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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BA (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the previous speakers at this rostrum in congratulating you, on behalf of the Government of Mali, on your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. I am all the more happy to discharge this pleasant duty since our two Governments maintain friendly relations within the Rome Treaty Organization,^{1/} whose commendable, if as yet inadequate, activities in favour of the developing countries show that the industrialized and the developing countries can engage in useful co-operation based on solidarity and respect for each other's sovereignty.

2. I am convinced, Mr. President, that with your high qualities as an experienced statesman and diplomat you will direct our work ably, firmly and fairly, in the interest of the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

3. I should also like to offer the congratulations and thanks of Mali to your predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, my close friend Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who had the unenviable privilege of presiding over one of the most difficult sessions of the Assembly, but who, because of his great qualities and the enormous confidence which he has always placed in the United Nations and in its unique responsibilities, was able to stand up to the defeatism of some and the will to destruction and the power complex of others, perils which beset the Organization during the last session. Our thanks also go to Secretary-General U Thant and to all those whose untiring efforts have made it possible to find a reasonable way out of the deliberately created difficulties which paralysed the work of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

^{1/} Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, signed on 25 March 1957.

4. The delegation of Mali is happy to note that common sense and our mutual will to continue to work together towards the realization of the lofty ideals of the Charter have enabled all parties to overcome their passions, national chauvinism and considerations of pride, so that the United Nations might continue to exist in the best interests of all mankind. We are convinced that this crisis and its consequences have demonstrated clearly enough not only that the United Nations survives, but also that its authority must be strengthened so that it can be more effective. We hope that each State has learned some useful lessons and that those States whose attitude and demands precipitated the crisis are now convinced that if it is not to be destroyed, the United Nations can no longer be used as the docile tool of any policy of domination.

5. We realize that the balance of forces within the Organization, resulting from the arrival of many newly independent nations, is not to everyone's liking. Certain great Powers, if not the majority of the founding Members of the United Nations, are tempted—either because of a "veteran's complex", or because they bear the financial burden of the Organization because of their responsibilities as highly developed countries or their claims to world leadership—to question the principle, which we hold to be fundamental, of the sovereign equality of States, which stipulates "one country, one vote". Everything leads us to believe that the new balance of forces, which some may find bothersome, will gather stability in the higher interest of the United Nations, which does not have the right to disappoint the aspirations of peoples. Nothing can alter that; subtle or not so subtle manoeuvres will avail as little as attempts to establish *de facto* directories, whose ambition it is to run the United Nations in defiance of the General Assembly and of the majority of members of the Security Council.

6. Just as the nineteenth session of the Assembly was marked by a general feeling of frustration, so the present session opened in an atmosphere of uncertainty and tension. The former centres of tension or rather of war—for we must call a spade a spade—have regrettably become revitalized, while certain areas where a precarious stability had existed have suddenly become the theatre of bloody and fratricidal conflicts.

7. The war in Viet-Nam has the full attention of my delegation which, at previous sessions, had the opportunity of expressing the views of the Government of the Republic of Mali regarding that unfortunate and unpopular war of imperialist aggression, imposed on the heroic people of Viet-Nam which for almost a quarter of a century has been fighting,

weapon in hand, for its national independence and unity. The situation which we have denounced still exists and has grown worse. Some have spoken of the need to defend what is in fact a puppet "State" in an attempt to justify the massacre of the innocent people of Viet-Nam and the destruction of the industrial installations which that industrious people, emerging from the colonial night after a brutal war, built up at the cost of enormous sacrifice.

8. The people of Viet-Nam form an indivisible national entity. The 1954 Geneva Agreements,^{2/} which ended hostilities in Indo-China, clearly stated that the situation established was transitional and that the Viet-Nameese people should be allowed freely to determine its own future in all respects. The allegation of aggression by the North, which some have put forward as justification for the war being waged against the Viet-Nameese people, convinces no one, because a people cannot be an aggressor against itself.

9. The Viet-Nameese people is carrying on a just struggle for liberation which must inevitably result in a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam. The oldest nations of Europe, which by their colonial policies contributed to the division of other peoples, did not themselves escape this phenomenon of struggles for liberation, independence and unity. The war of liberation in Viet-Nam is as just a war as the American War of Independence, as just as the Algerian war, as just as the war which the Cuban people waged against the Batista dictatorship, as just as all the wars which a number of African countries are at this moment waging against the tyranny of the Portuguese military and as just as the war of the peoples of Western and Eastern Europe against Hitler. That is the truth, and in the words which Mark Twain gives to Satan speaking in a tribunal composed of the Creator and the Archangels: "Your Eminences, let us stop this little game of hide-and-seek and speak frankly."

10. Referring to the Viet-Nameese conflict, Secretary-General U Thant states in the introduction to his annual report:

"I remain as fully convinced as ever that total victory or total defeat for one side or the other is out of the question and that military action cannot bring peace and restore stability to the area."
[A/6001/Add.1, sect. XII.]

Later in the report, the Secretary-General states:

"The conflict engages not only the lives of the soldiers and civilians who are caught up in the present fighting. It threatens also to affect the peace of the world and the fate of all mankind. It must be stopped." [Ibid.]

11. The delegation of Mali shares the Secretary-General's opinion. The continuation of the foreign military intervention in Viet-Nam is an aberration. It is a macabre and highly dangerous game which can lead to a world catastrophe. In our opinion, the States Members of the United Nations must work not towards direct intervention by the Organization in settling the

conflict, but towards vigorous and continued action for the strict application of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, as the first stage in the settlement of this conflict. To that end, the Government of Mali unreservedly supports the four-point plan which has been proposed by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and which has the full agreement of the National Liberation Front. This plan represents the wisest solution and also the least damaging to the dignity of the two parties to the conflict so long as we remain convinced that no military solution can be achieved. The whole history of mankind teaches us that there can be no military victory over a people which has risen up in arms to repel an outrageous attack on its soil, its independence and its sovereignty.

12. The recent armed conflict between two brother States, India and Pakistan, is one of the manifestations of the instability of the present international situation. We fully appreciate the cease-fire obtained through the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Security Council. Recent violations of that cease-fire show that further steps must be taken to settle this distressing conflict, in which members of the same families sometimes find themselves on opposite sides. We believe that the United Nations will need great courage and clarity of mind to resolve it. Here as elsewhere, strict compliance with the principles of the Charter and with United Nations resolutions will prevent us from engaging in a finicking diplomatic policy of short-lived compromise which side-steps real solutions and leaves latent hotbeds of tension that are bound to flare up again.

13. The Government of the Republic of Mali is more than ever convinced that the United Nations, despite all its efforts, will not be able to restore peace in Asia as long as it ignores the largest State in Asia, which is also the largest State in the world, with more than 600 million inhabitants. I am referring, of course, to the People's Republic of China. In the present circumstances, no one would dream of trying to settle any questions in the American continent without the participation of the United States or to settle European problems without the participation of the USSR, France, the United Kingdom or Germany. We believe that the time has come for the United Nations to cast off its illusions and to face up with realism to the actual situations which make up the world of today. All Member States are convinced that no lasting progress can be made in great international questions such as the maintenance of peace and disarmament, without the participation of the People's Republic of China. We must therefore take this fact into account and we must not lose sight of the interests and objectives of the United Nations. All the legitimate rights of the Government of the People's Republic of China must be restored to it without delay in the United Nations. Mali is convinced that the authority of the United Nations, already impaired by various crises, will not be re-established as long as one-fourth of mankind is, by devious means, kept out of the Organization. It is because of this conviction that Mali and ten other States requested the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of a separate item entitled

^{2/} Agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

"Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" (item 102) [see A/5971 and Add.1 and 2].

14. The opponents of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations have hurled numerous charges against that country. For our part, we continue to believe that those charges are not only groundless, but are a provocative and diversionary manoeuvre contrary to the best interests of the United Nations and the international community. In this campaign of defamation against the People's Republic of China, some have even gone so far as to invent an alleged problem called the "Question of Tibet". The delegation of Mali will speak on this matter in due course, but I should like to say here and now that the question of Tibet is a non-existent problem. Tibet is an autonomous region of the great People's Republic of China. The Tibetans are citizens with the same rights as all other inhabitants of the People's Republic of China, and that is certainly not the case for certain citizens of certain countries which have requested or encouraged the inclusion in the agenda of the so-called question of Tibet [item 91]. The delegations which requested the inclusion of this question [see A/5931] have clearly, in violation of Article 2 (7) of the Charter, been guilty of interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China. Consciously or unconsciously, they have been responsible for introducing elements of the cold war into this twentieth session of the General Assembly.

15. These delegations have spoken about alleged violations of human rights in Tibet. We deny these slanderous charges against the Government of the People's Republic of China, which has succeeded in carrying out a great national, democratic and popular revolution in that vast country. The Malian delegation also holds that it is neither proper nor in keeping with the interests and prestige of the United Nations to accuse one who is absent. Common sense and the higher interests of mankind require, on the contrary, that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, a founding Member of the United Nations, should be restored. That, in our view, is the only just and efficacious solution.

16. The delegations which have referred to supposed violations of human rights in Tibet know where human rights are really violated or disregarded. Nearly twenty years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African people of South Africa are still subjected to the shameful system of apartheid by that country's white minority. The people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea (Bissau) are still under the odious system of Portuguese colonialism, which is nothing but a subtle form of slavery, while the people of Southern Rhodesia are under the despotic rule of a white settler minority.

