevent another danger which flows from this contest:

that the rivalry between the great Powers, held back from direct conflict by the nuclear balance, should spend itself in creating strife and tension among and within the lesser States?

87. The solution to this problem is, we think, twofold. The first part of the solution is a great Power agreement to create, as opportunity offers, ever widening areas in which the contest for the adherence of the smaller States will be brought to an end. The smaller States can play their part, if they desire to do so, by declaring neutrality which the great Powers and the United Nations should guarantee. The second part of the solution is to persuade, and to help as far as we can, the nuclear Powers to practise co-operation along political, economic and cultural lines, and especially for the economic improvement of under-developed States.

88. We would therefore urge the great Power groups to take up vigorously the good work they began in Austria, and to reduce competition wherever it is mutually safe and wherever the net balance of advantage to either is negligible. The hope for a just and stable peace lies, we believe, not in the perpetuation of "iron curtains", lines of containment, "cold war" propaganda and astronomically costly defence expenditure, but in the growing realization that these expedients are outmoded, and in a determination to replace them by a system of security and welfare corresponding to the necessities and possibilities of this nuclear age. Nuclear restriction could be one important element in such a system. In my remaining remarks, Mr. President, I hope to indicate other elements, of which some are political, some social and economic.

89. The Irish delegation has suggested that there should be a military and diplomatic drawing back in Middle Europe and in the Middle East. Here are two areas in which the contest for the adherence of smaller Powers is much too dangerous to be continued, and where, as far as we can see, there is no net balance of advantage to either side in holding to their present positions. In the case of the Middle East considerable efforts have been made to reduce tension. Is it too much to hope that similar efforts will also be made in Middle Europe?

90. What is necessary in Middle Europe is not, of course, an abrupt withdrawal of forces for which people may not be mentally prepared and which might plunge the region into turmoil. It is rather a measured and carefully prepared drawing back, East and West, supervised and controlled by the United Nations, and with United Nations observers in the evacuated area, to serve as a guarantee against the return of foreign troops. If, as in the case of Austria, permanent neutrality were to be declared by the States evacuated, it should be welcomed and guaranteed by the great Powers and by the United Nations.

91. The various suggestions made by our delegation have but a single aim: to insulate atomic weapons, as bees cover with wax the ugly intruders they are unable to eject, while we set to work for peace and prosperity.

92. With the help of the agreements suggested, together with local political settlements, nuclear weapons can be restricted and the existing nuclear Powers gradually separated by States under bond not to fight unless attacked. Under these conditions it will become

possible to launch a determined campaign against the dire poverty of most of the world's population. That poverty is one of the most fundamental and enduring causes of bitterness and unrest in the under-developed countries. It has in the past created openings--dangerous openings--for contention among the great Powers. It could in the future serve instead as a fruitful field for their co-operation.

93. May I suggest that in a campaign against poverty our greatest handicap is not lack of resources but the non-application of our financial knowledge. Indeed, of all the fields in which we fail to keep up with the spectacular achievements in science and technology, that of international finance is the outstanding example. Yet, as the European Payments Union proved, it is the easiest field in which to achieve agreement and in which to practise international co-operation.

94. Under the beneficial influence of the European Payments Union, inter-European trade increased within a few years by 75 per cent, with a consequent increase in capital resources and the standard of living. If, in the light of the European Payments Union experience, the Second Committee examined the problem of how to bring the world exchange of goods and services up to the level of our combined productive capacity it could, I feel sure, recommend an agreement, based on the balancing of payments at the highest potential level and on the extension of mutual credits, which would greatly increase world trade.

95. As far as I can see there would be no technical difficulty in providing that a United Nations institution, say the International Monetary Fund, should act as a world payments union or even a world central bank; and that this institution should increase or restrict as required the world's supply of international money and provide for the balancing of international payments. Initial untied credits, issued to all countries at the rate of even a few dollars per head of population, would restore international liquidity and would give international trade the stimulus it needs so urgently. Such credits would enable under-developed countries to buy the equipment they so badly need to reduce poverty and hunger, without at the same time requiring developed countries to impose additional taxation or draw on their liquid reserves.

