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President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS
(Netherlands).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Mahmoud Azmi and expression of sympathy with Iran

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): May I request representatives to rise.
2. You all know that yesterday death struck within our ranks. H. E. Mahmoud Azmi, the leader of the Egyptian delegation, is no longer with us. Like a captain on the field of honour, he fell while carrying out his duties. We bow before this loss, which was so unexpected that it fills us with a new sense of insignificance and humility. We offer our united and heartfelt condolences to the Egyptian delegation and we ask it to tell the family of the late Dr. Azmi and the Egyptian Government that the great loss they have suffered is also a great loss to the General Assembly, which pays a tribute to his high qualities and respectfully honours his memory.
3. We express our profound sympathy also to our friends from Iran, whose country has just been plunged into deep national mourning. Our thoughts and our feelings go out to them and to the nation and Govern-

ment which they represent so worthily both in the days of adversity and in happier days.

4. I invite representatives to observe one minute's silence, as a token of mourning.

The representatives stood in silence.

5. Mr. SHUKAIRI (Syria): Today we assemble in deep sorrow and profound mourning. Our beloved brother, the Chairman of the Egyptian delegation, has passed away to eternal rest, with a conscience at full rest. Yesterday Dr. Azmi was alive in mind and in soul, alive in eloquence and diligence. Today he lives not. He feels not and speaks no more.

6. At the beginning of this session Dr. Azmi delivered his opening speech from this rostrum. Today this rostrum is dedicated to the memory of his ability, his loyalty and serenity. In the Security Council he fell as a fighting soldier in the field. With dignity he spoke, and with dignity he was silenced. He pleaded his case to the last breath, and his mouth was sealed with the last words of an honourable cause. It was a tragic moment, but the end was honourable—nothing could be more honourable. Death is certainly saddening. But death in the line of duty is radiant with tribute, with merit and with admiration.

7. Behind him, Dr. Azmi leaves a treasure of memory. As a citizen he was sincere; as a professor he was energetic; as a journalist he was fair; as a United Nations representative he was loyal; and as a friend he was a dear friend.

8. In the name of my delegation, I wish to express to the Egyptian delegation our deep feeling of sorrow and bereavement. To Egypt, to its people and Government we extend our condolence. Dr. Azmi died in action. May God the Almighty bring peace and blessing upon his soul.

9. We wish likewise to express our deep sorrow and condolence to the Iranian delegation and to the people and Government of Iran for the tragic death of the brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah-in-Shah of Iran. God bless his soul.

10. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): I thank the President for giving the delegation of Pakistan this opportunity by deferring the business of the Assembly today to make a reference to the great loss this Assembly has suffered in the tragic death of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. On behalf of the delegation of Pakistan and on my own behalf, we extend to the delegation, the Government and the people of Egypt heartfelt condolences on the loss of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. Sudden and tragic death has deprived them of a representative of outstanding qualities, and deprived us of a colleague who had won our admiration and respect. We knew him to be a fearless champion of human rights and freedoms, a formidable adversary in debate and a diplomat of sober judgment, and, above all, a man with great

human qualities and personal charm. The void he leaves will be hard to fill, and we shall feel his loss in this Organization for many, many years. To the delegation which has lost him so tragically, to the country which he served with such distinction until the closing minute of his life, and to the United Nations which claimed his dedicated loyalty during the last so many years, we offer our most sincere condolence.

11. The delegation of Pakistan also takes this opportunity which the President has so kindly given to us to extend our heartfelt condolence to the delegation of Iran and, through it, to the people and His Majesty the Shah-in-Shah of Iran, for the loss of His Majesty's brother.

12. For the cumulative loss that we feel today I, as a Moslem, can only say, "We are for God, and to Him we all ultimately return".

13. Mr. GAYLANI (Iraq): The tragic death of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, Chairman of the Egyptian delegation, was a great shock to all of us and, in particular, to the delegations of the Arab countries. Dr. Azmi had a very long and a very distinguished career in the United Nations. He represented his country most ably in the Economic and Social Council and in other important organs of the United Nations. He was recently appointed as his country's permanent representative to the United Nations.

14. As a member and Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights his exceptional qualities of mind and his humane and universal approach to the problems of human rights found a field of action where his influence will be long remembered. His diligence and diplomatic skill, as well as his intellect and learning, contributed in a large part to every task in which he was engaged.

15. Dr. Azmi, one of the foremost jurists of his country, devoted a great deal of his time to the pursuit of law, literature and journalism. He was one of his country's most eminent political writers and commentators. His contributions to leading Egyptian papers were read with great interest in all the Arab countries. He will be remembered for a long time in my country as a great teacher of law when he served in the capacity of Dean of the Faculty of Law in Bagdad.

16. We are deeply touched by the expressions of sympathy by the President of the Assembly and other distinguished representatives. Dr. Azmi will be mourned not only in his own country, but by the multitude of his friends and admirers all over the Arab world and the outside world. In the name of my delegation, I express to the Government of Egypt and to the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations our deepest sympathy and condolences on the most grievous loss suffered by them in the deeply regretted death of a dear and distinguished colleague.

17. May I also on behalf of my delegation extend to the Iranian Government and nation my condolences on their grievous national loss in the tragic death of His Royal Highness Ali Riza, the heir to the imperial throne of Iran.

18. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): On behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, I should like to join with the President and those who have spoken before me in the tributes paid to our friend

and colleague, the late Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, permanent representative of Egypt. It was with the most profound regret that we heard of his death. To me, the news came with a feeling of personal shock, since I was seated in the chair next to his when he was suddenly taken ill yesterday in the Security Council. He fell in the middle of a sentence; he fell in the midst of his work.

19. We should like to express to the Egyptian delegation and the Egyptian Government our sympathy with them in the passing of a most distinguished and able servant of his country. Dr. Azmi had been closely associated with the United Nations from its earliest days and had earned the respect and the admiration of his colleagues, as much for his work on social, humanitarian and cultural problems as, more recently, for his distinguished leadership of the Egyptian delegation. It is indeed sad that he should have been lost to his country so soon after his promotion to that office which, in itself, was a recognition of the outstanding role he had played here and the universal respect he had gained among us all. His untimely death is a loss to the United Nations which we can ill afford. He will long be remembered here for the wisdom and the unfailing courtesy that he brought to our deliberations.

20. I should also like to express on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation our deep sympathy with the Iranian delegation and the Iranian Government in the tragic loss they have suffered in the death of the brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah-in-Shah.

21. Mr. ABOU-TALEB (Yemen): A man died. Dr. Azmi died while defending the cause of peace. There cannot be a death more agreeable than to die defending international peace. This is our only consolation. Dr. Azmi was one of the most respected diplomats at the United Nations, and everyone liked him. He died too soon, and the United Nations lost a truly great man.

22. Dr. Mahmoud Azmi's great contribution to the United Nations was in the field of human rights. It was under his chairmanship that the two draft covenants on human rights were finally prepared by the Commission on Human Rights. It was because of Dr. Azmi's strong fight that those covenants included their most important article—that of self-determination. Dr. Azmi's contributions to human rights will remain immortal in the annals of the United Nations, and his two consecutive chairmanships of the Commission will remain historic, because it was his patience that saw the Covenants drafted. Alas, he will not be able to see them finally adopted.

23. Among Mr. Azmi's other contributions to the United Nations was his fight for freedom of information and of the press. Besides being Chairman of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, he was one of its champions. His other contribution in the same field was the establishment of a code of ethics for journalists. In the economic and social fields, as well as in UNESCO, Mr. Azmi's advice and speeches were considered with great interest. He left an unfinished book in Arabic on human rights, which had been requested by the United Nations Department of Public Information. His keynote statement before the General Assembly this year is one of the classics of this session or any other session. He was an Egyptian, an Arab, a humanitarian.

24. I should also like to express my deep sympathy and sorrow to the Iranian delegation for the great loss of the Crown Prince.

25. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Dr. Mahmoud Azmi brought to the United Nations experience, political skill and culture, all of a high order. His death diminishes our resources here. Here was a man whom we have come to know and honour during his five years of association with us. He has been a worthy representative of Egypt's great national and cultural tradition. We have learned much from Dr. Azmi. We all admired the intelligence, the courage and the statesmanship which he brought to the service of his own country, to the cause of human rights and to the cause of freedom of thought and of expression generally.