17. Vile accusations similar to those now being brought against China were also levelled, not long ago, against certain socialist countries of Eastern Europe, even within the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Only the vigorous stand taken by the African and Asian countries and progressive countries generally was able to frustrate these imperialist-inspired schemes of systematic denigration. The

united action of peace-loving and progressive peoples has prevailed over these slanderous and diversionary manoeuvres. It is against the background of this victory by the anti-imperialist forces that we salute today the election as Chairman of the most important committee of the General Assembly of the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic, a country which was for a long time disdained and ostracized by the imperialist countries.

18. My country must also denounce the monstrous accusations regarding the supposed intentions of Mali and certain other African countries now being made in the paid Press and in imperialist circles that specialize in slandering African and Asian nations. It has been asserted that certain African countries, including my own, have been serving as bases for the penetration of Chinese influence into Africa, because, in the framework of Mali's foreign policy of non-alignment and its desire to co-operate with all countries of the world without discrimination, it maintains diplomatic relations and ties of friendly co-operation with the People's Republic of China, as do also, in fact, certain countries of the capitalist West. Mali co-operates with the People's Republic of China on the same terms as with all countries which respect its independence and national sovereignty and which propose to assist it in emerging from its state of under-development.

19. Everyone knows that my country, which had a glorious history in Africa at a time when countries which now play leading roles on the international scene were colonies, is jealous of its independence. Everyone knows what immense sacrifices Mali, a land-locked country, has made to defend its sovereignty and dignity against the champions of neo-colonialism and how resolutely and stubbornly it has resisted their attempts to fetter it with gilded chains. Everyone knows that in Mali the policy of non-alignment is no mere balancing act, but a living reality. Naturally, non-alignment is not to the taste of some who thirst for domination and hegemony. In Mali, we are not afraid to co-operate with the Chinese, whose technicians are deeply respectful of our people, show every sign of courtesy, discretion and dignity and have never attempted to interfere in our domestic affairs—something that cannot be said of many other foreign technical assistance experts.

20. Mali did not throw off the colonial yoke after twenty years of struggle by its great party, the Sudanese Union RDA (Rassemblement démocratique africain), under the courageous and clear-sighted leadership of President Modibo Keita, in order now to submit to humiliation at the hands of any country. Moreover, we do not believe that the Chinese, any more than the other socialist nations dream of ever possessing colonies. Their idea of a new life built on the ruins of feudalism and colonialism is contrary to any such ambition. We only wish that other countries which pride themselves on their freedom would bring themselves to treat us with the same regard and maintain the same co-operative relations with us on a basis of solidarity, equality and mutual respect. The country of Soundiata—for those who know their history—of Lamdo-Dioulbé, Biton Coulibaly, Dâ-Monzon,

Babemba and Sékou Amadou is not for sale. Mali is a small, peaceful country, a poor country, to be sure, whose people have opted for the building of a new life. It is successfully carrying out its national, democratic and popular revolution. It has chosen socialism, and it intends to co-operate with all the countries of the world on a basis of mutual respect and sovereignty. Those countries which agree to co-operate on that basis are welcome in Mali, and they include the great People's Republic of China.

21. It is, once again, the intolerable superiority complex of certain Powers which leads them to accept co-operation between European and other industrial Powers and People's China, but which keeps them from having sufficient confidence in the African countries, which, they think, might surrender their sovereignty as a result of indoctrination or bribery. Mali, conscious of its sovereignty and its African and international responsibilities, does not accept this frequently uttered gross insult and, with all due respect, Mr. President, I must say that Mali has nothing but contempt for neo-colonialist charges of this kind.

22. My Government believes that interference in the domestic affairs of States is at the root of most conflicts, present and potential, between States. It supports the USSR Government's draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and on the protection of their independence and sovereignty [see A/5977].

23. The Government and people of the Republic of Mali believe that the most urgent task of the United Nations is the liquidation of colonialism and of apartheid. After the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)), the General Assembly established a Special Committee on the implementation of that Declaration.^{3/} It also established a Special Committee on the policies of apartheid.^{4/} These Committees have made praiseworthy efforts. Since their establishment they have met almost continuously. They have submitted resolutions and reports to the General Assembly and to the Security Council. But to our great indignation, the reactionary Governments of Portugal and South Africa have ignored all the resolutions, including those of the Security Council. The white settler government of Southern Rhodesia makes ill-timed threats of unilaterally proclaiming the Territory's independence. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom Government, as administering Power in Southern Rhodesia, is content with warning the government of Mr. Ian Smith, threatening it merely with economic sanctions. There is every reason to believe that the accommodating attitude of the United Kingdom may encourage Ian Smith's racist government to proclaim Southern Rhodesia's independence unilaterally, once it is assured, as it virtually is, of the support of the Portuguese and South African Governments. While demonstrating a censurable readiness to accommodate Southern Rhodesia's white settlers, an attitude fraught with dangers for all of Africa, the United

Kingdom Government, even as it proclaims its desire for decolonization, does not hesitate, after cruelly repressing the liberation movement in Aden, to suspend the Constitution of that Territory, thereby creating an explosive situation which may well set ablaze the entire South Arabian region.

24. With regard to the problem of decolonization, the delegation of Mali believes that the period of gathering information is now over. After four years of existence, the Special Committee has examined the situation in almost all the colonial Territories. We believe that the General Assembly must demand that the Special Committee should be enabled to establish contact with the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to determine with them dates for their accession to independence. All Member States should be invited to co-operate with the Special Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council, so that the wishes of the peoples under foreign domination may be respected and their interests safeguarded. In our view, the United Nations must do everything in its power so as not to disappoint the hopes aroused in the peoples under colonial domination by the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the establishment of the Special Committee.

25. Speaking of decolonization, I am pleased to offer the congratulations of the Government of Mali to the new States of the Gambia, Singapore, and the Maldives Islands on their accession to independence and their admission to the United Nations. I should like to assure their representatives here of the readiness of the Mali delegation to co-operate with them in working to achieve the objectives of the United Nations.

26. As we have already stated, the Government of Mali is ready, as part of its policy of non-alignment, to co-operate with all States which respect its national sovereignty and comply with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

27. I should like to express the Malian Government's concern over the dangers to which the arms race is exposing mankind. We note with regret that no significant progress has been made by the Disarmament Commission, despite its numerous meetings and the numerous proposals which have been put before it during the past two years. There has, of course, been the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water,^{5/} there has also been the establishment of the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow. But these two achievements are clearly inadequate in the light of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples, who are demanding to be set free from the haunting fear of nuclear or thermonuclear war. As long as hotbeds of tension exist and States clash in armed conflict, the temptation to use nuclear weapons to gain a speedy victory for reasons of prestige is a very real danger for the whole of mankind.

28. The Government of Mali, which is profoundly aware of this danger, supports the plan to convene a world disarmament conference,^{6/} but here, too,

^{3/} Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

^{4/} Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

^{5/} Treaty signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

^{6/} See Official Documents of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

no one should be under any illusion that the convening of the conference is sufficient in itself to resolve all the problems relating to general and complete disarmament. We believe that of necessity such a conference can be successful only if all the countries of the world, including the People's Republic of China, Indonesia and all the countries deliberately kept out of the United Nations, are invited, for unless there is a world round-table without any discrimination, it will be impossible to apply to absent countries resolutions and decisions which will have been worked out without their co-operation and which will not have obtained their agreement.

29. Similarly, the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be resolved as long as the ostracism of certain Powers, members of the so-called atomic club, keeps countries which possess the atom bomb or are capable of producing it, out of the United Nations. If the United Nations fails to tackle these urgent international questions promptly and realistically, the world, owing to our apathy and lack of determination, might have a most unhappy future.

30. As a developing country, and in addition a landlocked one, the Republic of Mali ardently desires the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international co-operation in every sphere. We took part in the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development^{7/} and we hope that this new organization will be a factor for genuine solidarity in trade and development. The Government of Mali greatly appreciates United Nations technical assistance, because the basic problem for developing countries is that they must strive to overcome under-development in order to build up an independent national economy.

31. Before concluding my statement, I should like to express the profound concern of the Government of the Republic of Mali over the grave threats to world peace which are seriously affecting the vigour and effectiveness of the Organization. Of these threats, I shall recall only the following: the intensification of the war in Viet-Nam, the conflict between India and Pakistan, the explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and South Africa; the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations; the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations; and the menaces of withdrawal from or boycott of the United Nations made recently by certain States.

32. In this period of tension and uncertainty, I wish to reaffirm the Malian Government's faith in and devotion to the United Nations, and to express the hope that Member States will spare no effort to restore the authority and prestige of the Organization, which has become necessary to both large and small States.

33. We place our trust in the United Nations because the principles set out in its Charter are universally applicable and are an expression of humanism at its purest. We believe that strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter by all Member States, large and small, highly industrialized and poor, is a sine qua non for the survival of the United Nations. The

United Nations must no longer allow anyone to ignore the fundamental principles which led us all, as sovereign nations, to join it: it must not play favourites.

34. A further condition for survival of the United Nations is for Member States to address themselves with the utmost urgency to a fundamental reorganization of its structure, in order to adapt it to present world conditions. The United Nations must be brought up to date; it must oppose the manoeuvres of all those who would like to disregard the profound changes which have occurred in the world since 1945. Only this fundamental reorganization of its structure will enable the Organization to regain its prestige and to oppose the activities of certain great Powers, so-called founder Members, which dream of setting up a directory, as it were, where compromises which they wish to impose upon the majority of Members would be worked out.