96. Our approach to the problems we have dealt with is conditioned by our conviction that majorities in all States desire a stable peace in order to devote their energy and resources to economic and social development. We believe that when it is a permanent and co-operative peace we want its terms must not offend the self-respect or the prestige of either opponent. We believe that an essential preliminary to peace is to reduce to a minimum recrimination, hate propaganda and threats. We believe that, while the nuclear stalemate may have saved us from a third world war, we should leave nothing undone to secure the eventual total abolition of nuclear weapons. We feel sure that if a community is subject to a government with aggressive designs that government is more likely to be changed by a release of tension around its borders, and by offers of peaceful and friendly co-operation, than by outside pressure and threats. It was after all the sun and not the wind which persuaded the gentleman in Aesop's fable to shed his cloak. A very strong element also in our approach is the belief that through the heavy clouds of threats and propaganda we can discern

rays of hope for the organic growth of United Nations institutions in keeping with our scientific achievements and our economic resources, and in keeping with common sense and common humanity.

97. It would be quite wrong to assign all the blame for the troubles of the world to governments of the present day. These governments, particularly the Governments of the major Powers, were bequeathed grave difficulties, frightening responsibilities and dangerous antagonisms; the heritage of the chaos and terror of two world wars. It is not surprising that the aftermath of the Second World War has been a period marked by fear, resentment and suspicion. In such a climate it is not easy to bring about even limited agreements between contesting groups. Yet a number of such agreements have been achieved, and offer the best hope of future advance in international understanding. I need only mention among the more recent of such achievements the agreement which led to the evacuation and neutrality of Austria; those which made possible the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon; the cultural and technical exchanges between the major Powers; and the scientific co-operation between different groups of Powers during the International Geophysical Year, 1957-1958. Each agreement, each act of international co-operation, does something to clear from the atmosphere the poisonous accumulations of earlier conflicts and thereby to render a new conflict less likely.

98. It should be noted too that, despite so much publicized contention on the highest levels, the many organs of these United Nations are working quietly on the acute problems that confront humanity in these days of revolutionary technological and political change. The great Powers are in closer diplomatic contact here in this building and elsewhere than they have been for years. The Geneva Conference for the cessation of atomic tests^{7/} was successful beyond expectation. It was particularly heartening to note the success of the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The United States proposals for the co-operative exploration of outer space and the internationalization of Antarctica have great possibilities for eliminating tension and for our common welfare. President Eisenhower's suggestions [733rd meeting] for a United Nations development fund for the Middle East and for the expansion of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development also give promise of fruitful co-operation.

99. Recent developments in the Formosa Straits remind us that great difficulties still subsist and that the danger of war has not ceased to hang over the world. All of us earnestly hope that talks now proceeding in Warsaw may not only be successful in relation to the immediate crisis but also may soon open the way to a just and stable settlement in the Far East, averting the recurrence of threats to peace from that region of the world. Pressing, however, as are the military, psychological and political difficulties confronting us, and great as is the temptation to despair of solving them, I have no doubt that, if only we can preserve peace for another few years, this Organization will,

^{7/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests.

with God's help, find ways of fostering our esprit de corps as a world community of neighbours on this satellite of the sun, helping each other in our difficulties, keeping our differences within bounds and taking a just pride in our common achievements.

100. Mr. HEKMAT (Iran): Mr. President, I should like to express my sincere congratulations to you on your election to the high office of the presidency of our Assembly. Your election is a just tribute to your well-known devotion to the cause and ideals of the United Nations. Your ability, impartiality and wisdom will be of tremendous value in our deliberations and will give us the assurance that the proceedings of this Assembly will be efficient and constructive. Moreover, I have special pleasure in your election because you represent a country situated in the same region as Iran—and a country with which we have close ties of culture and friendship.

101. Once again we have gathered here to renew our pledge of unity and co-operation and to harmonize our efforts for peace and security in the world.

102. A month ago representatives from eighty-one nations met together here to deliberate upon the crisis which had occurred in the Middle East and to dispel the clouds which had temporarily darkened the international horizon. It was encouraging that the third emergency special session of the General Assembly was able to break the stalemate and to adopt a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] which, to say the least, averted the imminent dangers in the area. In this connexion, we must applaud the sincere efforts of all concerned towards the settlement of the problem which confronted the emergency special session of the General Assembly. The Arab States are especially deserving of praise for their conciliatory spirit and understanding, which contributed so effectively to the return of tranquillity to the area.

103. The practical arrangements being made by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Governments concerned, will further uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in ensuring peace and stability in Lebanon and Jordan and thereby facilitating the withdrawal of United States and United Kingdom forces from those countries. We are confident that, in the light of the practical arrangements being made by our esteemed and able Secretary-General and the statement made by the Secretary of State of the United States [749th meeting], as well as statements made previously during the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, the prompt withdrawal of these forces will take place. It is our hope that continuation of such efforts, in goodwill and good faith, will further strengthen the ties of friendship and understanding among all the countries of the Middle East and will pave the way towards an enduring peace.