26. There is little which can be said at this time to comfort his friends and his nation, but it is well that they know by these proceedings here this afternoon how much he is in our thoughts. The spirit in which he worked strengthens the United Nations. He was in all truth a wise and a good man. He died in action. On behalf of the United States of America, I convey deepest sympathy to his family and to his country.

27. Let me at the same time extend our deepest sympathy to the Iranian delegation on the occasion of the tragic death of the brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran, who was heir to the throne of Iran.

28. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Inexorable death yesterday struck down Mr. Mahmoud Azmi, an eminent man and statesman, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Egypt, and Chairman of the Egyptian delegation to the present session of the General Assembly. We all know about the many-sided, energetic activities of Mr. Mahmoud Azmi, a really remarkable man who devoted his whole life to untiring work in the spheres of science and culture.

29. Mr. Mahmoud Azmi also made a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations, in which he was for many years an outstanding figure. Mr. Azmi fought actively and unsparingly for international collaboration and peace among the nations. As a member of the Egyptian delegation at various sessions of the General Assembly, as Chairman of the Egyptian delegation at the Assembly's present, and for him fateful, session, and, lastly, as Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Azmi won deep sympathy and general respect.

30. The delegation of the Soviet Union is deeply grieved at the premature demise of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi and expresses its sincere condolences to the Government of Egypt and the Egyptian delegation on the occasion of their heavy loss.

31. The delegation of the Soviet Union also expresses its condolences to the Government of Iran and to the Iranian delegation on the occasion of the death of the heir to the throne.

32. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): On this sad occasion, I speak for all the twenty Latin-American countries when I say how deeply the whole of Latin America feels the death of one of the most distinguished diplomats of the United Nations, Professor Mahmoud Azmi, whom I had the honour to meet two years ago. His inspiring and deeply moving speech at the last session of the Economic and

Social Council at Geneva, when he presented his fine work on the two covenants on human rights, moved all who heard him and all who knew how much effort and heart he had put into achieving that ideal.

33. Unfortunately, Professor Azmi has not lived to see his work crowned with success; but that is not important: it is not what men do in their lives that counts, but the imprint they leave on men's minds, above all in the field of ideas, particularly when they are for the benefit of mankind.

34. Professor Azmi has died at his high post, and he has left a shining example that we must all follow, for we can follow it. Let me then take this extremely painful opportunity of expressing to the distinguished Egyptian delegation and the Government of that ancient and noble country the deep sympathy of the twenty Latin-American countries and their delegations to the United Nations.

35. I also take this opportunity of offering the Government of Iran the sincere condolences of the twenty Latin-American countries on the tragic death of the heir to the throne.

36. Mr. MALIK (Lebanon): Mahmoud Azmi was a gentle and good man. He enjoyed the respect of all those who really knew him. He was a reasonable man, holding his convictions by measure and by moderation. He had an open mind, subject always to argument and persuasion. I have known him to rebel only in the face of injustice, when people unfairly discriminated against others, judging them on grounds other than their inherent personal worth. That is why he played such a leading role in recent years in the United Nations in the field of human rights. He died as Chairman of the 1954 session of the Commission on Human Rights.

37. In the Near East, Mahmoud Azmi was known, since before the First World War, as a champion of freedom of thought and conscience and as an indomitable advocate of the necessity and value of applying the methods of science and the disciplines of critical inquiry to all human affairs. To Azmi, nothing was beyond the beneficent reach of reason. He was a sincere believer in international understanding and co-operation. He served Egypt and the Arab world with devotion and foresight, and he always tried to forge links of understanding with the outside world.

38. Only yesterday he was active in our midst. Now he is no more. He was chosen, or it has been chosen for him, to leave us while in action. It is truly a noble way of going. When one's hour has struck, it is far better to die in action than in one's bed or in the hospital. Azmi's style of dying is no less a lesson for all of us than his manner of living.

39. What happened to Azmi can happen to any of us. Let us therefore humbly ponder the mystery of life and death. Before that mystery all our commitments and all our cares appear puny and unreal. If today we are and tomorrow we may cease to be, what then really abides? This is the most insistent of all questions. And let us beware lest we answer it cleverly, without real certainty and without real brokenness of heart.

40. The United Nations and all its problems are real and great, but all of them and all of us stand inexorably under the judgment of that which does not die. This judgment, this mystery, bring us down upon our knees in desperate search. And man, despite all his joys and

despite all his real achievements, will never rest and his labours will never come to an end until he has penetrated that mystery, or, and this is the more likely, until it has penetrated him.

41. On behalf of the delegation of Lebanon, I wish to express our sincere sympathy to the delegation of Iran and to the Government and people of Iran, and also to His Majesty the Shah-in-Shah of Iran, on the tragic death of His Majesty's brother, the heir to the throne.

42. Mr. KYROU (Greece): It is with deep emotion that I should like to associate the Greek delegation with the tribute paid to the memory of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, fallen in the field of honour.

43. For many years, Dr. Azmi was prominent in the manifold work of our Organization. When the history of the covenants on human rights is written the name of the Egyptian representative will be mentioned more than once. But it is in the political field that Dr. Azmi gave the full measure of his great heart and his penetrating mind. He knew that diplomacy is the art of the possible, and that even the possible cannot be reached without conciliation and compromise. He was the incarnation of moderation, yet he never yielded one inch when principles in which he believed were at stake. He spoke with deep sincerity and honesty of purpose, and his voice often seemed to come from another, wiser, age. The memory of Mahmoud Azmi will be respectfully remembered in this Organization for many years to come. As for us, his colleagues and friends, we shall never forget his extraordinary human qualities.

44. May I also address to Ambassador Entezam and to his colleagues on the Iranian delegation our heartfelt sympathy for the untimely and tragic death of His Royal Highness the brother of the Shah-in-Shah.

45. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation wishes to associate itself with those representatives who have already expressed their profound condolences to the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations, to the Government of Egypt and to the Egyptian people on the untimely death of their great son, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi.

46. Among all the delegations, and the Yugoslav delegation in particular, Dr. Azmi enjoyed the reputation of a moderate and sober representative and statesman, who had long realized that we should stand for the solutions of the problems of the United Nations which will best correspond to the aims and principles of our Organization. Dr. Azmi eminently belonged to the rank of those distinguished representatives who are the personification of the United Nations ideals of international co-operation and understanding. We may well affirm that his sudden death constitutes a great loss for the United Nations itself, because he has always upheld the interests and the dignity of the United Nations. He devoted all of his efforts to the ideals of our Organization.

47. At the same time I should also like to stress how Dr. Azmi has provided us with a living proof of how co-operation among delegations in the United Nations can strengthen and improve direct relations between two countries. I can only convey once more the profound condolence of my delegation to the delegation of Egypt and to the United Nations.

48. I should like to join the other delegations in expressing great sympathy to the Government and to the

throne of Iran for the tragic loss of the heir to the throne.

49. Mrs. SEKANINOVA-CAKARTOVA (Czechoslovakia): It was with deep regret that the Czechoslovak delegation received the news of the sudden decease of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, the head of the delegation of Egypt to the General Assembly of the United Nations. We highly appreciate Dr. Azmi's entire activities, and especially the guidance he gave to the work of the Commission on Human Rights of which he was the able and patient Chairman, as a significant contribution to the elaboration of the draft covenants on human rights, a question for many years under the consideration of the United Nations and which represents one of the basic and most important tasks entrusted to our Organization. The Czechoslovak delegation, therefore, wishes to associate itself with the previous speakers in expressing its sincere sympathy to the Government and the delegation of Egypt on this great loss.

50. At the same time, my delegation wishes to join in the deep condolence expressed to the Government and the delegation of Iran.

51. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation joins, with deep feeling, in the sad tribute which has been paid to the memory of Mahmoud Azmi, leader of the Egyptian delegation to the ninth session of the General Assembly. His great qualities of heart and mind had won for him the esteem and affection of all his colleagues and the Councils of the United Nations have long enjoyed the benefit of his enlightening wisdom and experience. His loss is no less grievous a blow to the United Nations than it is to his own country, which he served with all his strength, indeed until his last breath, and which loses in him one of the most eminent representatives of its culture and one of the ablest workers in its international mission.

52. The many friends Mahmoud Azmi possessed in France will faithfully treasure his memory and I am speaking for them and for all the members of my delegation when I express our deepest sympathy for the grief into which all his colleagues have been plunged.

53. I should like also to tell the leader and the members of the Iranian delegation that the French people and the French delegation share in the mourning of the Imperial House and the people of Iran, who have suffered such a cruel blow in the tragic death of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince.

54. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): I regret that Mr. Munro, the leader of our delegation, had to leave New York this morning and is, therefore, unable to be with us today. He would have wished to pay his personal tribute to the memory of Dr. Azmi, with whom he has been associated so long and with whom he worked so closely in the Security Council. Dr. Azmi has left a great record of achievement for his work amongst us. He has served his country and the United Nations with great distinction. We shall all miss his wisdom, his unfailing good humour and the friendship he showed us all. The New Zealand delegation extends its sincere sympathy to the members of his family, to his colleagues in the delegation and to the Government and people of Egypt.

55. May I also take this opportunity to express our deep sympathy to the Government and to the people of Iran in their great loss.

56. Mr. HANIFAH (Indonesia): On behalf of the Indonesian delegation I should like to associate myself with the deep feeling of sympathy expressed by the President and by the previous speakers with regard to the sudden death of our friend and colleague, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, head of the Egyptian delegation.

57. It was, indeed, with great shock that my delegation learned of the sudden passing of Dr. Azmi yesterday in the Security Council. We have known Dr. Azmi, both as a warm friend, an admirable colleague and as a devoted worker, not only for his own country but also for the cause of peace and for the United Nations in general.

58. On behalf of the Indonesian delegation, I would like to offer our deepest condolence to the delegation, Government and people of Egypt in the loss of such an outstanding and eminent representative.

59. I would also like to convey my condolence and expression of deepest sympathy to the delegation of Iran for their great loss of the brother of His Majesty the Shah of Iran.

60. Mr. JOHNSON (Canada): The sudden and tragic death of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, who was stricken as he spoke on behalf of his country in the Security Council yesterday, was a profound shock to the Canadian delegation and to me, personally, who had the privilege of knowing Dr. Azmi and of appreciating his very high qualities. I join with other delegations in paying tribute to the memory of Dr. Azmi and I offer, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere and heartfelt sympathy to his family and his Government on the tragic loss which they, and the United Nations itself, have suffered by his death.

61. I also extend the deep sympathy of the Canadian delegation to the Iranian delegation on the death in tragic circumstances of the very distinguished brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran.

62. Mr. TSIANG (China): I am grateful to the President for giving the General Assembly this opportunity to pay tribute to the memory of our friend and colleague, Dr. Azmi. Only yesterday, both morning and afternoon, in the Security Council, I watched him apply his great mind and eloquence to one of the complicated problems before that body. His death was most untimely. During these years of association in the work of the United Nations I have come to know him well and to admire him. I have had several opportunities of talking privately with him. We talked about the problems of the United Nations and the domestic problems of our countries, Egypt and China. I know that he had great vision for the United Nations and for his beloved Egypt. His loss is a loss not only to his delegation and his country, but also to the United Nations. On behalf of my delegation, I extend to the delegation of Egypt our deep sympathy.

63. I wish also to extend to the delegation of Iran our sincere condolences for the tragic death of the heir to the throne of that country.

64. Mr. LUDIN (Afghanistan): The delegation of Afghanistan shares the deep grief and profound sorrow, so rightfully and fittingly felt by the Egyptian delegation, on the tragic and grievous loss of a worthy and noble son of Egypt and a great international statesman, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. Dr. Azmi was a sincere gentleman and a worthy statesman. He is no longer with

us and we all feel the loss keenly. The delegation of Afghanistan extends its deepest and most sincere sympathy and condolences to the Egyptian delegation and to the Government and the people of Egypt in their great loss. We also associate ourselves with the well-deserved tributes paid from this rostrum to the humane, spiritual and statesmanlike qualities of Dr. Azmi. May Almighty God bless his soul.

65. My delegation also extends its profound sympathy and condolences to the Iranian delegation and to the Government and people of Iran—especially to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran—on the occasion of the loss of the Crown Prince of that country.

66. It has been our sad lot to have suffered two tragic losses which call for expressions of grief and sympathy. We pray God to strengthen the bereaved in bearing their grief.

67. Mr. EBAN (Israel): I rise to associate the delegation of Israel with the words of respectful sympathy which have been uttered in tribute to our Egyptian colleague, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, who passed away in such poignant circumstances yesterday afternoon.

68. In all our relationships we learned to respect his high qualities of integrity and international idealism. He was a valiant champion of his cause, eloquent in advocacy, chivalrous in controversy and debate, dedicated with the special zeal to visions of peace for his country, his region and the world. His work in the domain of human rights and free information, as well as his sincerity and courtesy in political debate, showed his sensitive perception of the overriding human solidarities which are the essential spirit of the United Nations. The Government and people of Israel pay honour to his memory and extend profound sympathy to his family, his colleagues and his countrymen.

69. I also desire to express my Government's grief at the loss which has come upon the people of Iran and its royal house through the untimely death of the heir to the throne.

70. Mr. SARPET (Turkey): I wish to express, on behalf of my delegation, our deep sense of grief at the sudden collapse and death of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi during the afternoon session of the Security Council yesterday. From this rostrum I wish to extend to our Egyptian colleagues our sincerest condolences and sympathy. Dr. Azmi's services in the cause of his country and of the United Nations have been varied and great. We shall always cherish the memory of his services and his great qualities.

71. We also express our condolences to the delegation of Iran on the very sad occasion of the tragic loss of His Imperial Highness Prince Ali Riza.

72. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): With a deep sense of grief the Philippine delegation associates itself with the other members of the Assembly in the profound sense of bereavement they feel on the passing away of a very good friend and valued colleague, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. We are all mortals and will pass away in God's appointed time, but to die in the line of duty and in the advocacy of a great cause is a rare privilege seldom vouchsafed to God's creatures. To Dr. Azmi, God has chosen to vouchsafe this rare privilege.

73. The late permanent representative of Egypt to the United Nations had a brilliant record in the Organiza-

tion for his active participation in its principal organs, where he displayed political acumen and statesmanship of the highest order. But if there is any achievement upon which it would suffice any man to rest his laurels it is his magnificent and impressive contribution to the cause of human rights.

74. While he was a crusader for the fundamental rights of man and the dignity of the human person in his own country, for which his people have happily accorded him ample recognition, it is but fitting and proper that we here in the United Nations should place on record our own deep appreciation of his services in the fulfilment of one of the great purposes of this Organization, namely, the protection of the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

75. As Chairman of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, and later of the Commission on Human Rights, Dr. Azmi has left the imprint of his erudition and personality on a very important aspect of the work of the United Nations. My delegation, therefore, wishes to extend to the Egyptian delegation its deepest sympathy on the loss of a distinguished newspaperman, lawyer, scholar and statesman.

76. Our deepest sympathy likewise goes to the delegation and to the good people and Government of Iran on the passing of the brother of His Majesty.

77. Mr. DU PLESSIS (Union of South Africa): Speaking as the representative of an African Power, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to associate myself with the sentiments to which the President and the previous speakers have given such adequate expression with regard to the passing of our late distinguished colleague, the leader of the Egyptian delegation. He will long be remembered for his contribution to the work of the United Nations, and Egypt's loss is therefore also the loss of this Organization.

78. To our colleagues of the Egyptian delegation we of the South African delegation convey our feelings of deepest sympathy on the passing of their leader and of an Egyptian who served his country and his people so well and so loyally. We pay tribute to his memory.

79. Also, to Mr. Entezam and our other colleagues on the delegation of Iran we wish to convey our sincere condolences in the loss which they have so suddenly and so tragically sustained in the passing of His Royal Highness the heir to the throne of Iran.

80. Mr. AL-FAQIH (Saudi Arabia) (*Translated from French*): On behalf of my Government I wish to offer our most sincere condolences to the Egyptian delegation and to the Egyptian Government in connexion with the tragic death of our dear colleague Mahmoud Azmi. I had known Mahmoud Azmi personally for fifteen years and, like all who knew him, I never ceased to admire his graciousness, his wisdom, his very fine sense of justice and his zeal in his country's service. My delegation will always regret his loss. We commend his soul to God.

81. I wish also to offer my Government's most sincere condolences to the delegation of Iran on the tragic death of His Royal Highness the brother of His Imperial Majesty and the heir to the throne.

82. Mr. FORSYTH (Australia): The Australian delegation wishes to express its profound sympathy and

to extend its heartfelt condolences to the delegation of Egypt in the loss of its leader, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, and also to the late Dr. Azmi's family and many friends. Many of our representatives have been associated with Dr. Azmi in United Nations activities and, without any exception, found him a gentle and wise person and a fine colleague. The United Nations and his country will deeply feel his loss.