35. The third condition for strengthening the authority of the United Nations is and must be that the principles of the Charter are inviolable; they must be applied not only to all, but in full measure. We must not tolerate that the application of these principles should depend on whether or not they suit a given Power or group of Powers. The principle of self-determination and of the right of peoples to decide on their own destiny, for instance, should be applied in all cases. The right of self-determination is a fundamental right of peoples. The United Nations must be able to apply it on every occasion, and not when it suits one Power or another. In the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere, this indefeasible and inalienable right of peoples must be applied and the majority must not be allowed at any time to be oppressed by a minority of white usurpers. This is what will give the United Nations a truly indisputable authority.

36. The failure to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is an injustice which does serious harm to the United Nations itself. The Organization must speedily face up to its responsibilities in this regard so that justice may be done in the interest of peace.

37. Peaceful settlement of international disputes must be a guiding principle, to be fully heeded by Member States.

38. Finally, when interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and aggression have been formally prohibited, and when Member States unanimously crush interference and aggression on every occasion, no matter which Power has committed them, the United Nations will have become a powerful instrument for the defence of international peace and security.

39. All countries which cherish peace and justice, which support fraternal co-operation between peoples without any discrimination whatsoever, and which are determined to defend unflinchingly the strengthening of the United Nations and the recovery of its authority, can be assured of the fullest understanding and a most determined collaboration from the Government of the Republic of Mali.

40. Mr. HAKIM (Lebanon): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Government and

^{7/} Conference held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

delegation of Lebanon, to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Italy and Lebanon are bound together by long-standing ties of friendship and history. The waters of the Mediterranean which wash the shores of both our countries have witnessed the common endeavours of our peoples for human progress over the last 3,000 years. Both our countries have participated in the great movements of men, and of ideas, in search of a community of interests and cultures that could serve as a true basis for peace and a better world order. The quest for peace now takes place on a universal scale. Following the great traditions of your country and people, you are eminently qualified to preside over this Assembly of nations. I am confident that your well-known experience and capacity and the high qualities of leadership you have shown in your own Government will contribute greatly to the success of our deliberations.

41. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation and that of my delegation for the valuable contributions which my friend and colleague Ghana's Foreign Minister, Alex Quaison-Sackey, made as President of the nineteenth session, in a period of crisis for the United Nations. His capable leadership and patient efforts were crowned with success in the decision to resume normal procedures in the Assembly. In spite of the abnormal situation prevailing at our last session, Mr. Quaison-Sackey's presidency will always be remembered as a landmark in the history of our Organization.

42. The United Nations is twenty years old. This is a time for stock-taking. It is also a time for self-examination and soul-searching by those of us who have been closely associated with the world Organization as well as by leaders of Member States who bear the heavy burden of responsibility for its future performance.

43. The United Nations has had its successes and failures during the last twenty years. I will not attempt to draw up a balance-sheet of the credits and debits of its activities. I will simply indicate briefly the highlights of its impact on world affairs so as to draw conclusions and lessons which may be of help in the improvement of its future work.

44. The most important successes of our Organization were achieved in the field of decolonization. The principles and provisions of the Charter furnished a powerful basis for debate and action, giving the needed impetus to the historical transition of many countries from colonial rule to independence. The necessity of eliminating all forms of colonialism was given eloquent expression by the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. Under United Nations prodding, guidance and assistance, a rapid and far-reaching change has taken place on the international scene with the emergence of the new nations of Africa and Asia as independent and sovereign States which are now Members of our Organization. I take this opportunity to express a hearty welcome to the three latest of them: the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands.

45. Some might say that colonialism was crumbling in our post-war world and the national liberation movement was destined to succeed with or without action taken to give effect to the principles and provisions of the Charter. That is quite true, for the revolutionary forces could not be defeated and the rising tide of national freedom from colonial rule could not be stemmed. But the contribution of our world Organization remains immense. For, acting as the midwife of history, the United Nations facilitated the birth of new nations so that their emergence to independent life was accomplished with less violence and suffering than might have been the case.

46. The influence of the new nations on our Organization has been profound. Some fifty States Members of the United Nations were not independent in 1945, when the Charter was signed in San Francisco. Their accession to sovereignty and their admission to United Nations membership have changed the character of our Organization. The African and Asian States now constitute more than half its membership. This has brought about a new balance of power and influence in United Nations affairs. No longer can it be said that the world Organization is dominated by one great Power or group of Powers. It has become truly universal and now reflects the diversity of cultures and peoples that inhabit our planet. The stage has been reached and set for genuine international co-operation among sovereign States on a basis of equality and mutual respect, with a view to building a peaceful and progressive world order.

47. But the task of the United Nations in eliminating colonial rule is not yet completed. Colonialism is not yet altogether dead and buried. There are still several territories in Africa, Asia and Latin America whose peoples are struggling for their right to self-determination and independence.

48. In Africa, the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea should be granted their independence without delay. Likewise, the territories of Aden, Southern Arabia and Oman, where the struggle for self-determination goes on unabated, must be freed from the shackles of colonialism. The Lebanese delegation strongly deplores the recent action of the United Kingdom in suspending the Constitution of Aden. This action flouts the authority of the General Assembly as expressed in its resolution 1949 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This resolution recommended that the people of Aden "should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination with regard to their future, the exercise of that right to take the form of a consultation of the whole population, to be held as soon as possible on the basis of universal adult suffrage". It also called on the administering Power, *inter alia*, "to repeal all the laws which restrict public freedoms" and "to cease forthwith all repressive action against the people of the Territory". Not only has the United Kingdom Government failed to implement the provisions of this resolution, but by its recent action it has done the exact opposite, by abolishing constitutional government and abrogating the political and legal rights of the people of Aden.

49. The delegation of Lebanon will continue to give its full support to the Special Committee which is charged

with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in its efforts to achieve the objective proclaimed in that resolution, namely, "bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

50. However, the success of the United Nations in furthering the political liberation of peoples has not been matched with similar success in the promotion of economic and social liberation from the bondage of poverty, ignorance and disease. Political emancipation is not enough. It must be followed by economic independence in order to produce its full fruits in well-being for the people as a whole. In spite of the valiant efforts of the United Nations in the field of technical assistance and preinvestment, the impact on the under-developed world has been very slight.

51. While we have always appreciated and supported the services of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, we have always insisted that these services, useful as far as they go, are woefully inadequate. Together with other developing countries, we have called for greater United Nations responsibilities and participation in the greatest enterprise of our time, which is the global co-operative effort to raise living standards of peoples everywhere. This must be essentially a United Nations effort undertaken in the interests of all nations, whatever their wealth, their stage of development, their size or their economic and social system. The wealthy industrialized nations have failed to respond to our call.

52. The United Nations has been excluded from the field of capital and financial assistance to the developing world. The developed countries have rejected the projects, unanimously supported by the developing countries, of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development or the United Nations Capital Development Fund, as it was later designated. They have not heeded the appeal repeatedly made to channel more economic aid through the United Nations or other agencies and thus to make that aid more multi-lateral and less bilateral. They have done nothing to correct the patterns of trade, which have been detrimental to the exporters of primary commodities and have resulted in a steady deterioration of the terms of trade of the developing countries. Dozens of resolutions unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on trade and development have received scant attention from the Governments of the industrialized countries and have remained unimplemented. The United Nations Development Decade is now halfway through—but little, if any, progress has been made in the fulfilment of its targets. As a result, there is increasing frustration of the high hopes entertained when it was first proclaimed.

53. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, of which I had the privilege of serving as Rapporteur, represented a landmark in international co-operation in the interests of world economic development. It was a new beginning, a stepping-stone in the difficult climb to the higher ground of an interdependent, mutually profitable and prosperous economic association of the developed and developing world. Last December, an otherwise paralysed General Assembly found harmony and unanimity in its decision to establish the United

Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organ of the General Assembly and to endow it with its own machinery and an independent secretariat [resolution 1995 (XIX)]. It remains to be seen how well the Conference will be able to accomplish its task. For it must succeed if division and conflict between rich and poor nations is to be avoided and if international economic co-operation conducive to world prosperity and peace is to prevail.

54. The United Nations must lay the solid foundations for a durable peace. It is not sufficiently recognized, though the proposition is often repeated, that the causes of war lie in social and economic discontent leading to despair and enmity. The wars of our time are nothing but the surface manifestations of deeper revolutionary forces erupting into violent conflict, internal as well as international.

55. In our time the line between civil and international war cannot always be easily drawn. The one infringes on and merges into the other. For the peoples of the under-developed world have been aroused and their imagination fired with the prospect of a better life. They have nothing to lose but their misery and they will rise against national or foreign obstacles to their progress towards a life of decency and human dignity. The peoples of the developing countries demand justice and an equal chance to live as human beings.

56. One of the greatest failures of the United Nations is the denial of justice to the Arabs of Palestine. This failure is all the more deplorable as the United Nations itself must bear the major responsibility for the injustice done to this people. Contrary to the principles and provisions of the Charter, the General Assembly took the unprecedented decision on 29 November 1947 [resolution 181 (II)] to partition the country against the wishes of the majority of its peoples. Countries have been partitioned as a result of war or by agreement between the parties representing the opposing sections of the population; but the United Nations ignored the rights of the Arabs of Palestine, who constituted two-thirds of the population, and divided the country into an Arab and a Jewish State, ignoring the principles of the Charter, foremost among which is the principle of self-determination of peoples.