104. As we mentioned in our intervention at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, we must tackle the problems of the Middle East in the light of those underlying factors which have brought so much unrest and turmoil to the region; for the solution of the pressing "surface" issues alone cannot dispel the basic unrest from which the Middle East has suffered so grievously.

105. The Middle East is indeed undergoing profound social, political and economic changes; this is a

natural process of an historical phenomenon. It is common knowledge that one of the main causes of turbulence in the area is the thwarting of the legitimate desire of the people for freedom and social and political advancement. These nations are becoming increasingly desirous of asserting their national identity in their attempt to realize their social and political aspirations as well as to carry on their economic development and to make wider use of their national resources to raise their standard of living.

106. We believe that only through international co-operation and reconciliation of interests involved can differences be overcome and equitable solutions found in the best interests of the peoples of the Middle East and in the cause of peace and stability in the region.

107. While the world community was relieved of the grave situation in the Middle East by the return of calm to that area, the United Nations is now facing another most urgent and serious problem in the Strait of Taiwan. As a representative of an Asian country, I cannot conceal our deep concern over the course of recent events in the Far East, particularly if we bear in mind that such a chain of events may provoke a major conflict. The efforts now being made in the Warsaw talks are most praiseworthy and we earnestly hope that the parties concerned will demonstrate restraint and moderation in refraining from the use of force and will seek a settlement through peaceful means in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

108. I should like now to turn to some other important and still outstanding problems which appear on our agenda.

109. The most vital problem which confronts us is that of disarmament. Although the main responsibility for progress or failure in this field, as well as in other important problems, rests with the great Powers, it is none the less true that the question is of paramount importance to all nations, great and small. Despite the sincere efforts made during the twelfth session of the General Assembly to reach agreement on disarmament—efforts which resulted in the adoption of a resolution by the General Assembly [resolution 1148 (XII)—no concrete results were achieved. The Subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission did not convene to carry out the pertinent provisions of the General Assembly's resolution. This was, of course, a setback—which could, however, be overcome if member nations were prepared to reconcile their views in the spirit of the resolution, "Peaceful and neighbourly relations among States" [resolution 1236 (XII)], which recognizes the need to broaden international co-operation, to reduce tensions and to settle differences and disputes among States by peaceful means.

110. The mistrust of the great Powers towards one another has indeed created an atmosphere which has not only caused postponement and delay in the creation of a proper international system for the control of armament, but has also engendered a race in the production of weapons of mass destruction. In such circumstances, the small nations have been left with no alternative but to expend a substantial portion of their resources on the procurement of arms rather than directing them towards their social and economic development.

111. If the great Powers could arrive at some agreement in this field, not only could the arms expenditures of small nations be reduced, but, as contemplated by the General Assembly, the great Powers could allocate additional resources out of the funds made available as a result of disarmament to the improvement of living conditions throughout the world and especially in the less developed countries.

112. We are not, however, pessimistic about the ultimate prospects for disarmament. The earnest desire of the world community to see the establishment of an enduring peace will ultimately bring about the end of the arms race. It is most promising that the East-West Conference of Scientific Experts^{8/}, in Geneva, reached agreement on a detection system to enforce an international ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. The recent report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838], moreover, strikingly illustrated the imperative need to cease the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. We venture to express the hope that in the light of these conclusions, agreement on the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests will be attained at the conference which will be held at the end of October 1958 in Geneva. We are further encouraged to note that a conference of experts of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, to discuss means of preventing surprise attacks, will take place in November 1958. The convening of this conference is still another hopeful sign on the path to disarmament and we are confident that agreements reached will contribute to a further clarification of the technical aspects of the problem and pave the way for greater progress in bringing about an internationally controlled system of disarmament.

113. Moreover, the results achieved at the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy have strengthened our hope that this power at mankind's disposal will not be employed as a weapon of mass destruction, but will be used solely for the promotion of progress in human society.