83. This tribute to Dr. Azmi is brief, but it is sincere, and we wish our Egyptian friends to know that we have been as deeply moved by his sudden passing as we were impressed by his generous, scholarly and constructive life and work.

84. We wish also to extend our sympathy to the Government and people of Iran on the death of their prince, the brother of His Majesty the Shah of Iran.

85. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): It was with deep sorrow that my delegation learned yesterday of the untimely death of the distinguished diplomat from a neighbouring and friendly country, the chairman of Egypt's delegation to the present Assembly.

86. In the Middle East, Dr. Azmi will be remembered for a long time to come for the contribution he has made to the cultural aggrandizement of that region. In the United Nations, his work as Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and the contributions he has brought to the advancement of that cause will live in the minds of men for a long time to come. My delegation joins with all present here in offering its condolences to the people of Egypt and to the Egyptian delegation.

87. I should like also to convey our deepest sorrow and sympathy to the Iranian people and to the Ambassador of Iran for the loss of the heir to the throne.

88. Mr. SKRZESZEWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Poland associates itself with the words of sympathy spoken by the President of the Assembly and by many representatives on the death of Mahmoud Azmi. In offering our condolences to the Egyptian delegation and the Egyptian Government I would emphasize that this loss is a blow to us all. Our delegation held Mahmoud Azmi in high esteem. The respect which surrounded him was merited by his outstanding qualities as the representative of his country, as a man of science, and as a human being.

89. We associate ourselves, too, with the words of condolence which have been proffered to the Iranian delegation and the Iranian Government on the death of the brother of His Majesty the Shah of Iran.

90. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): In the midst of life, we are in death. This was truly the case of the late Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. We should like to associate ourselves with all the other delegations that have paid such sincere tribute to such a venerable statesman, as well as to express our deepest sympathy and profound sorrow to the Government and people of our sister African State, Egypt.

91. We should also like to pay our warm tribute and to express our deepest sympathy, through Mr. Entezam, to His Imperial Highness the Shah and his people at the loss of the Crown Prince and heir to the Iranian throne.

92. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): The Thai delegation associates itself sincerely with the

moving tributes paid to the memory of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. We have learned of his sudden death with great shock and sorrow. He not only gave our delegation close and cordial collaboration in the United Nations, but he recently helped us in bringing about an agreement for the exchange of diplomatic representatives between our countries, thus promoting friendship between our two nations. The Thai delegation therefore extends to the Egyptian delegation its sincerest sympathy and condolences on the grievous loss it has suffered.

93. We should also like to extend to the delegation of Iran our respectful sympathy on the tragic demise of the heir to the throne of Iran.

94. Mr. BORBERG (Denmark): In the name of the delegations of the four Nordic countries, I have the honour to express to the Egyptian delegation and Government our heartfelt sympathy with them in the loss they have suffered in the death of Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. I had the honour recently to co-operate very intimately with Dr. Azmi while acting as President of the Security Council. I found in him a man who knew well how to take care loyally of the interests of his own country, while at the same time trying to be co-operative and to work in the spirit of loyalty to the United Nations.

95. May I likewise convey to the Iranian delegation, on behalf of the four Nordic delegations, the expression of our deepest sympathy in the loss that Iran has suffered in the death of the brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

96. Mr. VON BALLUSECK (Netherlands): On behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, I should like to join with those who have here paid tribute to the memory of Ambassador Azmi of Egypt, whose sudden demise has deeply shocked and grieved all those amongst us who knew him and worked with him in the interests of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We remember the late permanent representative of Egypt to the United Nations as an outstanding diplomat and as a human personality of great wisdom and tolerance. We share the mourning which his tragic demise has evoked in his country and amongst his many friends. To the Egyptian Government and delegation, we express our heartfelt sorrow at the great loss which they and we of the United Nations have sustained in Dr. Azmi's death.

97. I should also like to express my feelings of great sorrow to the delegation of Iran for the loss which the Government and people of that country have sustained in the tragic death of the heir to the throne.

98. Mr. JUNG (India): It falls to me, on behalf of the delegation of India and also in my capacity of representative of India to Egypt, to associate myself with the tributes paid by the President and so many other representatives to the memory of the late leader of the Egyptian delegation, Dr. Mahmoud Azmi. Many members of the delegation of India have, for the past several years, been closely associated with Dr. Azmi in the work of the United Nations and its different bodies. More recently, I, in my capacity of Ambassador of India at Cairo, and Dr. Azmi himself, as the permanent representative of Egypt to the United Nations, had

come into very close contact with each other. As a result, we of the Indian delegation have full knowledge of his sincerity of purpose, his ability, his wisdom, and the great moderation and restraint that was evident in his outlook and his expressions. Those qualities had won great respect for him both in the United Nations and in his own country. That respect has been voiced today by many delegations in the tributes paid to Dr. Azmi. Dr. Azmi's career and character made it fitting—if I may say so—that he should die in action, in the service of his country. I think that if he had had to make a choice in the matter, he would not have chosen otherwise.

99. We therefore pay our own tribute to Dr. Azmi in his capacity as leader of the Egyptian delegation, as a very loyal and distinguished servant of the Egyptian Government and as a citizen of great distinction in his own country, where he was very highly respected. We wish to express our profound sense of sorrow to the Egyptian delegation and, through it, to the Government and people of Egypt and to Dr. Azmi's family at the loss that they have suffered, and to assure them that they are not alone in that loss, that we more than share it.

100. I should also like to associate my delegation with the words that have been spoken here today on the occasion of the mourning of the Iranian Royal Family and the Government and people of Iran for the heir to the throne of Iran, who died so tragically and suddenly. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to convey to Mr. Entezam and the other members of the Iranian delegation our profound sense of sorrow at the loss which they have suffered.

101. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): On behalf of the delegation of Burma, I should like to associate myself with the well-deserved tributes that have been paid to the memory of the late Dr. Azmi. To know Dr. Azmi was to respect and admire him. All of us will miss him sorely. I would ask the Egyptian delegation to accept our sincere condolences on the irreparable loss it has suffered and to convey those condolences to the Egyptian Government and Dr. Azmi's bereaved family.

102. I should also like to convey to Mr. Entezam and to the Government and people of Iran our deep sympathy for the great loss they have suffered in the tragic death of the brother of His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

103. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): It is with deep emotion that I express to you, on behalf of the Egyptian Government and my delegation, our heartfelt acknowledgement of the kind sympathy you have shown in the cruel bereavement our country and our delegation have just suffered. Mahmoud Azmi had a deep affection for the United Nations, with which he had identified himself. It was in the performance of his lofty duty that he was struck down.

104. Today you have all testified to the feeling of brotherhood and solidarity in which all the Members of the international family are united. We have been deeply touched by the many marks of sympathy we received as soon as the news became known. On behalf of my delegation I should like to express our profound

gratitude to the Secretary-General, the members of the Secretariat and the staff of the Health Service, who performed their duty with such devotion, giving Mahmoud Azmi every care and unceasing vigilance.

105. At this sad moment mere words are inadequate to express what we feel. We are moved to the bottom of our hearts by the marks of sympathy, friendship and affection so lavishly bestowed on us by the President of the Assembly and by all the representatives and the members of the Secretariat.

106. On behalf of my delegation I offer my most sincere condolences to the delegation and Government of Iran upon the national bereavement Iran has just suffered in the tragic death of His Royal Highness the Heir Presumptive.

107. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (*translated from French*): I am deeply touched and much moved by the words of sympathy which have been addressed to us by the President of the Assembly and by so many delegations.

108. The tragic and premature death of our young and beloved Prince Ali Riza is a cruel blow to the Royal Family and to the people of Iran. I shall convey the condolences of this noble Assembly to my Sovereign and my Government, and I know they will greatly appreciate this mark of sympathy.

109. May I associate myself with the eloquent tributes which have been paid by the President of the Assembly and the various delegations to Mahmoud Azmi, the late lamented representative of Egypt. His death deprives Egypt and the United Nations of a loyal servant and robs us of a great and a distinguished friend.

110. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): For us who remain life must go on, and with it our duty of endeavouring to put into practice the principles of the Charter. Having paid just tribute to the memory of our late colleague, we shall now, in accordance with precedent and subject to your agreement, begin our consideration of the items on the agenda.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)

FIFTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/2782)

111. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The fifth report of the General Committee (A/2782) concerns two requests for the inclusion of additional items in the agenda of the ninth regular session; these two requests were submitted by the Soviet Union delegation. The General Committee decided, without objection, to recommend the inclusion of these two items in the agenda of this session and likewise decided, without objection, to recommend that the two items should be referred to the First Committee for consideration, on the understanding that, should the agenda of that Committee prove to be overburdened, both items would then be transferred to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

112. Does any representative wish to comment, within the limits prescribed by rule 23 of the rules of procedure, on the General Committee's recommendations which I have just read out? If no one wishes to speak and there are no objections, I shall consider the recommendations contained in the General Committee's report to be adopted.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 20 AND 68

Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments

Conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/2779)

113. Mr. THORSING (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present the first report of the First Committee during this session, which, as representatives know, refers to a question of paramount importance: that of disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. The First Committee devoted no less than seventeen meetings to these problems, discussing concurrently items 20 and 68 of our agenda, under which the report of the Disarmament Commission and the proposal of the Soviet Union for an international convention on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction were respectively listed.

114. The protracted but constructive deliberations were brought to an encouraging end in that they cleared the ground for a unanimous vote by the Committee on what was considered the main draft resolution, A/C.1/754, which was sponsored by all five States that were members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. The significance of this will escape nobody. In this connexion, special tribute was justly paid to the Canadian delegation for its patient efforts to negotiate a text acceptable to all these Powers. Near unanimity was also attained on the second five-Power draft resolution, whereby a draft proposal presented by India embodying several pertinent suggestions was referred to the Disarmament Commission.

115. In view of these results, it may be expected that the same degree of unanimity will be attained in the Assembly, and that the Disarmament Commission will be given a new mandate to continue its important work, accompanied by the sincere wishes and hopes for reassuring results which are shared by all the countries represented here.

116. With the President's permission, I should like to end the presentation of this report on a more personal note. Throughout the discussion in the First Committee, beneath the exchange of views and the questions and answers, and beneath the sometimes scintillating dialectics, one could sense a note of grave concern. And rightly so, for, to repeat a phrase that kept ringing in my ear during the frequent references to the effects of an atomic war, "there's no more dying then". Through some curious working of the subconscious, this phrase from a line in a Shakespeare sonnet, which runs "And Death once dead, there's no more dying then", presented itself as a terse comment on the crisis to which civilization has been brought.

117. I am aware that this quotation is taken out of context. Perhaps it may even be said that it is used in the reverse sense to the intended meaning. But have we not all to admit that in the perspective of an atomic war our ordinary way of posing problems, the problems of life and death above all, loses all its sense. For afterwards, "there's no more dying then".

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I thank the Rapporteur of the First Committee for his presentation of the report.

119. Four delegations have asked for the floor. If these delegations have no objection and if there is no proposal for a formal debate on the report, I shall regard their observations as explanations of vote.

120. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): The unanimous adoption of a resolution in the United Nations on a major political issue is in itself a significant event. If, as I believe and fully expect, the General Assembly now confirms the unanimous vote of the First Committee on 27 October on the draft resolution on disarmament contained in the report we shall all have good reason for satisfaction—satisfaction at having secured the agreement of all Members of the United Nations on a resolution which will provide for an agreed procedure and an agreed framework for the negotiations in the five-Power Sub-Committee which is to be re-established by the Disarmament Commission.

121. This draft resolution is no longer the Canadian draft, nor is it the five-Power draft; it is the First Committee's draft resolution and will shortly, I hope, be a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations. As such it would not be appropriate for me to try to evaluate its importance or to review the efforts of many delegations and many persons during the past weeks which led to the measure of agreement which this draft resolution now represents. However, if I may, I should like to express the thanks and appreciation of the Canadian delegation for the ready response and co-operation which our initiative was accorded in its first stage by France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, and later by all members of the First Committee. I should also like to express the same thanks and appreciation to all for the co-operation which was afforded throughout in our discussions.

122. The adoption of this resolution is but one stage in a continuing process, a process which began with the very first resolution of the General Assembly, adopted on 24 January 1946—a resolution which likewise was unanimously adopted—which set up the Atomic Energy Commission, the partial forerunner of the Disarmament Commission.

123. Between these two resolutions lie almost nine years of disagreement and successive deadlocks. As we look back on these years and, in particular, as we review the past year, there has been without question a narrowing of the gap between the positions taken by the principal Powers involved. That the gap remains wide and deep no one would, I think, deny.

124. To minimize the remaining gap in a mood of wishful optimism would be as irresponsible as to ignore the fact that headway has been made.

125. We shall, in the weeks and months ahead, have every chance to find out just how far we have gone towards agreement and how far we have yet to go. We shall have, I believe, the best conditions in the Disarmament Commission's Sub-Committee for finding out in private what further abridgement of the gap may yet be attainable. We must allow sufficient time for those who have indicated they wish to do so to present their views to the Disarmament Commission. The members of the Sub-Committee will also need time to digest

several weeks of debate in which important and valuable suggestions were made by delegations which did not participate in the work of the Sub-Committee.

126. It is, however, the hope of my Government that there will be no needless delay in pressing on with the vital task the Assembly will, I hope, entrust to the Sub-Committee. The unanimous adoption of the procedure and general terms of reference of these talks will get them off on the right foot with the best possible chance of success in what is bound to be a very difficult and perhaps lengthy series of negotiations.

127. I am particularly glad that unanimity with regard to this draft resolution should have been achieved at this session of the General Assembly. In these days, when there is an uneasy feeling that the United Nations is too often being by-passed on important questions, it is some encouragement to know that in one corner of a big problem negotiations inside the United Nations have proved successful.

128. All of us now have a great opportunity to make a constructive contribution to the cause of peace. With great respect, I venture to say: let none of us fail to grasp this opportunity.

129. Mr. MOCH (France) (*translated from French*): As the end of the discussion approaches I cannot refrain from expressing the French delegation's deep satisfaction at the progress achieved. Mr. Guérin de Beaumont explained the reasons for our confidence during the general debate, when he was Chairman of the delegation. That confidence has now been justified.

130. Although I am an optimist by conviction, I felt called upon to point out in the Committee how many differences remained to be reconciled, how many obscurities there were to clear up and how much constructive effort would be needed before the experts could undertake detailed studies for a preliminary draft treaty. But without underestimating the length and difficulty of the stage still to come, we have every reason for satisfaction with the advances we have made these past five months after marking time for so many years. Remember what the situation was at the end of 1951, after six years of vain effort. After being established in 1946 the Atomic Energy Commission and its junior by one year, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, had both fallen asleep; the so-called Committee of Twelve set up in 1950 to revive them and co-ordinate their work had dealt only with procedural questions. In the autumn of 1951 there was reason to despair of ever making any real progress.

131. Two draft resolutions, one sponsored by the West and the other by the Soviet Union, reaffirmed the principles already advanced by one side and discarded by the other. No compromise seemed possible then. Thanks to the initiative of Pakistan, Syria, and Iraq, however, it was possible to renew contact between the four at Paris under the chairmanship of Mr. Padilla Nervo, the representative of Mexico, then President of the General Assembly. There was certainly no question of solving during the few weeks of the session the serious problems which had been left in suspense for so many years. But perhaps we at least got to know one another better, as well as agreeing to propose the replacement of the previous organs by a single new Disarmament Commission. This Commission has done useful work, especially from February to June 1952. I shall be forgiven if I do not review the various pro-

posals laid before it, but merely mention our suggestions of 24 June 1952, which were reiterated at the First Committee on 11 November 1953 and the principles of which reappear in the Franco-British plan submitted on 11 June 1954 to the London Sub-Committee, which had been established a short time before. That Sub-Committee also had before it the detailed and significant study of the establishment and functions of an international control organ prepared by the United States delegation. The Soviet Union delegation treated it less favourably than our plan, but since this analysis is a working paper—for such is its title—it should be submitted again for our consideration, and I have no doubt that we shall all find in it food for useful thought through which, as in the case of the other points still in dispute, our views will be brought closer together.