57. The far-reaching consequences of this tragic blunder are still with us and will continue to disturb the peace and stability of the Middle East until justice is restored. The United Nations, the world Organization charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, thus wilfully created a situation which constitutes a permanent threat to the peace and security not only of the Middle East, but of the world as a whole.

58. The origins of the Palestine tragedy go back to the First World War, when an unholy alliance was formed between Zionism and Western imperialism which found its expression in the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917. Zionism planned to establish a Jewish State in Palestine and Western imperialism sought to create a bridgehead and a base for the colonial domination of the Arab world, with its strategic geographic location and its rich oil and other resources.

59. It is perhaps difficult for an Arab to be objective when speaking of Palestine, but I shall try to be as objective as possible on this emotion-charged problem by giving first the basic facts.

60. In 1918, at the end of the First World War, the territory now called Israel was inhabited by a population which was 93 per cent Arab and 7 per cent Jewish. Today it has a population which is 90 per cent Jewish and 10 per cent Arab. What an amazing transformation! In 1947, when the United Nations adopted its fateful resolution on the partition of Palestine, the country was still two-thirds Arab and one-third Jewish in population. In 1948, one year after that tragic decision, most of the Arabs, who included 45 per cent of the population of the so-called Jewish State, terrorized by the armed forces of Zionism, were expelled from their homeland and became refugees living in misery on the territories of the neighbouring Arab States.

61. Today, seventeen years after the creation of Israel, the Arab refugees continue to languish in their wretched camps dependent on United Nations charity administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), of 11 December 1948, and repeatedly reaffirmed since that date, has not been implemented. That paragraph states:

"... that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible".

62. Could anyone expect the Arab world of one hundred million people to accept this grave injustice done to their Palestine Arab brothers and to submit to the presence of an aggressive expansionist Zionist base in the heart of the Arab homeland? Could anyone expect the Arabs of Palestine to give up their ancestral homeland and submit to the fait accompli of Zionist armed force? Such expectations can be called only naïve wishful thinking.

63. The Arabs of Palestine have fought for their rights to self-determination and independence in their own homeland ever since the diabolical Zionist imperialist conspiracy was hatched during the First World War. Under the leadership of their Palestine Liberation Organization, and supported by the whole Arab world, they will continue to fight against imperialism and racist Zionism and for their right of self-determination in their usurped homeland. If there is ever to be peace and stability in the Middle East, the United Nations must shoulder boldly its responsibility of undoing the grave injury and injustice inflicted on the Arabs of Palestine and re-establishing the conditions of a just and peaceful settlement essential to the economic and social advancement of the peoples of that important area of the world.

64. Another failure of the United Nations is disarmament—an understandable failure in view of the complexity of the problem. It may be said that disarmament is the business of the Great Powers, and disarmament negotiations have been conducted outside the United Nations. But the responsibility of the United Nations is unquestionable. For twenty years, debates on this subject have been held in the General Assembly, and many resolutions have been adopted. The only measure of disarmament achieved is the partial test-ban Treaty signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963, which banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. It is a valuable measure as far as it goes, but it has neither arrested nor reversed the nuclear arms race, and it is still to be extended to underground testing. The Treaty is in itself a very important first step and it was hoped that further steps would follow from the negotiations conducted in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. In particular, the necessity of preventing the dissemination of nuclear weapons is a matter of top priority. Unfortunately, no progress has been made yet in this field. My delegation recognizes the dangers of proliferation and the need for limiting the membership of the so-called "nuclear club" to the five nuclear Powers which, not surprisingly, are the original permanent members of the Security Council. But we have to admit that the concept of a "club" does not really apply, since its members have not agreed among themselves on any rules to regulate their conduct.

65. The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has the full support of my delegation and Government for the valuable negotiations and technical work it is carrying out. But we have the impression that the Eighteen-Nation Committee has a tendency, which is perhaps natural, to get bogged down in technical details and lose sight of the urgency of achieving the broad objectives of disarmament. It tends to fix its sights on the individual trees and neglect the broad view of the forest of disarmament. Let us not forget also that the absence of France and the People's Republic of China puts definite limitations on the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

66. For this reason, my Government joined in the unanimous adoption of the proposal to hold a world disarmament conference by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cairo in October 1964. The Lebanese delegation whole-heartedly supported the recommendation adopted by the Disarmament Commission in June of this year for the convening of a disarmament conference to which all States would be invited.^{8/} We hope that the General Assembly will approve this recommendation and that the conference will be held under favourable conditions to give new vigour and direction to the disarmament negotiations with a view to achieving steady progress on general and complete disarmament.

67. We feel strongly that this is the most urgent and important task of the United Nations. Unless disarmament—and, in particular, nuclear disarmament—is carried out, there can be no stable and

^{8/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

endurable peace. The mad arms race must not only be arrested, but also reversed, by a peace race on the road to a disarmed and peaceful world. The great Powers say that they must arm to defend their national security. But has the arms race accomplished this purpose? On the contrary, the continued accumulation and development of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the whole world have reduced their national security and have placed in ever greater mortal danger their very existence as nations and the survival of the human race.

68. Moreover, it is the height of folly to maintain the present incredibly high rate of expenditure on armaments. The immense resources which continue to be wasted on piling up weapons of mass destruction should be devoted to economic and social development in the interest of all mankind. If these resources are so devoted, the wonderful achievements of science and technology can quickly transform the world. Age-old poverty can at last be conquered, and a better life of decency and dignity can be assured for all peoples everywhere.

69. We have watched with fascination and admiration the glorious exploits of the Soviet Union and the United States in the exploration and conquest of outer space. A new space age has begun which will bring great benefits to all mankind. We will continue to applaud the achievements of the two space Powers as long as they keep their promise to explore and use outer space for peaceful purposes only.

70. The United Nations has had both success and failure in its peace-keeping operations during the past twenty years. The constitutional and political controversy over the application of Article 19 of the Charter should not blind us to the fact that peace-keeping is an essential function and responsibility of our world Organization. We all recognize that the Security Council has primary responsibility in this field, but the effectiveness of the Council in fulfilling this responsibility depends on the unanimity of its permanent members. Much could be done by the Council in carrying out this essential task in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. But it must be recognized that the Charter did not foresee all the situations which might call for peace-keeping operations in our changing world. It must also be recognized that the unanimity of the permanent members of the Council cannot always be achieved. Should the United Nations then fold its arms and remain passive and impotent while international peace is threatened or disturbed? Should it allow small or limited wars to go on, running the risk of their escalation to more general and destructive conflagrations?

71. Together with other small countries that must depend for their security on the effective discharge by the United Nations of its responsibility for peace-keeping, Lebanon believes that the General Assembly must exercise its authority under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. If the Security Council fails to act, the Assembly has the power to recommend measures both to the Council and to the Member States to take whatever action may be needed, individually or collectively, to keep the peace. No nation, whether it be a great or a small Power, has the right to prevent the undertaking and

financing of peace-keeping operations by the General Assembly. The Security of small countries is at stake. For, unlike the great Powers, they must depend on the United Nations for help if they become victims of aggression. My delegation does not favour the application of sanctions to those Member States which might, for valid reasons, refuse to participate in collective action for keeping the peace. But we expect those Member States not to block or prevent peace-keeping operations undertaken by the General Assembly to defend and protect its weaker members from aggression. We view with sympathy, therefore, the consideration of the item inscribed on the agenda of our present session on this subject, and welcome the initiative taken by the Irish delegation in submitting a proposal for discussion [see A/5966/Rev.2].

72. Where does the United Nations stand in our troubled world on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the coming into force of the Charter which we will be celebrating soon? The Security Council deserves our gratitude for the cease-fire, however uneasy it may be, which it has brought about between India and Pakistan, thus putting an end to the fratricidal armed conflict between two of the most respected nations of the Afro-Asian world. This is a triumph which augurs well for the future effectiveness of our Organization in performing its task of the maintenance of peace in the world. I wish to record on behalf of the Lebanese delegation a special tribute to Secretary-General U Thant for his contribution in achieving acceptance of the cease-fire by the two parties. As a friend of both India and Pakistan, Lebanon would urge them to prevent outside forces from dividing them and to settle their dispute over Kashmir peacefully, in accordance with the principles and decisions of the United Nations.

73. On the other hand, the war goes on in Viet-Nam, continuing to wreak havoc and devastation and death and suffering on a country and people who have not known peace for a quarter of a century. We in the United Nations watch their agony with a sense of frustration that our Organization is unable to assist them in re-establishing peace and the conditions under which they could exercise their right of self-determination and shape their own destiny without outside intervention.

74. We are gratified that the crisis of the nineteenth session has been overcome and that the General Assembly has resumed its normal procedures and is beginning the present session with new vigour and hope. In spite of the lamentations of the prophets of doom, the United Nations is alive with a new spirit of responsibility for the great tasks that await it in its future work. We look forward with enthusiasm to the visit next Monday of His Holiness Pope Paul VI whose faith in the United Nations and the brotherhood of man has prompted him to make this arduous one-day pilgrimage in the cause of peace. The Holy Father's address to our Assembly should be the occasion of a new dedication on the part of all nations to the high principles and purposes of our Charter: peace, economic and social progress and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

75. At the age of twenty the United Nations, though still young, has shown evidence of surprising maturity.

It is not too young for wise self-examination and self-criticism and not too old to learn from its mistakes, to reform its methods and to venture on new and more imaginative roads in the attainment of the purposes of the Charter.