114. Another problem of international concern is that of Algeria. We can scarcely conceal our anxiety over the postponement of its solution. However, we cherish the hope that, in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found, which would meet the national aspirations of the Algerian people, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

115. In this same spirit we earnestly hope that further progress will be made towards the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Charter regarding recognition of the aspirations of all dependent peoples. In this connexion, may I say that we attach great importance to the solution of the problem of West Irian. The continuation of this dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, impairing as it does the tranquillity of the area, leads us to express the whole-hearted wish that negotiations between these two nations will be prompted, and that a solution will be reached, on the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

116. The Cyprus question figures again on the agenda of this session. For our part we regret that up to now this question has not been solved in conformity with

^{8/} See note 7.

General Assembly resolution 1013 (XI), that is to say, by way of negotiation among the parties directly concerned, namely the Governments of the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece, as well as the representatives of the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus. My Government maintains the most friendly relations with these three Governments. Therefore, we ardently hope that a solution which will safeguard, under conditions of equality, the legitimate rights of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as well as those of the Governments directly concerned, may soon be reached in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding.

117. In dealing with the still unsolved issues of international importance, I could scarcely fail to say a few words about the continued division of Germany. We in Iran believe that the present situation in Germany is not only repugnant to the aspirations of the German people, but that it constitutes a source of tension and grave unrest as well. We sincerely hope that the problem of the unification of Germany, as well as that of Korea and Viet-Nam, will be resolved both to meet the legitimate desires of the countries concerned and in the interests of world peace.

118. By truly complying with the spirit and the letter of our Charter and by sincerely harmonizing our efforts, these pressing international issues would indeed be nearer solution. We appreciate the great achievements already made by the United Nations in limiting armed conflict. However, we cannot but recognize inadequacies in its machinery for achieving some of its main purposes as set forth in the Charter. The establishment of an international force to meet the threat of armed aggression, as prescribed by the Charter, has not so far been possible due to the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council. In consequence, the provision of the Charter calling for collective security has not been actuated. We retain the hope that, with the relaxation of tensions resulting from the sincere efforts made to restore confidence, difficulties in the way of the creation of such an international force will be overcome.

119. In the meantime, however, certain Member nations have tried to supplement this unfortunate gap by setting up defence alliances in line with Article 51 of the Charter. The ideal, of course, would have been the establishment of a United Nations collective security system to enforce peace whenever and wherever the need arose. Such an undertaking, however, is not at present within reach, and the establishment of the present system of alliances has, therefore, become a necessary expedient.

120. Along this line and animated by justified motives of self-preservation, Iran is linked in a defence alliance with some other nations with which we share common ideals and interests, with a view to resisting aggression of any kind and to furthering regional economic and social co-operation. The recent events in the Middle East have convinced us that the need which called this alliance into being is greater than ever and we are, therefore, determined to strengthen further our united defence position in the area. It is gratifying to note that the United States, which has already taken part as an observer to the Pact, agreed, in July 1958, to cooperate fully towards the security and defence of the member nations of the alliance.

121. As I have said, although no international force as stipulated by the Charter has been developed, the

creation of the United Nations Emergency Force in 1956 contributed a great deal to the maintenance of tranquillity in the Middle East. The United Nations Emergency Force has been an instrument of restraint and practical value. In this connexion, my Government considers the studies being made by the Secretary-General on the feasibility of establishing a stand-by United Nations peace force to be of great interest and to deserve the utmost consideration by the General Assembly.

122. An examination of recent history and more particularly of the events of the past decade, however, will make it abundantly clear that direct armed aggression is not the only threat to the independence and territorial integrity of nations. Subversive activities, fomenting of civil strife and infiltration, all elements of indirect aggression, are equally as perilous, not only to the country which falls prey to them, but to world peace in general.

123. It is true that the concept of indirect aggression, like that of direct aggression, has not yet been legally defined. However, as no one would deny the concept of direct aggression, so also no one can deny the concept and meaning of indirect aggression as a more frequent phenomenon in recent international life. No country can feel safe if subversive activities are allowed to succeed in their insidious work, especially the smaller nations which are more susceptible to this danger. Among the weapons of indirect aggression can be counted all sorts of propaganda, including radio broadcasts which attempt to subvert the will of those nations at which they are aimed.

124. My Government wishes to stress the gravity with which we view indirect aggression or subversive activities anywhere. Such activities are contrary to the United Nations Charter, which has made it incumbent on all Members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force not only against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, but also, in the words of the Charter, "in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations." The debates of the third emergency special session of the General Assembly illustrated once again the apprehension of many Members towards the dangers inherent in indirect aggression, threatening, as it does, not only the independence and integrity of smaller countries, but also menacing international peace and stability throughout the world.