132. What progress has been made at our meetings since June! Four dates stand out. On 30 September 1954 our plan, which had been shelved in June, was re-adopted by Mr. Vyshinsky, the Soviet representative, as a basis of study. On 8 October Mr. Vyshinsky submitted a draft resolution in which some features of our plan were revived. As the Rapporteur of the First Committee has just pointed out, 22 October marked the encouraging end of the negotiations so ably and intelligently conducted on behalf of the Western Powers by the Canadian representative, Mr. Martin, who has just spoken. Thanks to his perseverance and to mutual goodwill, instead of two draft resolutions—the Western and the Soviet—only one was submitted over the five signatures of the members of the London Sub-Committee. This was a happy decision, for which there has been no precedent in the past eight years. Lastly, on 27 October the First Committee had before it a second text, this time purely procedural and likewise signed by the five, and adopted the main draft resolution by its first unanimous vote. This was the second new departure, likewise a fruitful one.

133. In welcoming this vote I may perhaps be allowed to express our regret at the absence of one who deserved to be with us on 27 October. Mr. Lloyd, who has been called to a higher ministerial post, had since 1951 placed his heart and mind at the service of the cause of disarmament. Our close and lasting co-operation had developed into a firm friendship which impels me to say at this point that, while physically far from us, he is in our thoughts at this moment, when a text in the drafting of which he played such a large part is about to be adopted.

134. In conclusion may I express the hope that our future work will be fruitful for two reasons. In the first place, instead of taking two divergent roads from the outset, we are for the first time going to follow, in the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee, a single path leading to a horizon on which a new dawn is breaking. That is how the members of the Commission will interpret the vote which is to be taken, doubtless again unanimously, by the sixty delegations here. Which of us, after this vote, could take the moral responsibility for preventing or delaying us from taking another step along the road thus laid out? The second reason is one of plain common sense. The progress of thermonuclear science exceeds in horror that of atomic science as much and more than the latter outdid the conventional methods of destroying human life. The cold war, like the armaments race, constantly threatens to develop into a real war, which would

become total war overnight and would virtually wipe out whole peoples. Thus the choice now open to statesmen can be summed up in three words appallingly heavy with meaning: disarm or perish. What reasoning being would dare to choose the second alternative?

135. While France does not enjoy the sad distinction of being alone in its mourning and destruction, it has nevertheless suffered more, from three wars at home in seventy-five years and others overseas, than many other nations. Almost three million of its sons have fallen on the battlefields of those wars or have died from their wounds—a proportion which each of you will assess by comparison with its population. Three times attacked and invaded during that period, France has seen exacted on its soil a toll of destruction which in the last war alone accounted for two whole years of its people's work, and the reconstruction after which is far from being complete. France makes no territorial claims. It wishes, without forgetting its martyrs, to extend a brotherly hand to every people which is resolved never to permit such horrors to be repeated. It wishes also to bind up those wounds which are still bleeding, to complete the rebuilding of its homes and to modernize its means of production. Hence, faithful to its traditional watchword, it ardently desires peace in freedom, that freedom whose principles it has spread throughout the world, in the equality of sovereign and independent nations and in the fraternity of peoples moved by the same desire to raise every man's standard of living and education.

136. In other words, as the faithful interpreter of the French Government's policy and the French people's will, which are at one on this issue, our delegation, which has already worked hard in the cause of peace, will take part in the Disarmament Commission's work with a firm intention, which has been intensified by the progress made here, of bringing that work to fruition as soon as possible by proposing and supporting the constructive measures required in the interests of peace and thus in the interests of all who share the common will to save civilization.

137. Mr. SANDLER (Sweden): The Swedish delegation wishes to make a few comments on the main draft resolution now before the Assembly. I may perhaps be permitted to do so in view of the fact that my delegation has not prolonged the lengthy debate in the First Committee by a single word—a silence which of course does not mean any lack of interest on our part in the disarmament question. Our interest is as active as it has always been since the twenties, the period of the Preparatory Commission and the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations and during all the years of renewed efforts in the United Nations.

138. Last year we presented our views in the First Committee at some length. In that intervention we stated our primary interest in those aspects of the disarmament problem which relate to the control of atomic energy. We also stated our preference for the establishment of ceilings for conventional armaments, without expressing any opinion with regard to the particular figures for such ceilings or to the mathematical method for arriving at agreed levels. Our attitude with regard to those matters remains unaltered.

139. Before the beginning of the debate in the First Committee new avenues to a fresh start had been opened up, first by the memorandum submitted by

France and the United Kingdom on 11 June 1954, and then by the acceptance by the Soviet Union of this memorandum as a basis for continued efforts. We have held the opinion that, after the necessary explanations had been given by the members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, the best course to take would be to refer the whole question back to the Sub-Committee in order that further negotiations could begin as soon as possible.

140. From the very beginning of the debate we have thus been in favour of the substance of the draft resolution submitted by Canada. As regards the revised draft co-sponsored by France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, we note, of course, with great hopes, like all other delegations, that all the members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission have joined in a common proposal.

141. As to the substance of the draft resolution, we regret that there is no direct reference to the fact that the Franco-British memorandum represents the common ground on which the Sub-Committee shall have to base further efforts. But a fact still remains a fact, whatever effect it may have. I should like furthermore to stress that we have never been in favour of excluding from discussion in the Sub-Committee any proposal concerning the powers and functions of the control machinery.

142. As far as we are concerned we have not yet been able to make up our minds about the United States working paper. At this stage I should like to make only one remark, which is that the dividing line between real sanctions and precautionary measures of a temporary character should be subjected to a further close examination. As a matter of fact, we would have found it impossible to accept any formula which would have excluded from further study—or could have been used to claim such exclusion—the United States working paper, together, of course, with the concrete proposals which I expect will be forthcoming from the Soviet Union or from other sources both inside and outside the Sub-Committee.

143. It is, moreover, important that the Sub-Committee should be free to examine such proposals relating to the powers and functions of the control organ as are designed to give that organ specific and wider powers when exercising its control of atomic energy, that is, wider powers than may be needed during the first stage of limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. The Sub-Committee will certainly also have to agree on what is in substance meant by the term "other weapons of mass destruction", which has been used year after year without having been properly defined, and to give its answer to the question: Is a control machinery designed for control of nuclear weapons apt to be used also in respect to such other weapons? We understand the joint draft resolution as empowering the Sub-Committee to take all such problems into account.

144. Before concluding, I wish to add a word of high appreciation for the negotiating skill shown by the delegation of Canada. This, I believe, will be a very valuable asset in the future negotiations, in which I would like to assume that Canada will continue to play a similar role, which, I am convinced, would be appreciated by the smaller Powers. I hope this will lead, if not at an early stage to a convention covering all aspects of the problems of disarmament, at least

to something more immediately possible, namely, a further lessening of tension, which may in due time have some *de facto* consequences of a most desirable nature with regard to the level of armaments. First of all, may it lead to a higher degree of security against a world disaster produced by nuclear weapons.

145. With these considerations in mind, my delegation willingly gives its contribution to what I assume will be a unanimous vote in favour of the five-Power draft resolution.

146. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I have only a few words to say about the draft resolutions which the First Committee has recommended to the General Assembly for adoption. Draft resolution A, which is now before the Assembly in document A/2779, was introduced in the First Committee in its original form by the Canadian delegation. As a consequence of private discussions, this draft resolution was amended and resubmitted in the name of all the five members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, a body which has come to be known by the name of the London Sub-Committee. It was adopted unanimously in the First Committee.

147. The unanimity between the five Powers on the terms of the draft resolution does not, I fear, mean that agreement on the basic problem of disarmament is now within easy or early reach. The debate in the First Committee showed that the proposals in the Soviet draft resolution diverged widely in a number of important respects from the Anglo-French proposals and other Western proposals. As I said in that Committee on 27 October, it will be no easy task to reconcile these divergencies.

148. Agreement on the problem of disarmament is by no means just around the corner, and I recall that Mr. Vyshinsky himself, on 22 October, said that our future path will be a stony one. But on the other hand, we have undoubtedly cause for sober satisfaction with the progress that has been made during the past few weeks. On 30 September [484th meeting], the Soviet representative submitted proposals which appeared to represent a shift away from a position which previously had been uncompromising. After years of apparently fruitless debate, there seemed to be a possibility of progress in the all-important field of disarmament with the tabling of the Western proposals of 11 June—the bold and imaginative Anglo-French proposals for a disarmament programme, which owe so much to Mr. Jules Moch and to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd—and with the Soviet acceptance of the Anglo-French proposals as a basis.