76. One thing is certain in the view of my delegation. There is no substitute for the United Nations as an instrument of peace and economic and social progress. If it had not existed, it would have had to be created. It provides us with the tools with which to fashion a more peaceful and a more prosperous future for mankind.

77. The United Nations is no better and no worse than its Member States and can achieve no more than they want it to achieve. If they seek to use it for the attainment of selfish national interests and aims, it will fail to accomplish the noble task for which it was created. Such failure in our present dangerous world would be disastrous for individual nations as well as for humanity as a whole. There is no alternative to peace in our nuclear age. The path of war would lead to the destruction of human civilization. We must, therefore, abandon the pursuit of selfish national interests and purposes and co-operate loyally in the achievement of the common purposes of mankind. These are embodied for us in the Charter. We must dedicate ourselves anew in this twentieth year of our United Nations to the cause of peace and the construction of a better world for all mankind.

78. Mr. ISIK (Turkey) (translated from French): Mr. President, on behalf of the Turkish Government and myself, may I offer you our heartiest congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. At this time, so full of dangers for world peace, we are convinced that, with your outstanding qualities as a statesman, your wide experience of international problems and your devotion to the cause of international peace and co-operation, you will make a very valuable contribution to the work of the Assembly. Your election is also a well-deserved tribute to your country, Italy, which is a friend of Turkey, and is noted for its efforts to secure greater understanding between all peoples.

79. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute also to H.E. Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, whose exceptional qualities enabled him successfully to carry out the arduous task of overcoming the difficulties of a particularly dangerous period in the history of the Organization.

80. I am particularly pleased to welcome, on behalf of the Turkish people and Government, those countries which have recently joined the United Nations family. The Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore are the latest representatives in our Organization of the independence movement of peoples throughout the world, a movement which my country is proud to have been one of the first to promote. Turkey warmly welcomes the accession of colonial peoples to independence and unreservedly supports all United Nations efforts in this direction.

81. Guided by this attitude, we condemn not only colonialism in all its forms, but also racial dis-

crimination and apartheid, as incompatible with the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and as prejudicial to the maintenance of peace. This happy evolution towards the complete ending of colonialism is likely to strengthen still further the moral influence of the United Nations, which is so necessary for the maintenance of the peace upon which the future of mankind ultimately depends.

82. The Charter remains the source of all our hopes and the symbol of all mankind's noble ideals of peace, an international society founded on justice and freedom, the preservation of human rights and human dignity, and economic and social development to ensure a decent standard of living for all peoples. It embodies the deepest aspirations of mankind, and the principles which it proclaims represent the criteria by which the actions of all countries, large and small, are judged by world public opinion. Besides this moral force, it should be emphasized that, on the practical level, it is due to the untiring efforts of the United Nations that international co-operation in many spheres has today become a reality. The Organization has also contributed to the settlement of many disputes; it has played a constructive and effective role, not only in the emancipation of colonial peoples, but also in helping their countries to overcome the many difficulties of the first stage of independence.

83. Above all, the United Nations has been of great service in the field of peace-keeping operations, by organizing United Nations forces or observation missions, which have helped to prevent a worsening of international conflicts and to establish a more favourable climate for peaceful initiatives to secure settlement of disputes. At a time when local conflicts are tending to proliferate and thereby to promote chain reactions which could lead to a general conflagration, this function of the United Nations must be strengthened and organized on a realistic basis. Of course, we look forward eagerly to the day when it will be possible to establish a permanent United Nations force under Article 43 of the Charter, thereby ending the arms race and unilateral recourse to the use of force. But we are still far from that goal, and in the meantime more limited peace-keeping efforts must not be neglected.

84. If we are to continue peace-keeping operations effectively, we must take all aspects into account in settling this problem. First, we must settle the still unresolved question of financing. Secondly, we must define more accurately the respective prerogatives of the General Assembly and the Security Council in this field. Thirdly, the administrative, technical and financial procedures for such operations must be worked out. We are grateful to the delegation of Ireland for the draft resolution [see A/5966/Rev.2] which it has submitted to the Assembly, and we hope that that draft will lead to a fruitful exchange of views, enabling substantial progress to be made on this question.

85. In the same context, the problem of the peaceful settlement of disputes is of vital importance. Unfortunately, in a number of cases we see countries resorting to force in order to settle disputes, and this

state of affairs imperils peace, not only between the countries directly involved but throughout the whole world. An effective system for settling existing or future conflicts by peaceful means has become an urgent and imperative necessity. As long as such a system is not set up, and the procedure and institutions for settling conflicts is not established, the danger of resort to force and to war will not have finally passed. Turkey has always favoured the establishment of an adequate system for peaceful settlement of international disputes. It even proposed, at the San Francisco Conference in 1945,^{9/} the institution of compulsory jurisdiction by the International Court of Justice in international conflicts. We believe that an effective system for the solution of conflicts by peaceful means would be the only way of preventing disputes from deteriorating into armed confrontations, with all the dangers which they may involve for world peace. This question has been included in the agenda of the Assembly [item 99] and the Turkish delegation will not fail to make its contribution to the discussion of the matter, which it considers vital for the maintenance of international peace and harmony.

86. These comments on the need to establish a system for the peaceful settlement of disputes leads us logically to a review of recent serious developments, which make a study of the Organization's activities in this field more and more urgent. One of the most tragic conflicts at present afflicting the world is the Indo-Pakistan dispute, which has dealt a further serious blow to the already shaky peace of the Asian continent. Turkey has from the outset given its full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Security Council to bring about a cease-fire, and we note with satisfaction that those efforts have resulted in an ending of the bloodshed.

87. However, the cease-fire which has been achieved, and which we hope will be respected, is not in itself an adequate long-term solution, because the situation will remain explosive as long as the essence of this conflict is not resolved. India and Pakistan bear heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in their region and throughout the world.

88. That is why we believe that these two great Asian countries should realize their obligation to seek at all costs a just and fair solution to this conflict, which has so gravely prejudiced their relations for eighteen years and which has led them to the brink of war. In their efforts to resolve this conflict which divides them, they will clearly have the full support of all peace-loving countries. The Kashmir dispute must be solved through negotiations, taking into account the resolutions of the Security Council on this question.

89. Another conflagration in the same part of Asia is threatening world peace. The fighting in Viet-Nam, which has been going on for years, has taken on the dimensions of a real and increasingly destructive war, which the world is watching with anguish. It is quite clear that there can be no military solution to the conflict and that the continuation of hostilities can only increase the sufferings of the Viet-Namese people, who have not known peace for more than twenty years.

It is also clear that the military confrontation is likely to escalate still further, thereby increasing the risk of a general conflict. The only way to stop this tragic course of events would be to start negotiations between the countries concerned without further delay, on the basis of the 1954 Agreements, in order to put an end to this dangerous war and to create conditions in which the people of Viet-Nam can again find peace and have confidence in their own future.

90. I should like also to refer briefly to a European problem which, although it does not appear on our agenda, is of vital importance for the consolidation of peace and the application of the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. I refer to the problem of the reunification of Germany, which has remained unsolved since the end of the Second World War. We feel that the German people's profound yearning for national unity is legitimate and that their exercise of the right freely to express their wishes will assist in strengthening peace in Europe.

91. Other problems have remained unsolved for many years. Among them is the question of Palestine, which has a human as well as a political aspect and, by its continuation, seriously threatens stability and tranquillity in the Middle East. The extremely serious events which have recently occurred in certain regions of the world have proved that time does not bring an end to conflicts. The solution of this problem is the more imperative since it involves the fate of over a million refugees, whose precarious and tragic situation continues to be a source of deep concern. This question must be solved according to the principles of law and of justice.

92. The agenda of this twentieth session of the General Assembly again includes the question of Cyprus because, despite Turkey's efforts to solve this conflict by peaceful means, it has proved impossible to arrive at a settlement. This dispute continues to threaten peace and stability in our region and is still a constant source of human suffering. Almost two years have elapsed since the tragic events of December 1963. I do not want to engage here in accusation or recrimination, because I am still convinced that the discussion of this serious conflict must take place in as calm an atmosphere as possible in order to facilitate an objective examination of the problem and encourage all the parties concerned to redouble their efforts to end a situation that is distressing and even explosive.

93. This being my position, and taking into account the fact that the question of Cyprus is to be examined in detail in the First Committee, I shall content myself here with describing this painful problem in broad outline and as briefly as possible. I should like to stress the fact that the conflict, apart from its political aspect, has a human aspect that must never be forgotten. For two years an entire community has been eking out a precarious existence in anguish and misery. The reports which the Secretary-General of the United Nations has submitted to the Security Council describe in all their tragic scope the sufferings which the Turkish community in Cyprus has had to endure.

94. These reports confirm the fact that more than 3,000 houses belonging to Turks have been either

^{9/} United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

totally or partially destroyed, that more than 200 Turks have been taken as hostages and that there is no longer any hope for their lives, that 25,000 Turks have been forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge in other areas in order to ensure their safety, and that 25,000 others have been deprived of all sources of income. Fifty-six thousand persons, or almost half the Turkish population of Cyprus, have thus suffered directly the disastrous consequences of this painful conflict, have been deprived of all means of subsistence and have been stripped of their property and their goods. This shows how important it is that a solution be found to this dispute, not only to prevent a worsening of the political conflict, but also to put an end to a human tragedy that can no longer continue.

95. In considering the question of Cyprus, I think we must first of all endeavour carefully to examine all the elements of the problem.