125. May I point out here that Iran's foreign policy is firmly based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—principles of close international co-operation and maintenance of good neighbourly relations.

126. Our relations with Pakistan and Turkey are so close that there would seem to be no need for me to elaborate on them here.

127. As to our relations with our great neighbour to the north, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I should like to emphasize that, in a spirit of developing friendly relations, we have succeeded in settling century-old differences over our common frontier. We have also succeeded in strengthening our commercial and economic ties and we are working on the exploitation of water resources through the construction of dams along the rivers which separate our two coun-

tries. We express our appreciation to our great northern neighbour for the good will it has manifested in the settlement of differences between our two nations, and we earnestly hope that this good will will remain firm and stable based on mutual respect and benefit.

128. Close ties of culture and friendship link us to our Afghan brothers, with whom we are continuing to develop most co-operative relations. It was with profound satisfaction that our people enthusiastically took part in the celebrations marking the fortieth anniversary of the independence of Afghanistan, and we take this opportunity once again to wish our neighbour continued well-being and prosperity.

129. The deep-rooted cultural and religious ties and the common interests existing between Iraq and my country make it incumbent upon both to multiply our efforts towards developing an atmosphere which would lead to the promotion of our friendship, understanding and co-operation to the mutual benefit of our nations.

130. I should like to turn now, if I may, to the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields. My Government wishes to express its profound appreciation for the assistance afforded my country through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. It is our feeling that the expanded Programme has proved most effective and has given cause for considerable satisfaction.

131. I should like also at this time to express my sincere appreciation for the economic and technical assistance furnished by the United States which allowed my Government, particularly in a time of emergency, to cope with the many economic difficulties with which it was confronted.

132. However, if we consider the basic requirements of the under-developed countries, it becomes clear that the work of the United Nations in this field remains inadequate. The rate of growth in the less developed areas is still much inferior to that of the more industrialized nations, and the inequalities existing between the standards of living of these areas is increasing.

133. The Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, which received considerable support here, could and would, we believe, give great momentum to advancement in the less developed countries. As yet, obstacles in the path to its realization have not been surmounted. We look forward, however, to the prompt establishment of the Special Fund aimed at an expansion of existing technical assistance and at the development of the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in this sphere.

134. The creation of regional commissions under which concerted governmental action is being taken toward the promotion of economic and social develop-

ment in the given areas has proven useful and most beneficial. Aware of the advantages of such concerted efforts, my Government has joined the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East with a view to bringing our humble contribution and experiences which, I feel sure, will be helpful to us all. This does not, however, affect our position that the Middle East, as an entity, requires an economic commission of its own which, I hope, will be created in spite of present difficulties.

135. While we sincerely appreciate the tremendous assistance afforded us through United Nations programmes and otherwise, we are, none the less, willing to agree that the main responsibility for promoting economic development and social progress in a given country rests primarily with that country itself. We fully recognize the pertinence of this basic principle and are making every effort to act on it to the letter, missing no opportunity to encourage the promotion of economic development in our country to the best of our ability.

136. We are following a policy of positive and constructive nationalism aimed at promoting prosperity and economic and social development in Iran, with the full co-operation of those countries which possess the knowledge and the capital and wish to come to our assistance on a basis of mutual benefit and with no political strings attached to it. This is our understanding of the expression of "positive and constructive nationalism". What is "positive and constructive nationalism"? In this connexion, I could do no better than quote the words of our beloved Sovereign when His Majesty spoke recently to the National Press Club in Washington in July 1958. He said:

"Constructive nationalism, one of the most powerful dynamic forces of our day, has awakened new hopes and aspirations and stirred our people with a fresh self-confidence. Harnessed, channelized and guided, it forms the mainspring of our efforts. We have progressed along the path of stability and social reform in a democratic and constructive manner and in a mood of dignity and honour, without wild denunciation, without ostentation and self-aggrandizement. This is ... an enduring service to the cause of our people and to the peace of the world."

137. I should like to conclude, Mr. President, by expressing my hope that under your wise guidance the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly will be crowned with success. I should like also, as a representative of an oriental country, once again to reaffirm our faith in the United Nations by pledging that we shall not fail to do our utmost to see the realization of our common endeavour to achieve the ideals of peace and justice.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
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at 4.45 p.m.

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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued):

Speech by Mr. Florit (Argentina)...33

Speech by Mr. Herrera Bliez (Dominican Republican)...37

Speech by Mr. Aiken (Ireland)...39

Speech by Mr. Hekmat (Iran)...42

[...]

72. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Mr. President, may I, first of all, congratulate you on your election and wish your presidency every success.

73. The annual general debate of this Assembly is the nearest approach we have to humanity's appraisal of its own situation and of the outlook for human civilization in the context of a given year. The item on the agenda, though not formally inscribed, is always essentially the same. It is: What can this Assembly do or advise which will best serve at the present time. The purposes of peace? What can we do to divert the skills and resources of humanity away from the preparation of war and towards economic and social improvement? How can the course of history be turned away from death and towards life?

74. So far as our delegation can learn, there is little doubt that the great Powers have already, or are on the point of having, the military resources to destroy themselves and to destroy us all. There is little doubt, either, that if general war is brought upon the world for any motive, however good or bad, it will neither democratize nor communize it; it will annihilate it. Our problem therefore is how to hold our destructive powers in check, how to avoid destruction and anarchy while we evolve and perfect the arts of living in peace, of using our skill and resources cooperatively for our common welfare.

75. Like most other representatives in this Assembly, I am sure, I have long been convinced that the growing destructiveness of modern weapons demands a world rule of law. Since the beginning of time, as the striking power of weapons became more deadly, reasonable men have advocated the rule of law for ever widening areas.

76. When a man could bar himself in his cave and ensure the survival of his family with his club, he could afford to be a law unto himself. Today, as the offensive power of weapons threatens the destruction or mutilation of people everywhere, the question for us all is how, in the shadow of the atom bomb, to build a world order in which our disputes will be resolved by an accepted common authority whose decisions are implemented by an international force-in short, how to preserve a Pax Atomica while we build a Pax Mundi.

77. It would be presumptuous to expect a miraculous peace. Building a stable peace will require not only great skill and wisdom and respect for the rights and interests of all peoples, great and small, but, above all, patience, tolerance and charity.

78. It appears to us that, whatever allegations maybe made about the motives and intentions of Governments, there is no doubt that all the peoples of the world deeply

desire a just and stable peace. I am personally convinced also that every Government would prefer such a peace to the best that general war could bring it. That grim best could only be domination by the remnants of its own people over the remnants of a shattered civilization.

79. While we all wish for complete nuclear disarmament, we must confront the terrible fact that in the present stage of our political development it is quite vain to expect it in the immediate future. Even had we reached an agreement in principle, there are at present, I understand, no technical means of making sure that all nuclear weapons and their components are in fact destroyed. And, as even a few of these weapons can cause such havoc, it seems to us that until they can be effectively controlled, and until it is clear beyond any possibility of doubt that they are no longer necessary for the national defence of the largest Powers, there is no hope of securing agreement to complete nuclear disarmament. Our best hope, for the present at any rate, is that we have already reached, or will soon reach, the stage of perfect nuclear stalemate or stable balance of terror between the great Powers: the stage in which it is known and acknowledged by each of them that no Power can touch off a general war without of a certainty being destroyed itself.

80. I do not of course mean to imply, as I shall, emphasize later in this speech, that within that basic condition of nuclear stalemate it is not possible for the great Powers to make useful agreements tending to limit competition in nuclear armament. Indeed, we all welcome with deep thankfulness the progress that has recently been made towards agreement on suspension of nuclear tests, and we hope that similar progress can also be made before long on unsupervised limitation of future production. But, even so, we shall have to live for many years in the presence of enormous destructive potentiality. The ultimate objective of those who work for peace is, of course, to get ride of that potentiality by mutual consent. But the immediate objective must be to render its use less likely.

81. The difficulty of keeping war in check will increase with every addition to the number of the nuclear Powers. There can be no mistaking the urgency of the danger. It would be tragic if, at the very moment when these Powers seemed to be moved towards suspension of tests, smaller powers began to make, test and perhaps even use these terrible weapons. One can think of antagonisms between small Powers which are so bitter that one side or the other might not hesitate to use such weapons.

82. It is therefore, we believe, in the interests of the existing members of the so-called nuclear club — the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France — as well as in all our interests, that it should be restricted to its present membership. We would urge as a first step that there should be an international agreement to that effect; and that no State outside the club should manufacture or purchase or be supplied with or be in possession of nuclear weapons. In the interests of world peace the rest of us should agree to accept that condition as permanent. We recognize that this suggestion calls for a much greater sacrifice from the larger non-nuclear Powers than from the small States. There is one test, however, that we should all apply to our policies. That is to try to imagine whether, if nuclear war broke out, we would not then regret having failed to make the sacrifices which might have helped to avoid it. Nor is the condition of the members of the nuclear club altogether enviable. They have the formidable task of arranging for the security of these weapons which are becoming so dangerously small and portable. The sooner they agree to stop manufacture the easier their task will be.