149. The Commission will have a great deal of work to do. The United Kingdom Government will of course make every effort to see that it receives the maximum support. We cannot, in all sincerity, make any forecast at this moment as to when the Commission will be able to report, since before the Sub-Committee can again get down to work and enter into the detailed discussion of the many and complex technical problems with which it must deal, some time must be allowed to elapse for the assessment of the position which has emerged from the debate in the First Committee. That debate was constructive, but these complex matters cannot be dealt with overnight. If the exchanges and discussions in the Sub-Committee are to bear the best fruit, we feel that careful consideration should be given to the various points which have

emerged. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will certainly need time to prepare comprehensive instructions for the United Kingdom representative in the Sub-Committee.

150. It is, however, an earnest of our sincerity of purpose that a Minister of the Crown will be the United Kingdom representative on the Sub-Committee. A further indication of our desire to assist is the offer, which still remains open, of London as a meeting place for the Sub-Committee.

151. My delegation, therefore, hopes that the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution unanimously, and so mark the beginning of this new phase of discussions of the problem of disarmament in such a way that we can tackle the problems in the best possible conditions. My delegation also hopes that draft resolution B, now before us, which refers the draft resolution of India to the Disarmament Commission for appropriate consideration, will be adopted unanimously. This will help the Disarmament Commission to consider the suggestions submitted by the representative of India.

152. My delegation also feels that it would be helpful if the Assembly were to adopt draft resolution C, so that the suggestions of the representatives of Australia and the Philippines might receive due consideration by the Disarmament Commission.

153. Mr. MENON (India): It is not my intention within the scope of an explanation of vote to enter into the merits of the problem before us or to repeat the arguments that we have put forward in the First Committee. It is necessary, however, to make one or two observations, particularly after hearing the statements of three of the five sponsors of the first five-Power draft resolution. I should like to remind them and the General Assembly that they sponsored two resolutions, not only one.

154. What is more, the representative of France, in referring to the draft resolution submitted by my delegation, expressly pointed out that its reference to the Disarmament Commission did not mean deferment or rejection, and that references were made to this fact in the course of the debate. I state this for a simple reason, namely that the resolution submitted by the delegation of India was only for the purpose of having the matters referred to therein considered by the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. It is not very encouraging to find that, even before the Sub-Committee has met, the sponsors appear to have found a rather set place in their minds on these matters.

155. There are two aspects of this question to which my delegation desires to draw special attention. First, two main suggestions are made here for the study of ways and means of establishing an "armament truce" pending agreement on a disarmament convention. My delegation has no illusions concerning the difficulties that surround this problem, but we believe that it merits study in view of the increased pace of technical advancements in armaments, particularly in the atomic and thermonuclear fields.

156. Therefore, we want to take this opportunity, in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, to place on record our earnest hope that the Sub-Committee will, in the spirit of the debate in the First Committee, give its serious attention to this question.

We also hope that it will give its serious attention to the suggestion set out in paragraph (b) that the Sub-Committee, when it begins its work, will adopt procedures for effective co-operation with other States and for the ascertainment of their views. As we stated in the debate in the First Committee, while the achievement of disarmament, or even the drafting of a convention likely to be approved, is not possible unless the great Powers co-operate and arrive at agreement, it is equally true that the existence or lack of a convention also affects all States of the world. It is necessary that geographical areas and various economic, political and national factors should be taken into account. We hope that the Disarmament Commission will give serious attention to making use of effective channels of communication and consultation in this way. This is not to suggest for a moment that the responsibility does not rest upon the Disarmament Commission to carry out the instructions of the General Assembly on the very good basis that has been achieved—the great achievement of this session, namely, agreement of the Powers principally concerned on a certain basis of discussion.

157. I want also to take this opportunity to say that there are certain other documents which the Disarmament Commission has before it. I refer to document DC/44, dated 8 April 1954, which forms part of the fourth report of the Disarmament Commission. This matter has recently acquired further significance. The document refers to the exploration of a way whereby those States which are in possession of atomic weapons—I do not suppose that we could call them atomic Powers—and those which are likely to have them would come to some sort of standstill agreement in regard to actual explosions. That was the purpose of the communication submitted to the Disarmament Commission by the Government of India last April. As I stated in the First Committee, the Disarmament Commission merely circulated the document; it gave it no study, and it formulated no conclusions.

158. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is reported to have told Parliament that an undue number of atomic and hydrogen explosions might have serious effects on the earth's atmosphere for about 5,000 years. We may not live for 5,000 years; but if the people who lived 5,000 years ago had tried to destroy the earth, perhaps we would not be here now.

159. At the same time two American scientists, Mr. David R. Inglis and Mr. James R. Arnold, writing in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*—I am taking only the current reports on these matters—urged international agreement to end all hydrogen bomb tests. Mr. Inglis stated that at present it was impossible for the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on disarmament, but that they might be able to agree to make the tests illegal. The chief value of such a plan, he said, would be to slow down the rate of development of new techniques of offence and allow the techniques of defence to come closer to catching up. Both Mr. Inglis and Mr. Arnold said that it was almost impossible to hold hydrogen bomb tests anywhere in the world without endangering civilian populations. Dr. Arnold told in detail of injuries suffered by those aboard Japanese fishing vessels during United States tests last spring, and added that the best solution would be to conduct the tests inside the United

States. Those are the statements of two American scientists.

160. The problem of bringing about a standstill in experiments is, to a certain extent, distinct from that of a disarmament convention; because we now have a general situation where, even though these weapons are not used for destructive purposes, injury can take place, we are told, that is of considerable extent in time and space, covering areas and periods which are not even ascertainable.

161. We therefore feel obliged to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Disarmament Commission to these matters. I hope that the members of the Disarmament Commission—and particularly the first sponsor of the resolution, the representative of Canada, for whose efforts we must all be grateful—will take into account the fact that the sponsorship relates equally to the other resolutions which contain suggestions of various kinds. As a decision has already been taken to circulate the records of the discussion that took place in the First Committee, it is not my intention to go into this matter in detail.

162. I should like to recall the observations made by the representative of France when he referred to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. Agreement was considerably assisted in the Committee by the clarifications that he was good enough to give and the constructive approach that he took to the debate. As a result, there is now a working agreement. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to take this opportunity to repeat what was said in the First Committee, namely that we have now reached an epochal state in regard to this problem and, indeed, in regard to the whole problem of international relations.

163. While we note that there are dangers and obstacles ahead and that real agreement has not been reached, the very fact that there is a common basis of agreement between those who have hitherto disagreed is a great advancement.

164. My delegation ventures to express the hope that the members of the Sub-Committee and, indeed, of the Disarmament Commission will not find themselves divided into two camps but will rather be engaged in a task of common exploration. If there are differences, they should be settled not by camps but on the merits of the ideas themselves.

165. Finally, I should like to quote once again—I think it bears repetition—the statement made on 19 October 1954 by the President of the United States:

“We have arrived at that point, my friends, when war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat. War would present to us only the alternative in degrees of destruction. There can be no truly successful outcome.”

Therefore, it is to the Disarmament Commission and to the work that we have entrusted to it that we look for finding ways where we will not be presented, and where the world will not be presented, with the alternative in degrees of destruction.

166. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): In these brief remarks I do not propose to go into the substance of the full and extremely valuable debate that was held in the First Committee on the subject of disarmament. I echo the satisfaction with which others have hailed the unanimity of the vote on these draft resolutions in the Committee, and also

the agreement achieved between the members of the so-called London Sub-Committee in sponsoring these resolutions. No less do I hail the unanimity with which these same Powers, and many other representatives of delegations, have openly recognized that we have a long and rocky road to travel. Anything less than this sober recognition of the realities would give poor service to the cause to which we are devoted. For our part, in voting for these draft resolutions today, we pledge our continued and constant efforts to achieve the common goal.

167. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should also like to say a few words about the draft resolutions which are submitted for the General Assembly's consideration. First of all, I should like to point out that the Soviet Union delegation attaches great importance, not only to the fact that the draft resolution was submitted by the five Powers, but also to the fact that it was adopted unanimously.

168. On the other hand, it seems to us that the importance of the draft resolution cannot be attributed solely to its procedural provisions. There are, of course, some procedural provisions in it, but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that it also contains some political provisions of very great importance.

169. Actually, if we take draft resolution A, which I hope will also be unanimously approved and become a General Assembly resolution, we shall see that it really consists of two aspects. If the substance of the draft resolution is to be considered from the point of view either of political content or of procedure, preference must of course be given to the former.