96. In the first place, we must remember that this is not the first time the problem of Cyprus has been discussed by the General Assembly. The matter was discussed repeatedly between 1954 and 1958, when Cyprus was still a British colony. At that time, the Greek Government sought the application of the principle of self-determination, not in order to ensure the granting of independence to the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but simply to secure the annexation of the island to Greece. That claim took no account of the historical and geographical ties between Turkey and Cyprus, or of the existence on the island of two communities each of which refused to submit to the other. Turkey, on the other hand, considered that equitable application of the principle of self-determination should also take into account the aspirations of the Turkish Cypriots and their concern for security vis-à-vis the Greek community, which had repeatedly expressed deep hostility towards them, and that the question could not be solved outside the context of Turkish-Greek relations.

97. Confronted with these two opposing views, the General Assembly recommended in 1956 [resolution 1013 (XI)], and again in 1958 [resolution 1287 (XIII)], that a solution to the conflict be found through negotiation among all the parties concerned. Therefore, we must first of all remember that the General Assembly has already made a careful study of this problem and has recommended all the parties concerned to seek a peaceful, democratic and just solution by negotiation. This recommendation thus rejected the argument that the question of Cyprus could be settled by taking into account only the desires of the Greek community on the island.

98. The Turkish and Greek Governments, aware of their responsibilities and guided by the resolutions of the United Nations, co-operated with the two communities on the island and with the Government of the United Kingdom with a view to reaching a final settlement of the conflict. The arrangement agreed on provided for the creation of an independent State of Cyprus endowed with a Constitution that took also into account the special situation in Cyprus, namely, the existence of two distinct national communities. The Constitution granted communal autonomy to

both groups and equitable participation in the administration of the island. The balance established between the two communities merely legalized a situation which had existed for four centuries; the Turks and the Greeks had always carried on a separate existence in the island and had enjoyed substantial autonomy in their communal affairs, regardless of the sovereign Power in the island.

99. The independence of Cyprus based upon the principle of co-administration by the two communities constituted a solution in keeping with the principles of self-determination and justice, and with the need to preserve harmony and understanding between Turks and Greeks both in the island and throughout the Mediterranean, and thus permitted the two communities to coexist peacefully on the island and to co-operate in its administration. Furthermore, that arrangement excluded both enosis and partition, and gave birth to the Republic of Cyprus as an independent State.

100. Secondly, we must take into account the resolution [186 (1964)] adopted on 4 March 1964 by the Security Council, which still has the question of Cyprus before it.

101. I should like to take this opportunity of reiterating my Government's thanks to Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Sweden, which have placed military contingents at the disposal of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, to Austria, Australia and New Zealand, for their police units, and to all those, more numerous still, that have contributed to the financing of the Force.

102. It is thanks to the United Nations Force that the lives of thousands of men, women and children have been saved. However, the presence of the Force has not prevented extremely serious acts committed against the Turkish community in violation of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964. In order to perpetrate these acts, an enormously expanded military force was set up, despite the Security Council resolution I have just mentioned. Furthermore, it was stated repeatedly and unequivocally that these forces were intended to ensure the union of Cyprus with Greece, not peace on the island. The presence of these forces has always constituted a threat and an instrument for intimidation of the Turkish community. Recourse to force was preferred to the path of negotiation and understanding. The Greek Cypriots have always done everything in their power to destroy constitutional order in Cyprus.

103. The recent move by the Greek administration of Cyprus to extend the mandate of the President of the Republic and of Parliament and to amend the electoral law was likewise inspired by a determination to win by force at all costs and to repudiate the understanding. It is clear that this last attempt was also intended to substitute *faits accomplis* for legality. The Turkish Government found itself obliged to request an immediate meeting of the Security Council in order to draw the Council's attention to the grave dangers inherent in this new challenge to treaties and to the resolutions of the Council. The Security Council, after lengthy deliberations, adopted a resolution [207 (1965)] based essentially on the report of the

Secretary-General,^{10/} which indicated that the Greek Cypriot action had increased tension in Cyprus.

104. The Council therefore invited all parties to avoid any action likely to worsen the situation. We hope that this resolution will be scrupulously respected and that the Greek Cypriots will refrain from again resorting to any such action, which can only reduce still further the chances of settling the dispute by peaceful means.

105. Another basic element in the question of Cyprus is respect for contractual obligations; these can be changed by negotiation and only with the agreement of all the parties concerned. This principle lies at the very root of international relations and is mentioned in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. It is also included, I may recall, among the ten Bandung principles.^{11/} As a Member of the United Nations having assumed all the obligations of the Charter, and also pursuant to the rules of international law, it is clear that Cyprus must scrupulously respect its commitments. Turkey has said nothing to suggest that treaties may not be modified. But it is obvious that treaties must be respected until such time as they are modified by an agreement among all the contracting parties.

106. In advancing their argument that Cyprus is free to repudiate the treaties and to unite with Greece, the Greek Cypriots invoke the principle of self-determination. But this argument is simply a distortion of a noble principle. The Cypriot people, that is to say the Turkish and Greek communities, have already made use of their right of self-determination, and it is because of and following the exercise of that right that Cyprus gained its independence. The two communities were free to opt for either one of two alternatives: they could either choose to be attached to their respective mother countries, or they could decide to co-operate in the administration of the island and, in that case, to choose independence. They made the latter choice. The principle of self-determination is now being cynically invoked for the sole benefit of the Greek community in order to justify enosis and the disintegration of an independent State, contrary to the aspirations of the entire Turkish community.

107. The Greek Cypriots have long been careful in international forums, knowing that the policy of annexation did not command the approval and support they desired, to avoid using the word "enosis" in open meetings, and have made every effort to create the impression that what they wanted was independence without the contractual obligations which they had assumed vis-à-vis the co-signatories of the treaties governing the status of Cyprus. But in Cyprus itself the Greek Cypriot leaders were reiterating more and more categorically that enosis was a sacred mission and that everything possible would be done to achieve it.

108. Today, seeing that their goal of enosis can no longer be disguised and that this ambivalent language

is beginning to damage their own position, the Greek Cypriots no longer hesitate, as we have seen at recent meetings of the Security Council, to admit openly that their objective is nothing other than enosis. What is difficult to understand in their attitude is their failure to realize that one cannot make use of a principle in order to destroy that same principle. Furthermore, it is inadmissible that the Turkish community, which chose independence, should now be forced by the mere will of the Greek community to participate in the attempt to destroy that independence.

109. The position of the Turkish Government on the question of Cyprus is clear. It is based upon equity, justice and law. That Government resolutely opposes any attempt to solve the problem by recourse to faits accomplis or to force; it fully supports the principle of respect for international commitments and therefore considers that treaties cannot be modified except with the approval of all the parties concerned—which, incidentally, is in full conformity with the principles of the Charter and the rules of international law. The Turkish Government has at no time considered depriving the other parties concerned, particularly the Greek Cypriot community, of their contractual and legitimate rights; but it also has a responsibility to protect the constitutional and legitimate rights of the Turkish community. Its main concern is entente, on the island, between the two communities and entente, in the Eastern Mediterranean, between Turkey and Greece. Entente on the island cannot be brought about by one community's domination of the other, or by putting an end to the island's independence and annexing it to another State. Today, as in the past, we are convinced of the need to settle this question by negotiation and by an agreement between the parties, and not by faits accomplis or by violence.

110. Consequently, we welcomed with satisfaction the opening of preliminary talks between Turkey and Greece on the problem of Cyprus. In my Government's opinion, the object of these talks is to facilitate the search for a solution which would be acceptable to all the parties concerned. We earnestly hope that the discussions which will take place at the United Nations on the question of Cyprus will be constructive and will pave the way for a negotiated settlement. Such a settlement is indispensable for the maintenance of a genuine and lasting peace on the island and in the region.

111. The problem of disarmament, which the Assembly is to discuss this year in the light of the meetings of the Disarmament Commission, and the question of adoption of effective measures within the framework of the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security are problems still outstanding whose solution is essential for the well-being of mankind as a whole. During the years in which the United Nations has been dealing with these problems, no appreciable progress has been made and we have witnessed instead a race to acquire both nuclear and conventional weapons. It may, unfortunately, be true that recent international developments have affected the atmosphere of détente and the present state of tension cannot be regarded as very conducive to constructive

^{10/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965, document S/6569 and Corr.1.

^{11/} Principles contained in the Declaration adopted by the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

discussions of disarmament. That is no justification, however, for abandoning our efforts in this important field. Whatever the nature of the obstacles in our path, we must persist unrelentingly in our efforts for, with the advances being made in military technology and the boundless growth in the destructive power of weapons, only general and complete disarmament, accompanied by measures to guarantee the security of all countries, can save present and future generations from an unprecedented disaster.

112. For this reason, any programme of general and complete disarmament must be balanced, must cover both nuclear and conventional weapons and must involve successive stages and a system of effective international control. A disarmament plan which does not have all these features would, in our opinion, be likely to create a dangerous disequilibrium, which, instead of serving the cause of peace, would gravely jeopardize it by exposing us all to incalculable risks.

113. Along these same lines we must study collateral disarmament measures. These are extremely valuable because they gradually pave the way towards general disarmament, help reduce international tension, and, if they are well conceived, may halt and even reverse the arms race.

114. In this context, the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons naturally assumes importance and we hope that the discussions begun on this question in the Disarmament Committee^{12/} will culminate in an agreement. This measure cannot be considered in isolation, however. It must be accompanied by parallel measures which will make it really possible to stop the arms race and bring about a reduction in armaments. A non-proliferation treaty would be meaningless if the nuclear Powers continue to increase their atomic stockpiles and if the non-nuclear countries alone undertake not to acquire or produce these weapons. A non-proliferation treaty should therefore be supplemented by the accession of all countries to the partial test-ban treaty, by the complete prohibition of all nuclear tests—including underground tests, by the freezing of the production of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, and by a reduction of existing stocks. Moreover, we must remember that nuclear disarmament measures will not be sufficient so long as no progress has been made towards the reduction of the conventional weapons which exist in the arsenals of every country. National security is endangered both by the accumulation of conventional weapons and by that of nuclear weapons. The present conflicts have in fact arisen mainly from the use of conventional weapons.

115. All these questions are on the agenda of the Disarmament Committee, which, in view of the technical and detailed nature of the problem, we really regard as the appropriate organ for holding useful discussions on the various aspects of disarmament. The Disarmament Commission has adopted a resolution inviting the Assembly to study the question of convening a world disarmament conference.^{13/} We voted in favour of that resolution because we feel

that the Assembly should explore every possibility of giving a new impetus to the work of disarmament. Such a conference would obviously have to be very carefully prepared, however, if it is to make a genuine contribution to the process of disarmament.

116. At the last session, we informed the General Assembly of the efforts made by Turkey to develop its relations with all countries of the world in order to contribute to the greatest possible extent to the strengthening of international understanding and harmony on the widest possible scale. One of the fundamental principles to which we adhere in our foreign policy is that of maintaining good relations with all our neighbours on the basis of mutual confidence and respect, equality of rights and non-interference in domestic affairs, developing our co-operation with them and avoiding situations likely to create tension and conflicts in our region. This being our attitude, we are pleased at the development of our relations with all our neighbours.

117. We believe that we have established genuine good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. Our relations with the Balkan countries have also developed very satisfactorily.

118. Relations between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan continue to be marked by sincere friendship and our joint efforts in the sphere of regional co-operation for development have reached the practical stage. Our relations with the Arab States, for which we have deep feelings of friendship and cordiality, have become increasingly close and we are pleased to note that conditions are conducive to an increase in our co-operation with those countries in all fields.

119. May I now briefly touch on the economic activities of the United Nations.

120. Our present session is taking place at a time when the first five years of the United Nations Development Decade have already elapsed. Undoubtedly, the efforts made by the United Nations and its related organizations, as well as by the Member States, for the achievement of the objectives of the Decade are most praiseworthy. However, we must agree that the results obtained so far are not commensurate with our hopes. It appears that the great majority of the developing countries will not have achieved by 1970 the rate of economic growth planned for the Decade. Furthermore, the volume of capital provided for the developing countries has declined. Finally, it must be noted that the external debt of the developing countries is increasing rapidly.

121. The activities of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have, of course, been an important and constructive element in the Decade. This new international machinery, the legal status of which was defined in General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX), has been extremely effective in spite of its brief existence. The Trade and Development Board, the main organ of the Conference, has already held two sessions. The four main Committees of the Board and their numerous subsidiary bodies have already been set up.

122. During the last session of the Trade and Development Board substantial progress was made

^{12/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, convened at Geneva.

^{13/} See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965*, document DC/224.

in the implementation of the recommendations of the Conference. Turkey, as a developing country, attaches great importance to this and is ready to carry out the tasks which may be incumbent upon it.

123. Realizing that economic and social progress depend primarily upon self-help, Turkey is determined to use all its national resources and to avail of all its possibilities in order to further its development.

124. To conclude this part of my statement, I would like to pay a tribute to the United Nations family of organizations for its unceasing efforts to help in solving the problems confronting the developing countries. In particular, I would like to mention the programmes of technical co-operation that are so valuable in ensuring a rational and maximum utilization of available resources.

125. We are meeting at a critical moment in world development, at a moment when all men are anxiously wondering whether the scourge of war, which has reappeared in certain regions of the world, is going to spread and engulf the whole world in an unprecedented catastrophe. The United Nations symbolizes the ideal of a just and durable peace and it is the task of our Organization to seek every means of avoiding such a catastrophe and of rekindling in us hope for the future. We are convinced that the Organization will not fail.

126. I would not like to leave the rostrum without expressing our profound gratification at the forthcoming visit to the United Nations of His Holiness Pope Paul VI.

127. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): On this, the first occasion on which I address the present session of the General Assembly, I should like, Mr. President, to reiterate on behalf of my delegation our warm congratulations on your election to the Presidency. These congratulations have already been conveyed to you by the distinguished representative of France in the name of all members of the group of Western European countries.

128. The personal qualities which so eminently fit you for this high office are well known. And the nation you represent has made an unparalleled contribution over two millennia to world civilization—a contribution not confined to the development of public institutions, to the concept of freedom and to culture in all its forms, but one which embraces also the spiritual field. My country, which has had close ties with yours during more than fifteen hundred years, is particularly happy that such a distinguished member of the Italian Government should preside over this session—a session which will have the historic honour of being addressed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose actions and pronouncements recall so strikingly the solicitous concern of his beloved predecessor, Pope John XXIII, for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

129. I should like also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Foreign Minister of Ghana. As you well said in your opening statement, Mr. President, his conduct of a very difficult session showed a happy combination of abnegation and wisdom.

130. In addition, I wish to join with previous speakers in expressing again the satisfaction of my delegation at the admission to the United Nations of three new Member States. We warmly welcome the entry of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands, and Singapore, whose presence will, we have no doubt, add to the vigour and effectiveness of the Organization. We wish their Governments all success in their work for their peoples.

131. I desire now to offer my best thanks to the delegations which supported the inscription on the agenda for this session of the subject entitled "The authorization and financing of future peace-keeping operations". The purpose of the Irish delegation in seeking an early discussion and decisions on this matter is the urgent need to restore an effective peace-keeping capability to the United Nations. Like many other delegations, we feel very keenly that this Organization should always be in a position to fulfil its primary purpose, which, under Article 1 of the Charter, is to maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures to that end. We consider, therefore, that if a small State under threat of aggression urgently seeks assistance from the Security Council and fails to obtain it through lack of unanimity among its five permanent members, the Assembly in these circumstances should be able promptly to recommend the establishment of a peace-keeping force. At the same time, and having regard to the way in which the peace-keeping authority of the Organization has been undermined by the financial veto, we deem it essential that, when the Assembly—through the failure of the Security Council—is obliged to have recourse to peace-keeping measures, the conditions should be such as to ensure that its recommendation rests on the broadest possible foundation and that the financial requirements for effective implementation are fully covered. We would thus have the assurance that any peace-keeping operation initiated by the General Assembly would be both firmly established and reliably financed, and that we could carry out our word and our promised assistance to a State when it turned to the United Nations instead of elsewhere for the help it needed.

132. We are, of course, aware that the Committee of Thirty-Three ^{14/} may be asked by this session to continue its study of the organization of peace-keeping operations. We believe that in that case the Committee is entitled, in order not to waste time on conjecture as to how the Assembly would decide upon various proposals, to know definitely and beyond any shadow of doubt how the Assembly stands upon these two basic questions: the method of authorizing, and the method of financing, future peace-keeping operations.

133. Before dealing with our proposals [A/5966/Rev.2] I wish to refute the suggestion that the Irish delegation introduced them for the purpose of undermining the special position of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The records of the United Nations for many years past contain full and adequate proof to the contrary. Indeed, I had occasion, on 8 December last [1295th meeting], during the general debate at the nineteenth session, to say something on this subject.

^{14/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

134. As representatives may recall, I argued on that occasion that, while we might all be inclined from time to time to cavil at the right of veto possessed by the permanent members of the Security Council, we should accept "the present division of power and responsibility between them and the other members as a realistic division and a reasonable compromise in the circumstances of the world today". [1295th meeting, para. 21.]

135. I went on to suggest that it would be well if the ancient nation of Taiwan were admitted in its own right to the Assembly, and that subsequently the Peking Government took the China seat in the Security Council, provided it accepted to be bound by the principles of the Charter and were warned that it would be open to criticism if it did not desist from imperialist expansion in Tibet, India and elsewhere. If this solution of the representation of Taiwan and China in the United Nations were accepted, the five nuclear Powers would thus occupy the seats of the five permanent members of the Security Council. And if, following this solution of the question of representation in the Security Council, an agreement against the further dissemination of nuclear weapons were concluded—and the Irish delegation has done its best for the last seven years to have such an agreement negotiated—then the five permanent members would not only retain their special Charter powers—which we are said to be trying to undermine—but in addition they would be ceded the monopoly of nuclear weapons.

136. My delegation has, of course, never pretended that we regard as ideal arrangements to last for all time either the present division of power in the United Nations or the existence of nuclear weapons under the independent control of their owners. But we live in a far from ideal world. And if we were to spend our time and energy in abortive attempts to amend the Charter, and were to fail to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons without delay, the outlook for mankind would indeed be grim. Whether we all like it or not, the United Nations will be compelled, the Irish delegation is convinced, to win or lose the struggle for peace in our time, and perhaps in the time of our children, within the four walls of the Charter as it exists today and in a world in which nuclear weapons are in the hands of at least five Powers. But, so that the other 112 Members can carry out the duties imposed upon each of us in Article 1 of the Charter to take effective collective measures for the maintenance of peace, we must not let our Charter rights be filched from us. We must, I submit, stand firmly by the rights given to us in the Charter which are the counterpart of the obligations which we have assumed.

137. Since the United Nations Charter was adopted in San Francisco twenty years ago there have been revolutionary changes in the dimensions and in the number of problems with which the United Nations has to cope. Some of the changes which should be noted are:

In 1945, there were 51 Members of the United Nations; today there are 117. And all of the other 112 Members have the same interest, and the same moral obligation, as the five permanent members of the Security Council to save their

own peoples and the world from the scourge of war.

In 1945, the five permanent members of the Security Council held one seat in ten in the Assembly, were in military occupation of a great part of the world and could intervene unilaterally to keep the peace without risking more than a local military defeat.

Today the range and power of nuclear weapons systems and the delicacy of the strategic balance have reduced the area in which a permanent Member can intervene to keep the peace without risking a holocaust of its own people.

Today, in many sensitive areas, it is only the non-nuclear States in a United Nations force, carrying no threat of a change in the strategic balance between the nuclear Powers, which can with acceptable risk intervene to keep the peace.

The Charter was completed and signed three weeks before the first atomic explosion took place. Today there are five nuclear Powers; two of them have large stocks of nuclear weapons and near instantaneous intercontinental delivery systems, and some other States have the technical capacity to produce nuclear weapons.

Since 1945, some permanent members of the Security Council, instead of constantly striving to prevent aggression and to build a reliable system of collective security, as they pledged themselves to do when they signed the Charter, have on occasions been guilty of aggression and condoning aggression, and of fomenting armed conflicts.

In 1945, the five permanent members claimed the right to one veto—when they cast a negative vote in the Security Council. Today some of them are attempting, in defiance of the Charter, to assert a right to a second veto—a veto upon Assembly assessments for peace-keeping.

138. I have asked the Assembly to note some of the changes which have occurred since the Charter was adopted, not for the purpose of fostering an attempt to amend the Charter or of fomenting recrimination. My purpose was rather to plead with the Assembly to face the situation without rancour but with our eyes open, and to emphasize that some permanent members of the Security Council are attempting to exceed their Charter rights and that, while they have not made war upon one another, they have not steadfastly united in compliance with the Charter to keep peace between other States.

139. In the opinion of my delegation, what is needed essentially is not an amendment of the Charter but the active promotion of the principles and purposes of the Charter by all 117 Member States. What is needed is a firm determination by the five permanent members of the Security Council, and by the other 112 Members of the United Nations as well, to eschew the use of force in pursuit of individual national aims. What is needed is a practical combination of the resources of all the Members of the United Nations to keep the peace. But what is most urgently needed is that, when the five disagree, a majority of the Assembly should be able firmly to authorize and reliably to finance a peace-keeping operation in response to an appeal for assist-

ance to the United Nations by a small State in danger of aggression.

140. Much as all reasonable men desire peace, they realize that, with the world's history of bitter wars and oppressions and with present injustices, fears, tensions and rivalries, a perfect peace based on law and justice is unlikely to be established in this generation. Peace cannot be established and maintained merely by wishing for it or passing resolutions condemning aggression. It must be worked for wisely and patiently with all our energy. If conflict threatens, we must avoid being compelled, through lack of agreed peace-keeping procedures, including authorizing and financing peace-keeping operations, to stand idly by while the situation gets out of hand. We must be organized and ready, we submit, to conciliate and keep conciliating and, if necessary, to provide an effective peace-keeping force.

141. My delegation is convinced that disastrous conflict and prolonged wars can be prevented if the anxiety of the nuclear Powers to avoid a direct conflict between themselves is matched:

First, by their determination to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons;

Secondly, by their agreement to combine in resisting an attack by a nuclear Power upon a non-nuclear State;

Thirdly, by their willingness to refrain from blocking by a financial veto a peace-keeping operation recommended by the Assembly when the five permanent members have been unable to agree;

Fourthly, by their efforts to promote areas of peace or areas of law and limited armaments, particularly in strategically sensitive parts of the world. My delegation has often described what we mean by an area of law.

It is an area in which a group of States will agree not to attack each other, to settle their differences peacefully and to restrict their armaments to police level, on the condition that the United Nations, backed by the nuclear Powers, guarantees them against aggression from outside or inside the area.

142. All Members of the United Nations, it should be remembered—all of us whether we are members of the Security Council or not—are bound by Article 1 of the Charter to take effective collective measures to maintain peace. And I submit that our suggestions for the authorization and financing of future peace-keeping operations represent a fair, reasonable and practical division of our Charter responsibility between the five permanent members of the Security Council and the other 112 Members of the United Nations.

143. All who have studied the problem of peace-keeping in the nuclear age recognize, I believe, that while the great Powers have the capacity to destroy each other and the world as well, they can, so long as they are united, exert a powerful influence on restraining local wars, as they have done in the India-Pakistan conflict. But we recognize also that the unilateral use of force by a great Power to restrict a local war in a sensitive strategic area may be the first step to general war.

144. My delegation believes that, as long as it was based on the expectation of being financed by Assembly assessment, the Uniting for Peace resolution [resolution 377 (V)] operated to restrict the number of nuclear Power interventions in other States. It did so not only by dispatching a United Nations peace-keeping force to the Middle East, but its very existence may be claimed to have influenced the Security Council, released it from its sterile cold war deadlock, and led to its agreeing to the establishment of other United Nations peace-keeping operations in Africa and the Middle East. The resolution may thus have prevented other armed interventions by great Powers. Indeed, if the Uniting for Peace resolution is not revitalized, and cannot be effectively invoked in case of Security Council deadlock, what alternative, may I ask, has a small State threatened with aggression but to call for help from a great Power?

145. We trust that the draft resolution we have circulated [see A/5966/Rev.2] will be studied carefully by all who wish to see the United Nations gradually build up a system of collective peace-keeping which will give to States the national security some now seek by diverting from productive uses, calculated to improve the lot of their peoples, an ever-increasing proportion of their national resources to acquiring conventional and nuclear weapons.

146. My delegation is satisfied, from careful study and inquiry, that our proposals are clearly within the competence of the Assembly, without in any way infringing the Charter. We are aware, of course, that the 112 other Member States, even if unanimous, cannot extract from one or more of the five permanent members of the Security Council their 70 per cent collective share of the expenses of a peace-keeping operation recommended by the Assembly. At the last session, the Assembly was not disposed to apply the sanction of Article 19 to the permanent members who refused to pay their assessments for peace-keeping. After our experience of the past few years, however, I am convinced that, if our proposals for amending the Uniting for Peace procedure are accepted, none of the five who hereafter vote for a peace-keeping operation in the Assembly would refuse to pay its appropriate contribution under the system of assessments we suggest.

147. I wish to make a special appeal to the five permanent members of the Security Council to support the proposal that, as a group, they should be responsible for paying 70 per cent of the cost of a peace-keeping operation. I submit that the honour and moral authority of the United Nations demand that, when the Assembly, in the circumstances contemplated, recommends the sending of a peace-keeping force in response to an appeal from a small State, the force should be dispatched and not be withdrawn through lack of funds until it has successfully completed its mission. The amount involved, even if one permanent member alone had to pay the total 70 per cent assessed on the group for another operation as large as the Congo, would be insignificant in relation to its national defence budget. For example, in the case of the United States, it would amount to no more per head of the population than the cost of a packet of cigarettes—or less than one-sixth of 1 per

cent of its defence budget. The obverse of the obligation on a permanent member to pay the total assessment due by the group, if it alone votes for a peace-keeping resolution in the Assembly, is the concession of not having to pay anything when it votes against or abstains. And, of course, no Member of the United Nations would vote for a peace-keeping resolution if it is not convinced that in the interest of world peace and in its own interest it should support it.

148. I do not recommend the financing proposal as an ideal solution. But it is the only system of reliable financing my delegation sees which has a reasonable chance in present circumstances of being implemented by the permanent members of the Security Council and of securing that peace-keeping expenses are assessed by the Assembly under the sanction of Article 19. I submit to the other 112 Members that it is vital for their safety and welfare that the Assembly should be placed in a position to finance in a reliable manner United Nations peace-keeping activities. Failing a dependable system for providing help from the United Nations, a small State under threat of aggression can turn only to a great Power—with, of course, the inevitable danger of drawing in another great Power to assist the other side.

149. The system of voting on a Uniting for Peace resolution, which we suggest, would call only for amending the rules of procedure which were adopted by the early sessions of the Assembly. Since then, the rules of procedure have often been amended by the Assembly, and its right to do so by a simple majority is clearly set out in rule 164, which of course accords with Article 21 of the Charter. The

suggested amendment of rule 89 provides that the five permanent members of the Security Council shall vote first on a Uniting for Peace resolution. This would give the other 112 Members the opportunity of knowing how the five had voted before they are called upon to cast their votes. My delegation strongly recommends this amendment, as we feel that, before they vote, many of the 112 Members will wish to be sure of what support the draft resolution has from the five permanent members.

150. In concluding, I wish to record the satisfaction of my delegation at the emergence of two draft treaties, tabled by nuclear Powers, to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. There are, of course, important divergencies in the two drafts, but the first step to agreement on a complex problem is to know precisely the points of disagreement. We all fervently hope that the Governments of the nuclear Powers will get to work at once on these drafts with a view to reconciling their differences and presenting the world with an agreed text open to the signature of all States. I can think of no single step which would be so conducive to stable peace and fruitful co-operation in the economic and related fields as the conclusion of a world treaty to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Vizcaino Leal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

151. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Cyprus has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply but, in view of the late hour, I shall call upon him at the afternoon meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.