83. I would like to stress that, if this Assembly is in present circumstances to recognize to certain Powers the privileged status of being the only countries entitled to possess nuclear weapons, these Powers should undertake not to supply these weapons to any other country. I could appeal to them in God's name not to spread these weapons around the world.

84. Having obtained such undertakings from the nuclear Powers, the Assembly could pass a resolution calling on all other States to refrain from manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons. Such a resolution could be followed by a convention in which these States would bind themselves not merely to renounce nuclear weapons but to accept United Nations supervision of their nuclear development for peaceful purposes. Special arrangements would of course have to be made to secure adherence to the proposed convention by States not members of the United Nations. Among these, as

we know, are States of great territorial and industrial importance whose co-operation would be necessary for any effective scheme of nuclear restriction.

85. Nuclear restriction would not be just a negative and precautionary measure. It would be a positive one, interlocking closely with the most pressing political requirements of peace.

86. The gravest threat to stable peace, in the period of nuclear stalemate between the major Powers, is the contest between them for the adherence and control of the non-attached and the detachable States. How can we prevent this contest inadvertently bringing about the general war which no one wants? How can we also prevent another danger which flows from this contest: that the rivalry between the great Powers, held back from direct conflict by the nuclear balance, should spend itself in creating strife and tension among and within the lesser States?

87. The solution to this problem is, we think, twofold. The first part of the solution is a great Power agreement to create, as opportunity offers, ever widening arenas in which the contest for the adherence of the smaller States will be brought to an end. The smaller States can play their part, if they desire to do so, by declaring neutrality which the great Powers and the United Nations should guarantee. The second part of the solution is to persuade, and to help as far as we can, the nuclear Powers to practise co-operation along political, economic and cultural lines, and especially for the economic development of under-developed states.

88. We would therefore urge the great Power groups to take up vigorously the good work they began in Austria, and to reduce competition wherever it is mutually safe and wherever the net balance of advantage to either is negligible. The hope for a just and stable peace lies, we believe, not in the perpetuation of "iron curtains", lines of containment, "cold war" propaganda and astronomically costly defence expenditure, but in the growing realization that these expedients are outmoded, and in a determination to replace them by a system of security and welfare corresponding to the necessities and possibilities of this nuclear age. Nuclear restriction could be one important element in such a system. In my remaining remarks, Mr. President, I hope to indicate other elements, of which some are political, some social and economic.

89. The Irish delegation has suggested that there should be a military and diplomatic drawing back in Middle Europe and in the Middle East. Here are two areas in which the contest for the adherence of smaller Powers is much too dangerous to be continued, and where, as far as we can see, there is no net balance of advantage to either side in holding to their present positions. In the case of the Middle East considerable efforts have been made to reduce tension. Is it too much to hope that similar efforts will also be made in Middle Europe?

90. What is necessary in Middle Europe is not, of course, an abrupt withdrawal of forces for which people may not be mentally prepared and which might plunge the region into turmoil. It is rather a measured and carefully prepared drawing back, East and West, supervised and controlled by the United Nations, and with United Nations observers in the evacuated area, to serve as a guarantee against the return of foreign troops. If, as in the case of Austria, a permanent neutrality were to be declared by the States evacuated, it should be welcomed and guaranteed by the great Powers and by the United Nations.

91. The various suggestions made by our delegation have but a single aim: to insulate atomic weapons, as bees cover with wax the ugly intruders they are unable to eject, while we set to work for peace and prosperity.

92. With the help of the agreements suggested, together with local political settlements, nuclear weapons can be restricted and the existing nuclear Powers gradually separated by States under bond not to fight unless attacked. Under these conditions it will become possible to launch a determined campaign against the dire poverty of most of the world's population. That poverty is one of the most fundamental and enduring causes of bitterness and unrest in the under-developed countries. It has in the past created openings - dangerous openings - for contention among the great Powers. It could in the future serve instead as a fruitful field for their co-operation.

93. May I suggest that in a campaign against poverty our greatest handicap is not

lack of resources but the non-application of our financial knowledge. Indeed, of all the fields in which we fail to keep up with the spectacular achievements in science and technology, that of international finance is the outstanding example. Yet, as the European Payments Union proved, it is the easiest field in which to achieve agreement and in which to practise international co-operation.