170. Paragraph 1 instructs the Disarmament Commission to make a further effort to reach agreement on some very important—indeed, extremely important—questions: that is, “on comprehensive and co-ordinated proposals to be embodied in a draft international disarmament convention”. Surely this is a political task, and a very important one.

171. What kind of questions are they which the Commission will have to settle and which will have to be reflected in the draft international convention? They are: first, a major reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces; secondly, the total prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction; thirdly, the establishment of an effective control organ to ensure the accurate and correct observance of the convention.

172. It would, I think, be futile to attempt to ascribe a purely procedural character to these instructions to the Disarmament Commission, which most probably will afterwards be passed on to the Sub-Committee again to be established by the Disarmament Commission. It is of course impossible to agree that the draft resolution is purely procedural. It is in the nature of specific political directives. That this draft resolution lays down directives, and is not merely procedural, is shown if we consider, for example, paragraphs 3 and 4, which propose that the Disarmament Commission should first reconvene the Sub-Committee, and, secondly, in due course report to the General Assembly on the progress of its work. The same is true if we consider paragraph 2 of the resolution, which instructs the Disarmament Commission to seek—I emphasize the word “seek”—an acceptable solution of the disarmament

problem. If that is borne in mind, it becomes quite clear that draft resolution A, submitted for the consideration and approval of the General Assembly today, is a resolution which contains instructions on how to work and on what lines to work in order to solve important political problems.

173. That is why from the very beginning of the discussion in the First Committee I maintained that, contrary to the opinion of some of our colleagues, this draft resolution cannot be regarded as only a procedural draft but rather one that has profound political significance.

174. My next observation relates to the difficulties to be overcome. There will of course be difficulties. There will be difficulties precisely because we are confronted with questions on which we have taken opposing attitudes for nine years. The difficulty will be to find the common ground on which to resolve these differences. It would therefore be a profound mistake to think that everything has already been done. The first step has been taken; it was an important step, a step which is of course of very great significance and perhaps it will be correct to say that it was a step of historic significance. But that is a matter for the future. Let us not indulge in prophecy just now.

175. There will be difficulties. But the difficulties must be overcome. At any rate, our delegation, and the Soviet Union as a whole, approaches the tasks which confront us from a "position of determination"—a determination really to seek an agreement acceptable to all parties, to all States, and in strict conformity with what we said earlier.

176. On a number of points, of course, the Soviet proposals differ from the proposals in the Franco-British memorandum of 11 June 1954. We do not say that we accept the Franco-British proposals in their present form. What we do say is that we base our proposals on provisions which in turn must form the basis of the future international convention. We take the proposals in that memorandum as a foundation; and we shall of course have to work very hard in order to put them in concrete form.

177. At the same time I cannot but associate myself with Sir Pierson Dixon's remarks to the effect that there is reason to be satisfied with what has already been done and to regard the future hopefully. Hopefully, because—as we have already said more than once—experience, and particularly recent experience, shows that negotiations between States give positive results if they are based on the idea that it is necessary to respect each other's point of view, to understand it aright and to seek to draw closer on a basis acceptable to each State. We profoundly believe in that.

178. I cannot but emphasize that the Soviet Union has already taken a number of steps to bring our positions closer to each other and to reconcile the different points of view on controversial questions. And we, of course, naturally and legitimately expect that the representatives of the Western Powers will on their side also take similar steps, steps which might ensure the achievement of a satisfactory agreement in our general interest.

179. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Are there any further speakers? As there are not, I

suggest that we should vote on the three draft resolutions, A, B and C, contained in the report of the First Committee (A/2779).

Draft resolution A was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 57 to 1, with no abstentions.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 56 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

180. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Some very interesting observations have been made this afternoon about the three draft resolutions we have just adopted. It may be, however, that some difficulty has been experienced in understanding the discussions we have just held, particularly by those who have been following our work from outside. Therefore I should like at this point to outline the significance of the resolutions just adopted. I do not want, of course, to interpret these resolutions in any way; my purpose is to emphasize the importance of the present moment.

181. Until now, the United Nations can hardly be said to have made real progress in the field of disarmament. Fortunately, today we may say that a step forward has been taken. Nobody knows, of course, what will be the results of the discussions to be held by virtue of the resolutions we have just adopted. But in addition to this uncertainty, there is one important point which is quite certain: that is that the possibility has now been opened to make progress in the field of disarmament. This, no more, no less, is the significance of these new resolutions.

AGENDA ITEM 19

Methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/2783)

Mr. Thorsing (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

182. Mr. THORSING (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee: The report before the General Assembly deals with agenda item 19, in accordance with which consideration was given by the First Committee to the third report [A/2713] of the Collective Measures Committee. This item could be disposed of fairly rapidly, although it refers to one of the guiding principles of the Charter of the United Nations—that of collective security—since so much ground has already been covered in the two previous reports by this Committee and in the discussions in the Assembly.

183. The recommendation which is now submitted to the General Assembly reflects this fact, while laying stress on the fundamental elements in the collective security organization of the Member States which, in the future, may require renewed consideration and investigation. It is thus proposed that the Collective Measures Committee should remain in a position to pursue such further studies as it may deem desirable and report only when and if it is found appropriate. The composition of the Collective Measures Committee would be the same as hitherto, since the experience gained by the present members will prove most useful

in facilitating the Committee's ability to decide if and what further studies should be undertaken.

184. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I thank the Rapporteur of the First Committee for his presentation of the report.

185. Does anyone wish me to open a discussion on this report under rule 68 of the rules of procedure?

186. In the absence of any proposal to that effect I would draw the Assembly's attention to the draft resolution which the First Committee recommends that we should adopt and which appears in its report.

187. Does any delegation wish to explain its vote?

188. As no one has asked to speak I shall put to the vote the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee [A/2783].

The draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 22

Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa

REPORTS OF THE AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/2784) AND THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2785)

189. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before inviting the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to present the Committee's report [A/2784], I should draw your attention to the Fifth Committee's report [A/2785], in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure. This report sets forth the financial implications of the draft resolution submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The text has been circulated to you for information.

190. As the Assembly has taken note of this report, I invite Mr. Derinsu, the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, to present the Committee's report.

Mr. Derinsu (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

191. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I thank the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

192. Does anyone want a discussion on this report, in accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly?

193. There appears to be no such desire. That being so I should like to know whether any delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution before us.

194. Mr. SMITH (United States of America): We are considering once again the problem of the treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa. It is a problem of great intrinsic difficulty, and for this reason I wish to express once again the appreciation of the United States Government for the efforts made by the Latin-American sponsors to develop a draft resolution which would receive the overwhelming support of the members of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. It is our earnest hope that the parties concerned will do their utmost to resolve the issue in the spirit of that draft resolution.

195. The United States delegation will vote in favour of the preamble of the draft resolution and of operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. We shall abstain on operative paragraphs 4 and 5 because, as we stated in the Committee, we have serious doubts that the suggestions contained therein can contribute to the over-all purpose of the draft resolution. The United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, since we are in full agreement with its conciliatory nature and, in particular, with the objective of direct negotiations between the parties which it seeks to bring about.

196. Our belief is that progress can come only to the extent that the parties are willing to confer and to negotiate. We are hopeful that the expression of the General Assembly consensus here can help to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations between the parties.

197. In conclusion, I wish to move, pursuant to rule 91 of the rules of procedure, that each paragraph of the draft resolution be put to the vote separately.

198. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The delegation of the Union of South Africa has also asked for a separate vote on each paragraph. I take it the South African representative has no objection to my putting the preamble to the vote as a whole. Therefore, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee [A/2784].

The preamble was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Paragraph 1 was adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 2 was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 46 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 43 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions.

Paragraph 5 was adopted by 43 votes to 3, with 10 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 45 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.

AGENDA ITEM 42

Report of the Negotiating Committee on Extra-Budgetary Funds (*concluded*)

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/2764)

199. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I wish to remind the Assembly of the resolution adopted at the last plenary meeting on the report of the Fifth Committee concerning the report [A/2730] of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds. Under that resolution the President was requested to appoint a Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, consisting of not more than ten members, with the same terms of reference as those laid down in resolution 693 (VII).

200. I should like to propose that the members who have made such an effective contribution to the Committee's work since the eighth session should be re-appointed. If the Assembly agrees, the Negotiating

Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, which is to remain in office until the end of the tenth session of the General Assembly, will accordingly consist of: Australia, Canada, Colombia, France, Lebanon, Paki-

stan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, and Uruguay.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.