94. Under the beneficial influence of the European Payments Union, inter-European trade increased within a few years by 75 per cent, with a consequent increase in capital resources and the standard of living. If, in the light of the European Payments Union experience, the Second Committee examined the problem of how to bring the world exchange of goods and services up to the level of our combined productive capacity it could, I feel sure, recommend an agreement, based on the balancing of payments at the highest potential level and on the extension of mutual credits, which would greatly increase world trade.

95. As far as I can see there would be no technical difficulty in providing that a United Nations institution, say the International Monetary Fund should act as a world payments union or even a world central bank; and that this institution should increase or restrict as required the world's supply of international money and provide for the balancing of international payments. Initial untied credits, issued to all countries at the rate of even a few dollars per head of population, would restore international liquidity and would give international trade the stimulus it needs so urgently. Such credits would enable under-developed countries to buy the equipment they so badly need to reduce poverty and hunger, without at the same time requiring developed countries to impose additional taxation or draw on their liquid reserves.

96. Our approach to the problems we have dealt with is conditioned by our conviction that majorities in all States desire a stable peace in order to devote their energy and resources to economic and social development. We believe that when it is a permanent and co-operative peace we want its terms must not offend the self-respect or the prestige of either opponent. We believe that an essential preliminary to peace is to reduce to a minimum recrimination, hate propaganda and threats. We believe that, while the nuclear stalemate may have saved us from a third world war, we should leave nothing undone to secure the eventual total abolition of nuclear weapons. We feel sure that if a community is subject to a government with aggressive designs that government is more likely to be changed by a release of tension around its borders, and by offers of peaceful and friendly co-operation, than by outside pressure and threats. It was after all the sun and not the wind which persuaded the gentleman in Aesop's fable to shed his cloak. A very strong element also in our approach is the belief that through the heavy clouds of threats and propaganda we can discern rays of hope for the organic growth of United Nations institutions in keeping with our scientific achievements and our economic resources, and in keeping with common sense and common humanity.

97. It would be quite wrong to assign all the blame for the troubles of the world to governments of the present day. These governments, particularly the Governments of the major Powers, were bequeathed grave difficulties, frightening responsibilities and dangerous antagonisms; the heritage of the chaos and terror of two world wars. It is not surprising that the aftermath of the Second World War has been a period marked by fear, resentment and suspicion. In such a climate it is not easy to bring about even limited agreements between contesting groups. Yet a number of such agreements have been achieved, and offer the best hope of future advance in international understanding. I need only mention among the more recent of such achievements the agreement which led to the evacuation and neutrality of Austria those which made possible the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon; the cultural and technical exchanges between the major Powers; and the scientific co-operation between different groups of Powers during the International Geophysical Year, 1957-1958. Each agreement, each act of international co-operation, does something to clear from the atmosphere the poisonous accumulations of earlier conflicts and thereby to render a new conflict less likely.

98. It should be noted too that, despite so much publicized contention on the highest levels, the many organs of these United Nations are working quietly on the acute problems that confront humanity in these days of revolutionary technological and

political change. The great Powers are in closer diplomatic contact here in this building and elsewhere than they have been for years. The Geneva Conference for the cessation of atomic tests^[1] was successful beyond expectation. It was particularly heartening to note the success of the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The United States proposals for the co-operative exploration of outer space and the internationalization of Antarctica have great possibilities for eliminating tension and for our common welfare. President Eisenhower's suggestions ^[733rd meeting] for a United Nations development fund for the Middle East and for the expansion of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development also give promise of fruitful co-operation.

99. Recent developments in the Formosa Straits remind us that great difficulties still subsist and that the danger of war has not ceased to hang over the world. All of us earnestly hope that talks now proceeding in Warsaw may not only be successful in relation to the immediate crisis but also may soon open the way to a just and stable settlement in the Far East, averting the recurrence of threats to peace from that region of the world. Pressing however, as are the military, psychological and political difficulties confronting us, and great as is the temptation to despair of solving them, I have no doubt that, if only we can preserve peace for another few years, this Organization will, with God's help, find ways of fostering our *esprit de corps* as a world community of neighbours on this satellite of the sun, helping each other in our difficulties, keeping our differences within bounds and taking a just pride in our common achievements.

100. Mr. HEKMAT (Iran): ...

[...]

^[1] Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests.