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*President: Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).*

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Nyankiye (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): The Austrian delegation has already had the opportunity to express its congratulations upon the election of His Excellency Amintore Fanfani to the high office of President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We feel sorry about the most unfortunate accident which prevents him from presiding over our present deliberations and I should like to ask you, Mr. Vice-President, to convey our best wishes to Mr. Fanfani for a speedy recovery.

2. As the representative of a small nation, I am particularly gratified that the General Assembly is again working under normal conditions. In our view, it would have been disastrous if this ominous crisis had not been solved. I would like to express my appreciation for the spirit of co-operation shown by all Member States, which made it possible to overcome these difficulties. The United States, by its flexible and accommodating attitude, has certainly contributed to this development.

3. There is considerable criticism and doubt with regard to the usefulness of the long and tedious discussions in the General Assembly and in its Committees. Personally, I am convinced that this confrontation of opinion and exchange of views, year after year, is indispensable in a constantly changing world. It creates better understanding among nations and thus contributes to a peaceful evolution on our planet.

4. The political situation in today's world does not inspire much optimism, at any rate not in Asia. We in Austria, too, deeply regret this fact, because we

have for some time been aware that conflicts occurring even tens of thousands of miles away have their repercussions in our own area.

5. In due recognition of this world-wide interdependence; Austrian foreign policy supports every effort contributing towards stability. We are convinced that everyone must above all concentrate on his own proper sphere and, having thus set an example, may derive a mandate to talk about peace in other regions and offer counsel and advice. Today I am in the fortunate position of giving a favourable account of developments in the region of Europe, of which Austria is a part.

6. There is evidence of a trend towards political stability throughout Europe, and the neutral non-committed countries of that continent have acted in this respect as catalysers.

7. There is no doubt that the neutral European States and pact-free Yugoslavia have been of decisive importance for the evolution of the relative stability that currently prevails in Europe. The fact is all the more significant, as it is well known that Eastern and South-Eastern Europe were centres of extreme political restlessness in the course of history. Nevertheless, these tendencies towards a state of relaxation will only lead to complete stability when the problem of Europe's most populated country—which also represents its greatest economic potential, the problem of Germany—has found a peaceful solution.

8. Austria has a task in this part of Europe, just as every State has one within the geographical sphere to which it belongs and in which its people live and work. This particular responsibility arises from Austria's centuries-old ties with the peoples and countries of the Danube basin. We must, however, be careful in our approach, since many mistakes and miscalculations have been made in previous periods of history.

9. In Austria-Hungary once lived more than 50 million people. Its frontiers stretched some 6,000 miles. In contemporary Austria there live merely 7 million people, but the new Republic has inherited a quarter of the length of the former boundaries. It is only natural that history and geography should—perhaps sooner than any other country—enable us to have a clear concept of how, in the prevailing circumstances, to develop relations with our neighbours in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

10. Our aim is a maximum of stability in this part of Europe which did not exist for centuries. No one should indulge in the deceptive hope that this will not require onerous daily efforts.

11. To speak of stability means to us that we wish to settle our problems between ourselves in such a way that we do not depend on the advice of the major Powers and that we do not have to be afraid of their interventions. By this we are not pleading for a policy of disengagement from the major Powers, but we believe that they have already far too many international obligations. It is therefore only a sensible policy on the part of the smaller countries to relieve them from the burden of additional engagements. The smaller States, by abdicating their responsibilities and leaving them more and more to the major Powers, would merely pave the way for an increasing feeling of isolationism.

12. Should it be possible to avoid a dramatic sharpening in world relations, the current process towards a détente in this part of Europe will continue.

13. It is all the more important to mention these tendencies as they occur between countries adhering to Communist ideology on the one hand and Austria on the other, which is, without reservation, committed to the principles of democracy, which brought about such impressive results in the economic and social life of the people of Western and Northern Europe as well as of the United States.

14. We in Europe have had a most harrowing experience, indeed. Should it not be possible to draw a lesson from it?

15. Some days ago, the Twentieth International Red Cross Conference came to a conclusion in Vienna, where more than 100 countries were represented by governmental and Red Cross delegations. Throughout the Conference a pleasant and co-operative atmosphere prevailed. In various resolutions the usefulness of collaboration between the United Nations and the Red Cross was emphasized. Practical co-operation in the humanitarian field proved to be a reality.

16. Important decisions were also reached concerning civil defence, measures against indiscriminate warfare, and other tasks in the interest of peace. I wish to underline that all the resolutions were adopted practically unanimously.

17. In the humanitarian field, therefore, an atmosphere of détente and unity clearly prevails that augurs well for the treatment of similar questions in the United Nations.

18. Austria was proud to act as host for such a great conference which attained so much unity of spirit and action.

19. Having outlined the situation which prevails in our region, I should like to stress the extent to which this region forms part of the greater community of nations. In this connexion I wish to emphasize the depth of our commitment to an auspicious development throughout the world; we declare, and solemnly affirm, our loyalty to the United Nations, whose foremost task—the preservation of peace—we fully support and further with all our strength. In that context we should remember and give due weight to the postulate only recently pronounced from this rostrum with commanding eloquence by His Holiness Pope Paul VI: the postulate of the universality of the United Nations.

20. It is certainly one of the great weaknesses of this Organization that two of the largest countries in Asia and Europe are not among its Members—countries whose truly magnificent cultural and technological achievements are recorded in history.

21. In past years, and this year again, we have heard from various quarters within the United Nations that it may be desirable to have the People's Republic of China among the Members of this Organization. There is much to commend this viewpoint. And yet it seems to me that we ought to clarify, at this stage, whether the People's Republic of China is really interested in United Nations membership; whether it prefers to remain outside or would, in order to agree to become a Member, impose terms to which the United Nations could not possibly agree. We who belong to this Organization consider our membership an outstanding distinction and feel privileged to be allowed to participate in its work. Such clarification is necessary, I submit, before we enter into a debate on the substance of the matter.

22. At the outset of my statement I drew attention to the fact that the general political situation gives rise to serious misgivings. We, too, understand that disputes concerning the interpretation of treaties on matters affecting vital interests may arise. However, we are hopefully convinced that all these grave differences which aggravate world tensions can be solved in the spirit of existing international agreements and with a proper regard for the aims and principles of the United Nations.

23. I speak here as the representative of a country which does not belong to any military alignment, a country that puts a high premium on its status of permanent neutrality, to which it rigorously adheres. I may therefore be permitted to offer an opinion on this question which is a source of great concern to many of us; indeed, I can hardly give sufficient weight to my warning not to resort to means which contradict the principles and aims of the United Nations as well as the letter and spirit of the treaties concluded by the parties concerned. Much as we appreciate the feelings of a number of countries with which we have the closest ties, we fail to understand that any Member should consider leaving this Organization. What sense can it possibly make to turn one's back to the United Nations today? Do we not all know that in the end there will be no other way but to return?

24. Permit me now to report to the General Assembly, as I have done on all previous occasions, on the action taken on resolutions 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961, concerning the status of the Austrian minority in South Tyrol. The first resolution requested Italy and Austria to enter into negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences relating to the implementation of the Paris Agreement of 5 September 1946.<sup>1/</sup> The second resolution, having noted with satisfaction that such negotiations had taken place, went on to affirm the first resolution.

25. We have conducted the negotiations as requested. At the beginning of this year high hopes had arisen

<sup>1/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

and we felt that we had reason to assume that our partner in these negotiations had become aware that, in the final analysis, a proper understanding of the just aspirations of a minority is a valuable contribution towards harmonious conditions within his own State. However, questions of vital importance for the continued existence of the minority remain to be solved, and we are seriously concerned that the continued delay in these matters may prevent the conclusion of an agreement—a delay which would certainly be contrary to the spirit of the above-mentioned resolutions.

26. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm the determination of the Austrian Government to resolve the dispute between Italy and Austria concerning the implementation of the Paris Agreement through negotiations in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We have reached constructive solutions to almost all the open questions that have arisen in our relations with our neighbours and other countries near to us; why should it not be possible in this case too?

27. It is, however, my duty to remind the General Assembly that such a solution can only be reached if the population of South Tyrol is granted genuine self-administration in all matters of its own concern.

28. In rendering this report, I have been animated by proper respect for the General Assembly and the resolutions adopted by it. I should like to add an expression of appreciation of the fact that in 1960 and 1961 the General Assembly of the United Nations, after due consideration, expressed its unanimous desire to bring this question to a satisfactory solution.

29. On the occasion of the twentieth session of the General Assembly it would be only appropriate to recall, in a detailed manner, the outstanding achievements which this Organization has accomplished since its inception.

30. There can be no doubt that the United Nations peace-keeping operations account for the most important and significant features, and I should like to stress that my country has participated in these operations to the extent of its abilities and resources. Austria has not only supported the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations financially, but it has also actively participated in two operations with medical and police units. I am therefore glad to be able to announce that the Austrian Parliament recently passed a law which permits the Austrian Government also to make available military contingents upon the request of an international organization or of the International Red Cross.

31. Peace-keeping operations of the United Nations since the Second World War have contributed essentially to the security of our troubled world. In this context, I would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that the expenses of all United Nations peace-keeping operations over the last twenty years amount roughly to some \$620 million, which approximately equals the cost of one single day of fighting during the Second World War. Despite their overwhelming importance, these operations do not usually bring about a final political solution. We therefore think that further studies should be made

of the peaceful settlement of all kinds of disputes. In this spirit, we welcome the proposal by the United Kingdom Government to include an item in this respect in the agenda [see A/5964].

32. It is with great satisfaction that we took note of the unanimous cease-fire decision of the Security Council in the conflict between India and Pakistan, two nations with whom my country maintains particularly friendly relations. This is one of the most difficult conflicts which the United Nations has ever had to face and it is indeed gratifying, after the crisis the world Organization had to undergo within the last year, to see the Security Council take a unanimous decision in a matter of such outstanding importance. We also wish to compliment the Secretary-General U Thant, for his untiring efforts to carry out the Council's decision and to put it into practice.

33. One of the most important problems in this Organization is the participation of the newly-emerged countries. Needless to say, Austria, a country which has never pursued a policy of colonization, strongly supports the right of each nation to self-determination, freedom and independence. In the cases where these rights have not yet been recognized in practice, every effort has to be undertaken to give these peoples the opportunity to decide their own future. We are deeply convinced that any suppression of national aspirations cannot but aggravate the existing situation. It seems to us only fair to give the young nations an adequate chance actively to participate in the work of this Organization. We are therefore all the more gratified that the Charter amendments, enlarging the Security Council as well as the Economic and Social Council, came into force, thus guaranteeing an appropriate representation of the young nations in the organs of the United Nations. Austria, realizing the urgency of this problem, was one of the first countries to ratify the Charter amendments.

34. The Austrian Government has consistently held the view that the question of general and complete disarmament deserves our continued and most careful attention. It is in the interest of all mankind to reach a speedy resolution to halt and reverse the armaments race, both between the great Powers and among the smaller nations.

35. We must, however, try to understand and weigh the political situation in the world in a realistic manner, and we must therefore approach the complex matter of disarmament in a pragmatic way, which means that we must be prepared to proceed step by step. Above all, we must avoid hampering progress by adopting the view that nothing can be achieved unless we find an over-all solution and reach agreement on everything that is desirable.

36. My Government holds the view that in our negotiations priority should be given to the most urgent and crucial problem of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In this connexion, we favour any solution which could bring about speedy progress in this field.

37. While we fully understand the request of those delegations which think it necessary to link an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the adoption of collateral measures and, in particu-



lar, to an agreement on the suspension of all underground tests, we nevertheless hold the opinion that the adoption of a non-proliferation agreement should not be hampered by too many conditions.

38. We are convinced that even a preliminary agreement would constitute major progress which might, like the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests, provide a basis for a wider international agreement in this field. Here we share wholeheartedly the opinion of all those delegations which expressed the view that the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna could play an active role through the application of the system of safeguards which was accepted by its recent Tokyo Conference.<sup>2/</sup>

39. In connexion with the proposed world disarmament conference, I should like to point out that Austria favours this idea, since it would give all nations an opportunity to take a stand in the disarmament negotiations. Such a world conference, however, would have to be very carefully planned and would only have a chance of success if all the nuclear Powers would indeed participate in the discussions. I should, however, like to express the hope that the implementation of such a project would not lead to a breakdown of the present mechanism of the disarmament machinery of the United Nations. This machinery should therefore be kept in operation until we are able to replace it by a more effective instrument.

40. In connexion with the manifold problems of disarmament, I should like to express the appreciation of the Austrian Government that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed not to place nuclear weapons into orbit, and that it is the declared policy of all space Powers that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only. We must, however, make sure that we do not lag behind the speedy scientific and technical progress in this field and endeavour to reach in time the necessary legal and political agreements.

41. In conclusion, I should like to stress once more the importance of the tasks lying before us and the need to concentrate all our efforts within the framework of the United Nations. Without relying on this Organization with its ever-growing stature, our common endeavour to create a peaceful world would be bound to remain in vain. I am thinking of what Dag Hammarskjöld said at the University of Chicago on 1 May 1960:

"Working at the edge of the development of human society is to work on the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. That is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits but with faith in the ultimate result of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to co-operate."

42. Sardar Swaran SINGH (India): The election of His Excellency Amintore Fanfani, Foreign Minister of Italy, as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, has been a source of great satisfaction to us. His election to this high office was a tribute to the great country which he represents and

also a testimony to the high esteem in which Foreign Minister Fanfani is personally held by us all. The Government and the people of India have close and friendly relations with the Government and the people of Italy. It is, therefore, with particular sorrow that my delegation learnt of the accident suffered by the President of our Assembly a couple of days ago. We wish him speedy recovery and hope that he will return to preside over our meetings with renewed vigour.

43. I should also like to take this opportunity to place on record our appreciation of the work done by His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the Foreign Minister of Ghana, who presided over the nineteenth session of the General Assembly with such distinction under the most trying and unusual circumstances.

44. I wish also to welcome to the United Nations the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. With the addition of these three sister Afro-Asian States, the membership of the United Nations has risen to 117 and we have come nearer to our goal of universality. In the tradition of Afro-Asian co-operation my delegation looks forward to close collaboration and association with the delegations of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore both in the United Nations and outside. We wish the people of these countries all progress and prosperity.

45. Since I spoke in the General Assembly last year [1301st meeting], our Organization has passed through a period of much travail and uncertainty, as well as a sharp controversy which could have shaken it to its very foundations. I say this because the controversy which immobilized this great Assembly had financial, constitutional and political aspects. The very fact that the protagonists on the two sides of this debate refused to allow the struggle to be fought to the bitter end and rather permitted a consensus to grow, and that finally both sides bowed to that consensus, showed that they were determined to preserve the Organization. It would be idle to pretend that that period of forced inactivity of the Assembly, and the underlying difference of opinion between the two super-Powers, has not affected us all. But equally we must recognize that it has had the effect of focussing the attention of the peoples of the world on the weakness as well as the strength of this house which we have all built, brick by brick. That it was in this year of internal crises of the Organization that for the first time a Member State pulled out of it must be considered unfortunate; it is also a portent and a warning. This withdrawal is being exploited by another Member State, which seems to find the responsibility of fulfilling its obligations under the Charter too onerous. All these years that we have spent in striving to bring the Organization closer to our goal of universality would have gone in vain if in addition to the withdrawals of Member States from the Organization, those which are yet to join us were to start prescribing conditions for their own participation—conditions which the Organization, they demand, must fulfil before they will join it. The need for the participation of the People's Republic of China in all the activities of the Organization is obvious; and time and again my delegation has supported moves in this direction. It is also clear that Indonesia should return

<sup>2/</sup> Ninth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, held from 22 September to 1 October 1965.

to the fold. Equally obvious, however, is the fact that the Organization could not survive if it were to give in to threats or accept conditions. The coming months, years and decades should show whether the peoples of the world, dreading the scourge of war, have acquired the maturity and the seriousness of purpose which are essential for the preservation of peace, so that to them forbearance is not merely a necessity but a principle.

46. The trouble spots of the world and violent interference in the affairs of others have mostly arisen because States have not refrained in their international relations from resorting to threats or to the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States. The desire for territorial aggrandizement and the chauvinism of certain States has led to the repeated use of force despite the clearly enunciated principles in the Charter of the United Nations. The policy of confrontation with the State of Malaysia is one example. Hardly had that State come into being when it was faced with threats of annihilation backed up by penetration of armed infiltrators. While our desire to maintain friendly relations with Indonesia is sincere, our sympathies are with the peace-loving State of Malaysia in its hour of need.

47. For two years now the brave people of Cyprus have been facing interference from without, armed and otherwise—interference designed at best to curb the sovereignty and independence of the State of Cyprus and at worst to partition the Island along sectarian lines. We in India were subjected to this cursed process decades ago culminating in the partition of the country in 1947. As we have all seen, partition only creates new problems. We therefore view with the utmost sympathy the efforts of the Government of Cyprus to maintain the unfettered sovereignty, independence and unity of the State of Cyprus.

48. Our own experience in the past few months with two powerful neighbours has shown us that there is still a strong urge in those two countries to take recourse to arms. Twice in the last six months my country and my people have faced blatant and adventurist aggression from Pakistan. During the same period we have faced ultimatums and serious threats of aggression from the People's Republic of China. It is clearly established that there was a sinister connexion between the aggression of one and the ultimatums of the other. These two forces of reaction, fanaticism and violence seem determined to combine against all those values which we cherish. It appears to us that these dictatorships next to us abhor the prospect of our success in combining the democratic way of life with planned economic growth. The world is aware that we have all along been firm adherents of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. It was with this faith, and in the secure trust that aggression and trespass against us, if only brought to the notice of the United Nations, would be effectively tackled, that we continued to concentrate on the task of improving the standard of living of our own people. However, the inability of the United Nations and of the international community to condemn the aggressor and lend succour to the victim of aggression has caused deep disappointment. In our case, as in

other areas, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, peace and justice have been the victims of international power politics.

49. I mentioned a moment ago how, within the last six months, we have twice become the victims of Pakistani aggression. The first time was in April last, when Pakistan surreptitiously moved its forces into the Rann of Kutch and later, with heavy armour, took certain posts well within our territory in that area. Our only fault there was that, while defending ourselves, we refused to allow the strife to be escalated. For the sake of peace and the establishment of good-neighbourly relations we indicated to Pakistan ourselves and through others that we were prepared to exercise the utmost restraint in spite of grave provocation. Thus once again we have proof of our earnest desire to reduce tensions and of our willingness to resolve differences between our two countries. It was the same spirit which had moved our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, on 28 November 1950 to offer Pakistan unconditionally a no-war pact, an offer which was renewed by Prime Minister Shastri last year. Pakistan's aggression in the Rann of Kutch and in Kashmir this year reveals why it was consistently refused to accept an offer of this nature.

50. It was in this larger context that we signed, on 30 June 1965, the Agreement on the Rann of Kutch, a boundary dispute born out of the spurious claims made by Pakistan. Pakistan mistook our readiness to arrive at a peaceful settlement, our self-restraint, as a sign of weakness.

51. Even before the ink was dry on the Pakistani signatures on this Agreement, Pakistan commenced on 5 August a fresh and major aggression against India. In fact, while the Kutch Agreement was being signed, preparations were already in full swing in Pakistan to send across the old cease-fire line thousands of troops in civilian disguise. Starting on 5 August 1965, this aggression continued unchecked and unabated despite the fact that India promptly took it up with Pakistan. India brought this to the attention of the United Nations Chief Military Observer, General Nimmo; the Chief Military Observer brought it to the attention of the Secretary-General; and finally, the Secretary-General himself brought it to the notice of the Security Council on 3 September 1965.<sup>3/</sup> Pakistan's replies were a bland denial of responsibility, a familiar technique adopted by aggressors. Between 5 August and 14 August, we showed the utmost forbearance and self-restraint, hoping that our protests to Pakistan and the reports of the United Nations Observers about the massive assault on the cease-fire line would have some effect. For ten long days while armed marauders were on the rampage, we kept hoping that good sense might prevail, that good advice might be forthcoming, and that pressures for peace might emanate from the United Nations. In the meanwhile, our brave people in Kashmir threw some of the infiltrators out and rounded up a good number. But as some of them were being dealt with, more armed aggressors in civilian disguise came in, wave after wave, each

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965, document S/6651.



one equipped with hand-grenades, rifles, Sten guns and other automatic weapons as well as material for sabotage and incendiary action. Conclusive evidence was forthcoming from these armed personnel captured by us to show that thousands more were poised for further infiltration. In order to meet this continuing aggression, our security forces, in an entirely defensive and limited action, moved to block the routes and plug the passes in that mountainous terrain through which the infiltrators were coming.

52. Clearly, the rulers of Rawalpindi, engaged in a planned campaign to subjugate our people and grab our territory in Kashmir, entertained the wild hope that the people would rise in revolt. When this hope was shattered and the people of Kashmir fought the armed marauders manfully and with valour, the rulers of Rawalpindi decided to turn their violent political gamble into a full-scale military adventure. On 1 September Pakistan crossed the international boundary and the old cease-fire line, causing the uprooting of thousands of people and posing a grave and imminent threat to the only line of communication between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the rest of India. This line of communication was the road to Ladakh in North-Eastern Kashmir, where the Indian troops, ever since the Chinese invasion of 1962, have safeguarded the cause of liberty at the price of eternal vigilance. Pakistan crossed into our territory with the maximum force and fanfare. A force of two regiments of heavy tanks, supported by Pakistan infantry and with air cover, penetrated twelve to fifteen miles within Indian territory, while the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, General Musa, exhorted his troops to bite the enemy deeper in order to destroy him. On 5 September they extended the area of conflict by undertaking aerial bombing of the town of Ranbirsinghpura in Jammu and the city of Amritsar in the Punjab. It was then that India took action in self-defence.

53. I have gone into this matter in some detail because I want to inform this Assembly of the anatomy of this second aggression by Pakistan against India. In defence of the motherland against this treacherous aggression, our armed forces displayed rare courage and valour in the face of superior weaponry, thwarting the design of the Pakistani aggressor to grab our territory. The whole country, all my countrymen of all faiths, stood as one man in the defence of the motherland. This was the biggest disappointment to and defeat for Pakistan, which had pinned its hopes on the emergence of forces of discord and disintegration in India.

54. Some of the representatives have expressed concern about the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. We fully share their concern, as indeed we appreciate their sincere desire for lasting peace between our two countries. This conflict is not of our seeking; at no time have we sought it. Eighteen years ago we came to the United Nations as complainant against Pakistani aggression. Our approach to the United Nations is a testimony to our faith in peaceful methods of resolving situations. In that faith we have tried every possible method to develop and maintain friendly relations with Pakistan. It was in that faith that we tried our utmost to prevent the present con-

flict from escalating and promptly responded to the appeal of the Secretary-General and the Security Council for an unconditional cease-fire.

55. As the representatives will appreciate, peaceful and friendly relations among States are not possible without a genuine respect for the rule of law, and for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of one's neighbours. Three times in eighteen years Pakistan resorted to the use of force against India, contrary to its obligations under the Charter.

56. A lasting peace between India and Pakistan cannot be brought about by ignoring these facts, much less by appeasing the aggressor. It is therefore necessary for me to make my Government's position clear beyond any shadow of doubt. Legally, constitutionally, morally and on the basis of the will of the people, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union. This is the position on which India takes its stand and will continue to do so. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, together with their fellow citizens in other parts of India, are the architects of the largest democratic State in the world, a State rooted in popular will expressed through freely chosen institutions and periodic general elections, based on adult franchise. There is no better way of giving reality to the freedom of a people.

57. While Pakistan pursues the path of violence and aggression, while it talks to us and to the United Nations in terms of threats and while it attempts to enlarge the struggle on our northern frontiers, we cannot do any less than defend ourselves. But let Pakistan think in terms of taking its covetous eyes off our territory, let Pakistan think in terms of not trying to undermine or erode the territorial integrity and secular democracy of our country, and it will find in us the friendliest and most co-operative of neighbours ready to resolve our differences.

58. Although we have been preoccupied with our own immediate and pressing problems, I wish to assure this Assembly that the major problems of the world, such as decolonization, apartheid, disarmament and economic development of the less developed world, are very much in our thoughts. When India threw off the shackles of colonial rule in 1947, the shape of the world changed, a historic event which released the forces of freedom and progress. As a founder Member of the United Nations, India took the initiative in pressing for the liberation of subject peoples everywhere in the world. In the Trusteeship Council, in the Fourth Committee and in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, my delegation persistently championed the cause of freedom and independence and exposed the misdeeds of the colonialists in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the early years we were in a minority and the imperialist and colonialist Powers controlled and managed even the agenda and the discussions in the United Nations. It was an uphill task even to get items relating to apartheid and colonialism included in the agenda of the General Assembly. I am happy to say that in this regard the United Nations has made very great progress, and the colonial Powers can no longer manipulate the agenda of the General Assembly or mislead it into believing that conditions in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola,

Aden and other colonial territories, are by any means satisfactory.

59. In December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], and in 1961 the Assembly established—by resolution 1654 (XVI)—the Special Committee on Decolonization, with which we have been intimately associated. The discussions in that Committee have exposed to the world the appalling conditions that prevail in the remaining colonial territories, and it is to the work of the Special Committee that the peoples in colonial territories have looked for hope and inspiration. The resolutions adopted by the Committee as a result of the sustained and dedicated efforts of its Afro-Asian members, have had beneficial results. But the hard core of colonialism still remains entrenched in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. It is not fortuitous that the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa are colluding to suppress the indigenous people in denying their freedom and fundamental rights. South Africa continues unabashed its policies of apartheid in defiance of world opinion and has gone further by extending them to the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. It was my delegation which first brought this question of South West Africa before the United Nations, and the people of South West Africa have our full sympathy and support in their struggle against the South African racist régime. India has not only disapproved of and condemned Portuguese colonialism, but we have taken positive action against the colonial Powers. The freedom struggle in Angola and Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea is a source of inspiration to freedom-loving peoples and we hope that all Member States will give their full support to the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee during its tour of Africa in May-June of this year.

60. Equally dangerous and ominous is the situation in Southern Rhodesia, where a white minority régime is allowed to continue its repressive rule over a vast African population against its wishes. The equivocal posture adopted by the United Kingdom with regard to Southern Rhodesia is as disappointing as it is regrettable. The United Kingdom is responsible for the administration of the colony of Southern Rhodesia and it must take steps to see that Southern Rhodesia gets independence without delay under a government which is fully representative of the people of the territory, a government that is elected on the basis of one man, one vote. It is for the government of the United Kingdom to see that all repressive legislation is withdrawn and freedom fighters released from prisons.

61. The territories of British Guiana, Mauritius and Fiji are ripe for independence and freedom. But the traditional divisive policies of the United Kingdom have resulted in creating tensions among the peoples, thus retarding their emergence into freedom. We are gravely concerned at the recent developments in Aden, where the Constitution has been abrogated and a reign of terror and repression unleashed to suppress the brave Arabs struggling for their freedom. It is the duty of the United Kingdom Government to

implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) so that the people in Aden, British Guiana, Fiji, Mauritius, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and many other territories attain their independence immediately. It is no use telling the world that they have given independence to 700 million people during the last twenty years. Freedom is never given by colonial Powers. It is taken by colonial peoples after hard and bitter struggle and it is extraordinary that the colonial Powers should take credit for this. As long as there are any people anywhere in the world who are not yet free and independent, India will continue to fight for their rights and freedom.

62. One of the issues that has long been a source of great concern to India is the question of the racial policies of the Republic of South Africa. The pernicious policies of apartheid provide the most explosive material for conflict and cut at the very root of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and are contrary to civilized behaviour.

63. We in India have been associated with the struggle for racial equality in South Africa for the past sixty years. The name of Mahatma Gandhi is synonymous with this struggle. We first brought up this matter before the United Nations in 1946 and we were the first country to break diplomatic commercial and trade relations with South Africa. Even long before General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) was passed, we had adopted the measures enumerated in that resolution. It is a matter of regret to us that many countries continue to have commercial, trade and other contacts with the Government of South Africa, thus assisting that Government in its ruthless suppression of the indigenous people. To the powerful Western friends of South Africa, we address an appeal to carry out the provisions of that resolution and undertake an economic boycott of South Africa. Unless those countries put into practice what they have said in this Assembly, the South African Government will not change its policies because an economic boycott merely by the countries of Africa and Asia will not put sufficient pressure on that Government to alter its racist policies.

64. My delegation promptly responded to the appeal of the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid to give financial assistance to the families of the victims among those valiant fighters against racism. We hope and trust that all members of the General Assembly will respond to that appeal and give generously to this fund.

65. The people and the Government of India fully support the just struggle of the people of South Africa and are determined to give them whatever support they need.

66. The goal of a world without arms and wars continues to remain one of the primary objectives before the international community. The General Assembly has since its very inception given its most earnest consideration to the problems of disarmament and measures aimed at the lessening of international tension. It is true that the progress achieved so far has been somewhat slow, but this is to some extent inevitable, because the goal of a dis-

armed world is completely unprecedented in the history of mankind. Again, disarmament is a highly complex matter and requires patient, careful and serious examination, which has to take account of security and other vital considerations.

67. The question of disarmament has been considered in various forms and some limited agreements have been reached. One of the most constructive debates took place recently in April-June 1965 in the Disarmament Commission, which comprises the entire membership of the United Nations and thus represents the aspirations and anxieties of the international community. The Disarmament Commission, in its two resolutions,<sup>4/</sup> laid down useful guidelines and provided a fresh mandate, particularly in regard to priorities, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for its work as a negotiating body.

68. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has been holding a continuing conference since 1962, has just concluded a six-week session. As at its past sessions, the Committee considered in a thorough manner the questions of general and complete disarmament and measures aimed at the lessening of international tension. In particular, the Committee devoted its concentrated attention to the questions of a comprehensive test ban treaty and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. India took an active part in these discussions and along with the other non-aligned members submitted joint memoranda<sup>5/</sup> containing proposals, which could form the basis of agreements on these two most important issues in the field of disarmament today.

69. The Assembly is aware of the deep anxiety with which my country has viewed the continuance of nuclear tests, the initiatives that we have taken and the persistent efforts that we have made to secure a complete prohibition of all nuclear and thermonuclear weapon test explosions for all time. My Government was, therefore, gratified when the partial test ban Treaty was concluded and it was not only one of the first to subscribe to the Treaty, but has striven to secure adherence by all countries and also extension of the Treaty so as to cover underground tests as well. We are firmly of the view that the Treaty should receive universal adherence so that the present and future generations of mankind are saved the grave damage to their health from the deadly fall-out and a curb is placed on the nuclear arms race. It is a matter of profound regret to my delegation that the People's Republic of China, along with certain other countries, has not so far considered it necessary to accede to the Moscow Treaty. The nuclear test by China earlier this year, at a time when the Disarmament Commission was meeting in New York, can only be regarded as a deliberate affront to the world community.

70. As regards underground nuclear tests, we believe that, notwithstanding differences among nuclear Powers regarding the question of identification and the need for verification, a partial treaty could be entered into for cessation of tests above a certain

threshold, which could be agreed upon by the nuclear Powers. This threshold could be lowered subsequently as a result of the continuing exchange of scientific data and other negotiations. At the same time, we consider it imperative that while negotiations are going on to resolve the differences between the nuclear Powers, all underground tests should be discontinued forthwith.

71. My delegation also feels that the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be accorded high priority. It was at India's request that an item on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons had been included in the agenda of the last session of the General Assembly<sup>6/</sup> and we welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union in this matter at the current session [A/5976]. Even though my country has possessed the capacity for quite some time now to manufacture nuclear weapons, we have refrained from doing so. We believe that not only any further proliferation of nuclear weapon capabilities should be checked but the existing proliferation should be reversed.

72. My country has made certain specific proposals in this regard at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and I would not like to repeat them here. I would, however, reiterate our firm conviction that the only practical approach to this problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is that both the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers should undertake simultaneous obligations through an international instrument that might be agreed upon. It is essential that, while the non-nuclear Powers renounce production, acquisition and control of and access to nuclear weapons, the nuclear Powers should also refrain simultaneously from further production of these weapons and their delivery vehicles and reach agreement on a reduction of existing stockpiles. That would really be the essence of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

73. The Disarmament Commission, to which I referred earlier, has recommended to the Assembly, vide its resolution of 11 June 1965,<sup>7/</sup> to consider urgently the proposal made by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, for the convening of a world disarmament conference to which all countries would be invited. My delegation was a co-sponsor of the resolution adopted by the Disarmament Commission. We consider it important that the world disarmament conference should take place as early as possible and that France and the People's Republic of China should take part in it.

74. My delegation earnestly hopes that the discussion on disarmament in the First Committee will be fruitful, so that, when the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament reconvenes in Geneva soon after the debate here, it may be able to reach agreements on a comprehensive test ban and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby make possible more agreements in the field of disarmament.

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, documents DC/224 and DC/225.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., document DC/227, annex 1, sects. E and F.

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 2, document A/5758.

<sup>7/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.



75. I have spoken at some length on the political problems that confront this Organization. These are no doubt urgent problems that require our utmost attention. But the solution of these problems is not an end in itself; it is only a means towards the achievement of a higher objective, an objective which is solemnly enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, namely, "the promotion of the economic and social advance of all peoples". It was for the fulfilment of this objective that the General Assembly designated the current decade as the United Nations Development Decade. We have already reached the mid-point of the Development Decade. It is time for us to take stock of our achievements during the first half of the Decade and to draw up a plan of action for the second half.

76. Although the United Nations and its agencies have been making ceaseless efforts for the attainment of the goals which we set for ourselves for the Development Decade, the progress so far has been painfully slow. That we shall have to intensify our efforts considerably in this direction if we expect to come within sight of our goals cannot be better emphasized than by recalling the poignant words of the distinguished Secretary-General in his report to the thirty-ninth session of the Economic and Social Council: "The misery of much of the developing world is a progressive misery. It threatens to grow worse in the second half of the Decade".<sup>8/</sup> And again, in his introduction to this year's annual report to the General Assembly [A/6001/Add.1, sect. IV], the Secretary-General has reminded us that "shocking disparities in conditions and levels of living" continue to persist. But let these words not lead us into despair and inaction; on the contrary, they should goad us into more intensified activity to meet the challenge that faces us of removing the spectre of poverty from the world and making it a better place in which to live for all peoples.

77. The developing countries of the world, which are struggling hard to improve their economic conditions, had placed very high hopes in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which for the first time focused attention in a unified manner on their problems in the various fields and called for an integrated approach to their solution on the part of the developing as well as the developed countries. These hopes and aspirations found eloquent expression in the Final Act of the Conference.<sup>9/</sup> Since then, some progress has been made in implementing the recommendations contained in the Final Act with regard to the setting up of the organizational machinery. The Trade and Development Board has held two sessions and the various committees set up by the Board have started functioning. However, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report to the General Assembly, despite the progress made in the organizational and administrative field, the hopes generated in the developing countries by the agreements reached in Geneva have not been fulfilled. The organizational machinery added to the United Nations family at the

last session of the General Assembly got off to a good start at the first session of the Trade and Development Board, which devised the means to launch the new machinery. But unfortunately, the Board at its second session found itself confronted with serious difficulties because of our inability to organize ourselves with enough courage, purpose and coherence to create a society in which the fruits of progress are more equally shared. We sincerely hope that the developed countries will adopt a more constructive attitude and will take the initiative in dispelling the clouds of doubt which engulfed the second session of the Board.

78. My delegation will address itself in some detail to the various issues related to economic development in the deliberations of the Second Committee. At this stage, I would like to make a general reference to one or two important issues which are likely to come up for decision at this session. One such issue is the establishment of the proposed capital development fund which has been recommended by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>10/</sup> My delegation feels that it would be useful to have such a fund, which could provide capital assistance to the developing countries in the form of grants and "soft loans". While I am on the subject of economic assistance to developing countries, I would like to pay a tribute to the successful activities of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which continue to make an invaluable contribution to the development effort of the developing countries. We support the Secretary-General's call for increasing the annual target for voluntary contributions to the two programmes to \$200 million. We also welcome the progress made in the establishment of the Asian Development Bank, which can play a very useful role in the economic development of Asia.

79. Another important decision which this Assembly will be called upon to take is the proposed establishment of a specialized agency for industrial development, which has also been recommended by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>11/</sup> My delegation expresses the hope that the examination by the General Assembly of the recommendations on the subject by the Conference on Trade and Development and the Economic and Social Council will lead to the prompt establishment of the Agency for Industrial Development, which could provide effective assistance to the developing countries in the promotion and acceleration of their industrial development.

80. I have come to the end of my review of the urgent problems of the world, more particularly problems of our own region, as they appear to us and as we prepare to face them—problems of defence and disarmament, politics and international intercourse, economic relations and developmental activities. And now I ask myself where exactly the United Nations stands, twenty years after the founding of the Organization. It is clear that these twenty years have seen both the rise and the decline of monolithic systems—in the field of defence as well as in the field of inter-

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 2, document E/4071.

<sup>9/</sup> See Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

<sup>10/</sup> Ibid., Annexes, annex A.IV.7.

<sup>11/</sup> Ibid., annex A.III.1.

national trade and economics. I would make bold to say that the winds which sweep our globe are not winds that can be characterized as either East wind or West wind, North wind or South wind. They are winds of co-operation and cohesiveness, on the one hand, and winds of confrontation and fragmentation, on the other.

81. On the one hand, in our world, there is an effort to build and consolidate institutions which make economic co-operation and collaboration workable, first on a regional and then on a global basis; there is an attempt to draw a tally of how much conservation is possible of resources that can be utilized for the have-nots of our earth, if only the dream of total disarmament can be made a reality. Thus we keep working to safeguard liberties through opposition to fragmentation.

82. On the other hand, there is at work the classic dictum, "Separate your enemies, sow seeds of disintegration in their midst, and then finish them off one by one". The new nation-States of Africa and Asia are thus facing, even before they have had a chance to consolidate their freedom, this threat of disintegration, because there are in the world adventurist Powers, self-styled revolutionaries, who, hearkening back to primeval instincts of sectional and religious loyalties, wish to do nothing so much as to scatter the seeds of disruption and disintegration as far and as wide as they possibly can.

83. We in India have had some experience of fighting these attempts to divide us through hearkening to religious loyalties. We are determined to be on the side of those forces in this world which work for co-operation and collaboration for the purpose of consolidating and conserving resources for growth on a regional and global basis. We view the United Nations as a symbol of these principles of co-operation, collaboration and consolidation. And we see the United Nations as a rallying point for all progressive forces opposing the attempts to fragment new nations.

84. Mr. TSIRIMOKOS (Greece) (translated from French): The Greek delegation wishes to associate itself with the well-deserved praises and congratulations addressed to Mr. Fanfani on his election to the Presidency of this Assembly. It also wishes to express the Greek Government's great satisfaction at seeing this high office filled by such an eminent statesman from a country to which Greece is bound by so many ties. I should like to add the best wishes of the Greek Government and delegation for the speedy recovery of our President.

85. I should also like to pay tribute to the President for the nineteenth session, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, whose patient efforts contributed in large measure to overcoming the constitutional crisis in our Organization.

86. Lastly, I should like to greet the new Members of our family, the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands. Their admission is yet another step towards achieving the goal of universality of the United Nations.

87. After the disappointments of the nineteenth session of the Assembly, our Organization managed to avoid a rock on which it might well have foundered; but,

having escaped shipwreck, we should not let ourselves drift for, after all, what was achieved was only a temporary settlement not a final solution. The principles over which the crisis arose must be redefined and reaffirmed, for they are fundamental and cannot be ignored without danger to the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations.

88. The ability to undertake peace-keeping operations is what distinguishes our Organization more than anything else from its predecessor; it constitutes the decisive difference between a powerless organization, doomed to failure, and an effective organization in which suffering mankind can place its hopes.

89. The question of peace-keeping operations and their financing can now be approached in a less alarming atmosphere although still with a sense of urgency. Two points have already been agreed upon, namely that the developing countries should be granted some reduction in their assessments and that the responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace imposes special obligations on them with respect to the financial burden. The general agreement on these two points and the prospect of voluntary contributions make a variety of formulas possible. In our desire to reach a settlement, however, we cannot, without endangering the very structure of the Charter, depart too much from the fundamental principle of the collective financial responsibility of all Member States for the activities of the Organization.

90. Greece, which has always put its trust in the United Nations and has had recourse to its procedures in the disputes in which it has been involved, has demonstrated this confidence by making the largest financial contribution, in relation to its resources and regular budget assessment, of any Member State to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. Despite that, and despite the economic difficulties which it is experiencing, Greece has been one of the first countries to pledge a voluntary contribution in order to help to put the finances of our Organization on a sound footing.

91. The ratification of the amendments to the Charter within the time-limits laid down in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its eighteenth session [resolution 1991 (XVIII)] is an auspicious event. It shows a unanimous recognition of the new political realities on the part of the great Powers. Moreover, the enlargement of the Security Council makes it more representative of the United Nations as a whole and, consequently, should make more acceptable its predominant role in matters of peace-keeping and their financial implications. The enlargement also of the Economic and Social Council will enable that body to pursue its task with renewed vigour. Its importance is in no way diminished by the simultaneous commencement of activities of the Trade and Development Board.

92. Lastly, the United Nations has not neglected its duty under the Charter of developing and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, was a historic milestone on this road. Since then, we have been working to give human rights a

legal and contractual form which, alone, can effectively ensure their observance. Despite the inevitable delays, we may hope that an agreement will be reached on the implementation clauses and that our efforts will soon be rewarded by the adoption of definitive texts of international covenants on human rights, which would in itself contribute enormously to ensuring respect for these rights. It is high time that some progress was made towards this goal.

93. While it is natural that any conflict or danger of a conflagration demands the urgent attention of the United Nations, there is another problem, a chronic one but no less urgent, to which we are called upon to devote constant efforts. I refer to disarmament which cannot wait until all disputes are settled. Although it is true that it is easier to make progress in disarmament in an atmosphere of relative calm, it is no less true that any agreement on a collateral measure would contribute greatly to the lessening of international tension.

94. A resolution adopted by the Disarmament Commission,<sup>12/</sup> which met in New York in June, has clearly shown that, despite the agreement reached between the great Powers more than four years ago on the principles of general and complete disarmament, at present the best hope for progress lies in the sphere of collateral measures, particularly on the questions of underground explosions and the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons.

95. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has had little time to carry out the task delegated to it under this resolution. It would therefore be useful if the Committee would resume its work as soon as possible with any encouragement and guidance which the General Assembly might offer it. We are not unaware of the enormous difficulties involved in this task. We will therefore associate ourselves with any measure which might promote progress in this matter.

96. Having obtained their independence at the cost of a long and bloody war and having defended it by armed force from generation to generation, the Greeks understand better than anyone the impatience of the peoples under foreign rule. The task which awaits these peoples on their liberation would be greatly facilitated if those Powers which persist in expending their efforts in attempting to contain liberation movements utilized their resources better by aiding the newly independent nations to their mutual advantage.

97. But if the struggle for decolonization is nearing its end, the struggle to achieve the level of material well-being, education and health necessary to human dignity is only just beginning.

98. The assistance required by a developing country may be provided by a single country which, in that case, will often appear to be seeking to obtain a preponderant influence. Or the assistance may be provided by two or more countries. In that case, it is difficult to avoid a struggle for influence. Lastly, the assistance may be provided within the framework

of international co-operation. That is the form which we advocate unhesitatingly. Our preference is not dictated by political considerations alone. Direct assistance can only be temporary and auxiliary. What the developing countries need above all is a consolidation of the primary commodity markets. Only by basing its progress on its own resources can a nation hope to achieve genuine equality in its international relations.

99. Since the great depression of the 1930's, the countries which export primary commodities have made no real progress in their efforts to exercise control over their sales of these products, while the industrialized nations have been more successful in limiting the economic swings that affected them.

100. The General Assembly, despite the limitation of its activity, at the nineteenth session, nevertheless approved, in its main decision of the session, resolution 1995 (XIX) on the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This permanent organ of the General Assembly has recently begun to function. We attach the greatest importance to this new international machinery in the joint effort to promote economic and social development, especially in the developing countries.

101. We are aware, however, that there is no magic formula for economic development. It can be achieved only by efforts undertaken simultaneously, collective efforts in the economic, commercial, social technical and cultural spheres. The importance and the complexity of the questions falling within the scope of the Trade and Development Conference and the variety of the tasks to be undertaken are apparent from the calendar of meetings to be held by the different organs of the Conference during the remaining months of 1965 and during 1966.

102. The advanced nations should increase and expand their role in the common task of development. For, as was recently pointed out by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the Economic and Social Council, the results achieved during the first five years of the United Nations Development Decade have by no means resolved the most essential problems of under-development. In fact, these problems are steadily becoming more acute. However, we rely on the international organizations and, in particular, on the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to prepare the ground for us to take the political decisions.

103. The question of economic development is closely linked with the population problem, the study of which has received a new impetus since it was raised during the sixteenth session in 1961. The political, social, moral and technical aspects of this problem will be under study for a long time yet, but the statistical projections which it has been possible to make, thanks to new scientific procedures and methods, are enabling countries with rapidly rising populations, where it is particularly urgent to raise the standard of living, to assess here and now the economic impact of demographic pressure on their long-term development plans. Each country and each Government must decide, in complete freedom and in accordance with its own social structure, the policy

<sup>12/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/225.



which it should adopt in this sphere. The role of the United Nations and that of its more advanced Members should be to furnish the developing countries, should they decide to ask for it, with the assistance they need, either in carrying out more advanced study of their particular problem, or in implementing a specific programme. In order to do this, the competent organs of our Organization must henceforth be provided with adequate resources.

104. However important the general problems of peace and however useful the contribution of each one of us to their solution, let us not forget that we each of us have a clear duty, however modest, to help towards the maintenance and consolidation of peace. We have a duty not only to contribute to regional agreements, but, more simply still, to apply ourselves to cultivating good relations with the greatest possible number of States, beginning with our immediate neighbours, and not to permit disputes to arise which might become a danger to peace. In this connexion, my country has unceasingly worked to improve its relations with all countries, especially its neighbours, both those bordering on it and those with which it has a common frontier in the Mediterranean. In the Balkans, Greece has managed to create a friendly climate, with the help of the other Balkan countries. Greece has long had close relations with Yugoslavia. Its relations with Romania have expanded greatly and, recently, relations between Greece and Bulgaria have shown considerable progress. In these circumstances, Greece can only deeply deplore the deterioration of its relations with its neighbour and ally, the Republic of Turkey, during the last two years.

105. This statement is occasioned less by the question of Cyprus itself than by the measures of reprisal against innocent people to which Turkey has resorted. These distressing actions began with the arbitrary expulsion of dozens of Greek subjects who had long been resident in Turkey. These became mass expulsions after the Greco-Turkish Convention of Establishment, Commerce and Navigation<sup>13/</sup> was denounced on a futile pretext. Thousands of Greek subjects were banished from places which had been their homes for generations. Through fear and intimidation, such measures and harassments of all kinds have provoked the exodus of thousands of other Greeks who are Turkish citizens and who, consequently, were not liable to expulsion.

106. On the slightest pretext, the Greeks living in Turkey are subjected to harassment, intimidation and boycott. The police and the courts no longer protect them against wrong-doers. Teachers in the minority schools live under a constant threat and are removed from their posts. On the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, where the population has remained for the most part Greek, Greek language schools have been closed; despite the special status of the islands, arbitrary measures have been extensively taken to expropriate, under various pretexts, farm property and real estate, with the sole aim of despoiling the Greek inhabitants and changing the ethnic composition of the population.

107. The Oecumenical Patriarchate, which has existed in Constantinople for seventeen centuries, and its venerable Head have not escaped persecution. The Patriarchate's printing-house, which is essential for the religious publication of the Supreme See of the Orthodox Church, has been sequestered. The Patriarchal orphanage has been closed. Two bishops have been deprived of their Turkish nationality and expelled. Recently, a Turkish priest who was defrocked and excommunicated forty years ago, and his sons whom he had ordained himself, claiming to represent an alleged Turkish Orthodox Church, has had the impious audacity to attempt, with the encouragement of the Turkish authorities, to take over the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Under the tolerant eye of the Turkish police, they have already laid hands on two important churches of the diocese of Istanbul by virtue of unauthorized deeds obtained for them through the compliance of the authorities. At the same time, the headquarters of the Oecumenical Patriarchate has been placed under police guard and all visitors must prove their identity and justify their visit. His Holiness the Patriarch has been warned not to communicate with other churches in the exercise of his oecumenical apostolate. This persecution has been accompanied by a virulent press campaign. Everything Greek or Orthodox is represented as a danger to Turkey.

108. The climate of tension is sustained by border incidents and frequent violation of Greek air-space which cannot be attributed to navigational errors.

109. In the face of these provocations, which are all violations of the spirit and often of the letter of the Lausanne Treaty of Peace,<sup>14/</sup> the cornerstone of relations between Greece and Turkey, the Greek Government has not lost its temper. It has confined itself to making representations at Ankara and keeping the Security Council regularly informed of events. In a spirit of moderation, Greece has so far refrained from any measures against Turks living in its territory. However, instead of restraining the leaders in Ankara, this seems to have convinced them that they could harass the Greeks in Turkey with impunity. We therefore have an absurd situation in which Turkey is committing numerous hostile acts against Greece, and puts forward exorbitant demands, yet at the same time asserts that it wants to hold negotiations with Greece in order to facilitate the solution of the question of Cyprus.

110. I deeply regret having been obliged, before taking up that question, to bring these facts to the notice of the universal conscience which members represent. These facts are in themselves worthy of your attention, particularly since they have an adverse effect on the question of Cyprus, which is before you, for the peaceful solution we are all seeking can be achieved only if there is a general relaxation of tension between the countries involved.

111. I was struck by the fact that my distinguished colleague Mr. Isik, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, insisted in his statement [1343rd meeting] on the need for a dialogue between Turkey and Greece. I do not wish to question his sincerity; but those who

<sup>13/</sup> Signed at Ankara, 30 October 1930.

<sup>14/</sup> Signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923.

order measures against Greeks in his country would be better advised to match these good intentions with more appropriate behaviour. Before going any further I should like to state that for Greece there is no other way to settle a dispute between nations than by peaceful means, namely by discussions. The essential point, however, is to know who is discussing what with whom. This means that a valid spokesman must be sought in each case, with whom the points on which an agreement might be reached shall be discussed.

112. Another fact which struck me in the statement of my Turkish colleague was his almost complete silence concerning the results of United Nations actions in Cyprus. True, he expressed his country's thanks to the Powers which had helped to form the United Nations Force in Cyprus. For my part, I wish to express the gratitude of Greece to those countries. But the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs made no reference whatsoever to the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, Mr. Galo Plaza, although the latter was appointed by the Secretary-General under a decision of the Security Council [resolution 186 (1964)] to present as complete and objective a report as possible.

113. Greece would like to pay tribute to the entire United Nations action in Cyprus, to our Secretary-General who has once more proved himself so worthy of his office and so conscious of our Organization's role, and to the Mediator, Mr. Plaza, whose efforts have been commensurate with the gravity of the problems. Comments can of course be made concerning the report of a mediator, whatever its merits. Attention may be drawn to possible errors, but to reject the report as a whole, as Turkey has done, and to go so far as to attack the Mediator himself is to attack the very principle of mediation. Mediation is one of the most effective means at the disposal of the United Nations in the case of a conflict of this type. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has even proposed that an organized body of mediators should be established [see 1351st meeting, para. 44]. I do not wish to examine this proposal: I mention it only to show the extent to which the concept of mediation appears consistent with the aims of the United Nations. We all have a duty, therefore, to respect this kind of effort and not to treat it lightly.

114. Greece, for its part, has sought to comply with all decisions of United Nations organs. It was to show its respect for those decisions that, following the recommendations of the Mediator, it agreed to initiate talks with Turkey in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

115. I do not have to review the report of the Mediator, Mr. Plaza,<sup>15/</sup> since it is before you. Nor do I wish to speak in place of my colleague from Cyprus, who will no doubt present his country's viewpoint.

116. I shall merely state briefly the position of the Greek Government and I would point out that the majority of our conclusions and arguments are

corroborated by the report of the Mediator, who has very frankly reported the real situation, which is perhaps not to the liking of everybody.

117. Firstly, we believe there is no requirement to discuss the principle of respect for treaties, to which some have displayed a rather worried attachment. That principle has always existed, but has not prevented a large number of treaties from dying a slow or violent death. With regard to the constitutional system established in Cyprus on the basis of the Zurich and London treaties, Mr. Plaza comments in paragraph 163 of his report that it is a "constitutional oddity". The distinguished statesman from Ecuador is here using the restrained language of a mediator. In reality, it is a legal monstrosity, which, as often happens with monstrosities, has not been able to survive for long. My colleague Mr. Isik said that in principle he was not against the revision of these treaties. Whether you say, as we do, that these treaties are null or whether you say that they should be revised, you are recognizing that a new reality, which we must face, now exists.

118. Secondly, to speak of two communities instead of a majority and a minority cannot alter the fact that there is a large Greek majority and a small Turkish minority in Cyprus. This fact assumes different proportions as soon as we refer to partition, of whatever kind, or co-administration for the island. For we are dealing merely with a minority which is scattered over the whole of the country, and is not concentrated in distinct areas. As for co-administration, that would mean resurrecting the monstrous and absurd system under which the minority can frustrate the decisions of the majority.

119. I should like to point out to the Assembly that if these singular conceptions of constitutional and international law were to be tolerated, we would have to accept the idea that the map of the world and the constitution of a very large number of countries would have to be completely altered, because there are minorities almost everywhere which could demand partition or co-administration. Mankind has long fought for recognition of the rights of minorities. If the Turkish argument were accepted, we would enter a new phase of history, the era of the struggle for the rights of majorities. The virtual unanimity expressed here this morning on the question of Southern Rhodesia is solemn confirmation of the world view that no minority may ever either govern the population of a country or deprive it of its rights.

120. Thirdly, I should like to state that, on the other hand, we strongly favour all possible guarantees for the rights of the Turkish minority in Cyprus. This aspect of the question should not present any problem, since the people of Cyprus are willing to accept even international guarantees of minority rights. In this connexion, I am sure you will note with satisfaction a new document which has been transmitted to the Secretariat. I refer to the Declaration by the President of the Republic of Cyprus regarding the rights which he recognizes and wishes to have guaranteed for the Turkish minority [see A/6039].

121. Fourthly, I wish to comment on another aspect of the Greek Government's policy. Much concern has

<sup>15/</sup> Official documents of the Security Council, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6253. Circulated to Members of the General Assembly as document A/6017.

been expressed for the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, and some have even mentioned ideas of annexation allegedly entertained by Greece. My country has never had, does not have and cannot have any expansionist tendencies. The liberation of its territory was achieved after a long struggle and over a period of 120 years. Greece could not now become an expansionist nation. On the other hand, it cannot accept, under any pretext, that the people of Cyprus should be reduced to a truncated independence. There cannot be two kinds of sovereign States, some which enjoy all the attributes of independence and others which may not do so. The Republic of Cyprus, like every other free and sovereign State, has a right to unrestricted independence.

122. I think that what I have said proves that Greece intends to continue to conform with the principles which govern the United Nations and to respect the decisions of the Organization. It will do so to the end. That is why it wishes to express its satisfaction that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report, emphasizes his intention to continue mediation efforts in the spirit of the Security Council resolution dated 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)], and that he hopes that the countries involved will jointly seek a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem [see A/6001/Add.1, section V]. We accept this conclusion in its entirety. With regard to the talks recommended by the resolution, we wish to state that by putting the problem on the basis of the principles and decisions of the United Nations, the spirit of the Security Council resolution and the mediation called for by the Council, we have established the framework for future action. With regard to Turkey in particular, this is the time to state that Greece considers itself to be a valid spokesman in any discussion of relations between Greece and Turkey in general and the aspects of the Cyprus question which are connected with those relations.

123. But as far as the question of the independence and the future of the Republic of Cyprus is concerned, Greece does not claim the right to take decisions against the will of, without the knowledge of, or in the place of the people of Cyprus. Only the Cypriots themselves have the right to take decisions regarding their own future. There can be no equitable and lasting solution of the Cyprus question without the agreement of the Cypriot people.

124. In stating this fundamental truth, and its desire to continue to contribute to all United Nations mediation efforts and to act in accordance with the recommendations of the organs of the United Nations, Greece feels that it is serving the cause of a people that desires to be free, the cause of relations between Greece and Turkey, the cause of peace in the eastern Mediterranean and the cause of the United Nations.

125. For that reason, Greece believes itself entitled to ask the General Assembly also to make the necessary gesture which will bring a peaceful solution closer. That solution should not be long delayed, because the Cyprus crisis and certain actions of the Turkish Government have already repeatedly endangered the peace which it is the mission of the United Nations to preserve.

126. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): First of all, I should like to extend the very sincere congratulations of the delegation of Poland on the election of Signor Fanfani as our President. We are fortunate to have as President of the Assembly an eminent statesman, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a country with which Poland has been linked by many bonds of friendship and by common experiences in the struggle for the independence of our nations. In a few days my country will play host to the President of Italy. The visit of Signor Giuseppe Saragat will be a visible sign of the development of Polish-Italian relations.

127. But we do regret that illness prevents Signor Fanfani from presiding over our meetings for a few days, and we join all those who have already expressed their good wishes for his speedy recovery.

128. We should also like to express our thanks to the President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey. We highly value his efforts which were aimed at enabling our Organization to resume its normal work. May I avail myself of this opportunity to say how much we appreciate the outstanding contribution made in this respect by our Secretary-General, U Thant.

129. The year 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations having come into being, was to be observed as the year of international co-operation. Regrettably, it has proved to be a year of tensions which are increasing dangerously. It seems as if we have found ourselves at the crossroads of history and that any further inconsiderate step in the wrong direction may bring about incalculable consequences.

130. First of all, as regards the situation in Viet-Nam, it does not fall within the competence of the United Nations. But it shocks the conscience of millions of people throughout the world. It gives rise to serious concern in my own country.

131. The Viet-Nameese people are subjected to brutal aggression. Their sovereign right to choose the proper road for development and the way of life which suits them best is being infringed in defiance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The United States is interfering in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nameese nation; it wants to decide Viet-Nam's fate. Moreover, it destroys all that the Viet-Nameese people have built and achieved through strenuous efforts and hard work after centuries of foreign domination and colonial exploitation.

132. Is it not hypocrisy to declare readiness to negotiate, while towns and villages are burnt, women and children are killed and mutilated, and bombs are dropped incessantly to enforce submission to a foreign dictate?

133. Only political negotiations and peaceful solutions can offer a settlement of the problem. They will prove possible when the basic right to independence and territorial integrity of the whole Viet-Nameese people is reaffirmed in accordance with the Geneva Agreements, when an end is put to air raids and all acts of encroachment on the territory and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and when aggres-



sion in the south is terminated. The interventionists from across the ocean should leave South Viet-Nam, and the will and the sovereignty of the Viet-Nameese people and its right to peaceful unification must be respected.

134. The Polish delegation carefully follows the debates of this Assembly. I am sure the same is being done by the United States delegation. Irrespective of what arguments are adduced, wherever the emphasis may be placed, there can be no doubt whose position finds favour with the majority of States represented here. In its just struggle the Viet-Nameese people stands not alone. With due respect I say, it is in the interest of peace that this should be recognized in Washington. The sooner the better.

135. In the Dominican Republic an armed intervention by the powerful neighbour of that small country is but another symptom of evil persisting in international relations. In this case not only the provisions of the United Nations Charter were violated, but also principles and obligations of the Organization of American States.

136. Should we also mention the continuous pressure on Cuba? And the situation in the Congo?

137. We welcome therefore the timely proposal of the Soviet Union [A/5977] to the effect that the General Assembly, in a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and on the protection of their independence and sovereignty, should solemnly and categorically reaffirm one of the fundamental legal principles in relations among States.

138. Inevitable historic processes cannot be arrested by military force. No State has a right to usurp the role of an umpire on the vital interest of other nations, nor can it place itself above law, for by so doing it destroys the law. Yet only a few weeks ago, in spite of the strong reaction of world public opinion to the events in the Dominican Republic, such tendencies were embodied in a public proclamation of the parliament of the country where the United Nations has its Headquarters.

139. More than that, we are led to believe that while wars between States are waged in some regions of the world, normalization of relations and peaceful coexistence are possible in other regions. Such reasoning is erroneous. Peace is indivisible; so is the principle of peaceful coexistence. Any conflict between States, if not stopped in time, may develop a chain reaction fraught with fatal consequences for the entire world. This of course is due to the qualitatively new character of relations in the contemporary world.

140. The armed attacks against Viet-Nam have already had their repercussions beyond the region of Indo-China. They have interrupted the process of détente which was making some headway in recent years. They have become a source of moral and political devastation deepening the contempt for human life and for the freedom of nations among those committed to a power policy of chauvinism and expansion. They increase pressure to uphold the policy from a position of strength on the part

of groups profiting from armaments, from colonial and neo-colonial exploitation. Should one be surprised that in those against whom are directed actions contrary to the United Nations Charter, contrary to peaceful co-operation among States with differing political and social systems, these actions undermine belief in the possibility of carrying into effect the principles of peaceful coexistence?

141. Peaceful coexistence does not depend on the socialist countries alone. For—as we were reminded only recently by Wladyslaw Gomulka—mutual confidence and friendly co-operation are brought about not by words, but by deeds, and they are shaped by concrete facts.

142. Thus, on the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations we find ourselves still far from the full implementation of the purposes of the Charter. The Charter has no life of its own. Indeed, its life is conditioned by the substance and values we, the Members of the Organization, put into it. Of particular importance is the principle of the special responsibility of the great Powers for the maintenance of peace and security. It is intimately linked with the principle of sovereign equality of all States. The role bestowed upon the Security Council in no way diminishes the tasks the General Assembly is called upon to fulfil.

143. One can hardly agree with the view that an irreconcilable controversy between the great and the small Powers is inherent in the United Nations and that it can be solved only through renunciation of the special responsibility for peace borne by the former, or through renunciation of the rights possessed by the latter.

144. The whole history of the twenty-year existence of the United Nations has been one of two conflicting currents, two trends fighting each other, one progressive, the other retrograde. The latter has been reflected in the violation of the main principles of the Charter, in attempts to distort its provisions and to interpret them in a way which would lead to the further weakening of the Organization. Only too frequently the United Nations has been used for egoistic purposes of power policy. This has prevented it from fulfilling many of its important tasks in maintaining international peace and security.

145. The progressive current has aimed at a gradual and consistent adaptation of the United Nations activities to the great revolutionary transformation of the world of today; at the improvement of the Organization, so that it could meet the changing needs of life; at turning it into an organization of peaceful coexistence in the true sense of the word. At the same time, of course, political realities have proved, and indeed still prove, that the Organization should not have been burdened and cannot be burdened with tasks with which it is unable to cope.

146. There is no doubt that it was the progressive current which has led to results constituting the assets in the balance-sheet of these twenty years. It led to our adoption of such important resolutions as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)], the resolutions on general and complete disarmament [1884 (XVIII) and 1908 (XVIII)],

the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space [resolution 1962 (XVIII)], the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 1904 (XVIII)], and a few others. Each of the major declarations constituted a milestone in the development of our Organization, but often we are inclined to forget these achievements.

147. United Nations bodies have been engaged in working out principles of international economic relations. The activities of regional economic commissions have paved the way towards the elaboration of constructive plans for regional economic co-operation.

148. The United Nations has become an indispensable part of modern diplomacy by providing a meeting ground for important contacts and exchanges of views. It is therefore imperative that the membership of the United Nations should embrace all States. In any case, all non-members of the Organization should already now be at least given access to its Headquarters so that, as stated by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report supporting such a practice, "they may be in a position to sense the currents and cross-currents of world opinion which are so uniquely concentrated in the Organization" [A/6001/Add.1, sect. XII].

149. Owing to the progressive current, an evolution has taken place towards the universality of the United Nations: its membership has increased from 51 to 117. Three of the Member States—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore—were admitted at this session. May I avail myself of this opportunity cordially to greet the representatives of those States in our midst.

150. The more than two-fold growth of the membership has qualitatively changed the structure of our Organization; thus the need arose to expand its main organs so as to ensure an equitable representation of Asia and Africa.

151. Against this background, the absence from the United Nations of the representation of one of its original Member States, of the one great China, appears to be even more absurd. The Chinese People's Republic, as a great Power, has the right to a seat in the Security Council as one of its permanent members, and it is entitled to play that part which the Charter has entrusted to the five great Powers. This view has been corroborated by our present debate in a much clearer and much more convincing way than ever before. Here again one is compelled to raise the question: will this fact finally be realized by those who have for years blocked the only right decision concerning the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations?

152. In spite of the rapid progress in decolonization during recent years, the right to independence of all the dependent territories has not, as yet, been implemented. This morning's discussion on Rhodesia demonstrated how explosive the problem still is. The conversion of small colonial possessions, many of

them islands, into military bases and arsenals of the colonial Powers, has become a matter of serious concern. We cannot forget that such territories were used for imperialist intervention in the Congo and that such territories are being used in the bombing of Viet-Nam hour after hour while we are sitting here and deliberating about peace.

153. One of the important tasks of the present session is to consider and set in motion effective measures for complete decolonization, and also—may I remind members of the report of the Committee of Twenty-four [A/6000/Rev.1]—for the adequate protection of the rights of those peoples who, having been denied their independence, have to resort to arms.

154. We have stated from this rostrum more than once that the newly liberated countries cannot have their independence fully secured without sound foundations for their social and economic development. This is also a necessary requirement for the proper development of the world economy as a whole.

155. May I draw the attention of members to only one of the many critical problems now besetting the international economic situation.

156. The terms of trade between the developing countries on the one hand, and the highly developed capitalist States on the other, have again recently considerably deteriorated. After a temporary improvement in the years 1963-1964, we are witnessing a recurrent outflow of wealth from the developing to the developed countries. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening.

157. We do not share the pessimism of those who continue to question the very possibility of the poorer nations breaking the circle of their economic inertia. We believe in the creative forces of the peoples of the developing countries. We trust that they are able to overcome the obstacles standing in the way of their economic and social progress. However, it is not enough to believe that the developing countries will overcome their poverty sometime in the distant future; it is important that they do so as quickly as possible.

158. Therefore, proper conditions for their economic development should be promptly established, particularly through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. To our regret—I must frankly confess—the results of the last session of the Trade and Development Board have been disappointing. Whatever the reasons, the Board has not succeeded in adopting concrete decisions which would meet the most urgent problems of the developing countries. This will have to be made up for expeditiously.

159. The necessary and still far too slow development of economic co-operation on a world-wide scale obviously implies adequate modifications also in the field of the flow of goods and in economic contacts between socialist and capitalist countries. Would it be too optimistic on my part to express the hope that the tendency on the part of the Western countries towards an easing of restrictions in their trade with socialist States—a tendency noticeable in recent years—could not only be maintained but would gain ever further strength?

160. When considering these questions one should, indeed, bear in mind that the proper and mutually advantageous development of economic relations has to play an important part in easing international tension. And to ease international tension one should not fail to use realistically all the avenues open to achieve this goal.

161. In the process of improving the conditions of world trade, in the working out of new principles of economic co-operation between developing countries, highly developed capitalist countries and socialist countries, the appropriate organs of the United Nations have their tasks to fulfil.

162. When dealing with this problem, may I emphasize our conviction that the large apparatus of the United Nations could perform its useful functions at lesser cost, if better organized and more efficiently co-ordinated. The question of expenditure is becoming one of essence.

163. The steady growth of the budget of our Organization and of its specialized agencies places upon the Member States ever-increasing financial burdens. There is, of course, a limit to which those burdens can be borne by the developing States. It is becoming steadily a burden to my own country. We of the Polish delegation will therefore feel compelled to pose ever more frequently the fundamental question: how can we reverse the bureaucratic trend to equate the growth of activities, resulting from increased tasks, with the growth of administrative expenditures? Thus, we fully share the suggestions put forward in his thought-provoking speech [1341st meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, of France Mr. Couve de Murville, who was moved by the very same concern as ours: to achieve optimal organizational efficiency of the international service at the lowest possible cost.

164. May I now address myself to what, to our mind, is the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem, on which our particular attention and debates have been focused for years. It is that of disarmament.

165. Contrary to expectations, the partial test ban treaty concluded two years ago was not followed by further meaningful disarmament measures. The burning question of how to counter the dangers of the continuous arms race remains unsolved.

166. We are far from underestimating the Geneva disarmament discussions, though their lack of results may seem discouraging. Geneva has provided a breeding ground for many interesting ideas, including those of the non-aligned States. Proposals for partial disarmament measures, collateral measures, have been advanced also outside the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In this connexion the proposals of the Government of the German Democratic Republic of August last are worthy of special note and special study.

167. Poland has also followed with attention the striving of the countries of Latin America to set up a denuclearized zone in their region, a concept so close to the Polish proposals concerning Europe. We therefore followed with the greatest attention the last meeting held in Mexico on this topic. Seeing

its organizers in our midst here, they should be congratulated on the efforts they have taken to approach a solution for the problem. This equally applies to the plans to make the continent of Africa free from nuclear weapons.

168. We of Poland do share the opinion that a strong and new stimulus for the elaboration of a world-wide disarmament programme could be provided by a world disarmament conference. All States, including the Chinese People's Republic, should take part in the disarmament discussions. We support the convening of such a conference at an early date.

169. Of course, my delegation will dwell on the many questions of disarmament at greater length in the Political Committee. At this stage we should like to limit our remarks to the problem of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. An important document on the subject in the form of a draft treaty has been submitted by the Soviet delegation [A/5976]. Another draft, that of the United States,<sup>16/</sup> raises serious doubts on our part.

170. A treaty barring the dissemination of nuclear weapons is obviously not a substitute for complete nuclear disarmament or for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons—two important goals towards which the United Nations should direct its attention and endeavours over and over again. But the question of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, when solved, is meant only to prevent the deterioration of the present situation and to further the disarmament process.

171. The aim is clear: to bar access to nuclear weapons—direct or indirect access, individual or through alliances—to States which at present do not have them. The nuclear Powers should therefore not transfer such nuclear weapons, and States not possessing nuclear weapons should not produce or acquire them or participate in nuclear strategy, or have a share in decision-making with regard to the use of those weapons. A treaty on non-dissemination must equally and without exception bind all the parties; it has to be water-tight.

172. I do not doubt that delegations assembled here are aware of my country's profound and sincere preoccupation with the need for arresting the armaments race in Central Europe. Hence our interest in the creation of a nuclear-free zone, in establishing a freeze on nuclear armaments, or at least in taking effective measures which would prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons in that very region. Poland maintains its proposals which have become known as the Gomulka and Rapacki Plans. Thus we intend to continue the exchange of views on these plans, being ready to consider any reasonable suggestion facilitating their implementation. In doing so, we are prompted not only by considerations of our own security.

173. Twenty years have passed since the termination of the Second World War. Yet not all the wounds inflicted by it have been healed. We cannot therefore disregard the re-emergence in West Germany of

<sup>16/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, sect. A.



policies which were at the root of the disaster of 1939 and as a result, almost led to the biological annihilation of our nation. Do I have to remind you that we lost 6 million people during that war as the result of such policies?

174. The German Federal Republic still refuses to recognize the inviolability of our frontiers, still refuses to recognize the undeniable existence of two German States, and, under the banner of reunification, in fact intends to annex the German Democratic Republic—which, it must be remembered, is the first German State in history which has definitely repudiated the tradition of German imperialism. At the same time, the Federal Republic stretches out its hands for nuclear weapons.

175. How illustrative in this respect were the recent months in the German Federal Republic, when exactly those trends manifested themselves clearly in the election campaign. And those trends are at the basis of the tension still persisting in Europe. Dangerous, therefore, are all attempts to allow access to nuclear weapons to the German Federal Republic, be it within the framework of a collective nuclear force or through some other partnership in the Atlantic nuclear strategy. No words can allay our apprehensions. This is not the road leading to Europe's security, security as we envisage it.

176. For, as the highly esteemed political writer, Mr. Walter Lippmann, so rightly stated in one of his recent articles: <sup>17/</sup>

"... few of the smaller Western European nations and none of the East European will accept a 'Europe' in which Germany backed by the military might of the United States is the dominant Power."

And Mr. Lippmann did not fail to conclude:

"... a great Power, divided as the result of defeat in one world war, must not be armed with the weapons that could be used in another world war."

177. We submit that the question of European security has matured for wider consideration and calls for greater attention than hitherto, and the primary task of European policy continues to be to ensure security to all the nations of Europe.

178. European security can be the starting point for settlement of a number of controversial problems on that continent. It constitutes a basic requirement for confidence and for the shaping of good European inter-State relations. Only thus can tendencies which in West Germany represent the past be effectively contained, and the forces of peace which exist also in the Federal Republic of Germany be strengthened. And we do not deny the existence of such forces there. The laying of strong foundations of confidence and security on the continent of Europe would indeed facilitate the beginning of a historic process of the peaceful solution of the German problem, to which some speakers referred in this debate—some speakers who showed not a full knowledge of the subject.

179. The delegation of Poland would like to recall its suggestion, made at the last session of the General Assembly, [1301st meeting] to convene a conference to

discuss the problem of security in Europe in all its aspects. We have had the opportunity to discuss our proposal with representatives of a number of European States. We are pleased to state to the Assembly that the idea provoked considerable interest. We do not exclude that such a conference, duly prepared, could also consider issues of economic and other forms of co-operation. It could thus turn into a conference for European security and co-operation.

180. Events in Europe have a serious influence upon the world situation. On the other hand, events in other parts of the world cannot fail to affect the situation in Europe. Here, then, is an illustration of the interdependence of situations in various parts of our globe, which is bound to have an impact on peaceful coexistence and its implementation. We have therefore expressed straightforwardly our concern with the situation in Viet-Nam. And we have to add our deep conviction that an early peaceful solution of the conflict between India and Pakistan is both necessary and indispensable.

181. Faithful, as we are, to the firm principle of our policy of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries, we are set to develop and, with an open mind, extend our relations with States of all continents, with States of political and social systems different from ours.

182. Within the last several months alone, we have established new contacts and exchanged important visits with countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And may I be permitted at this point to extend from this rostrum my Government's best wishes for fruitful debates and successful results at the approaching Accra meeting of the Organization of African Unity.

183. Numerous, too, have been Poland's contacts in Europe. May I be permitted here to mention a few of the contacts established and visits paid.

184. The Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic visited friendly Finland. The exchange of views which the Prime Minister of Poland had in Paris has consolidated the traditional friendship linking the peoples of France and Poland. Our Prime Minister also paid a visit to Austria, with which we have close relations. We strengthened contacts with the Scandinavian countries—our neighbours across the Baltic; we played host to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark quite recently. We have developed a dialogue with Belgium; Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs was guest of Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak. On the eve of this session, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart, visited Warsaw. In a few days, as I have already mentioned, we shall greet the President of Italy in Warsaw.

185. We feel persuaded that such a development of bilateral relations is mutually beneficial. It leads to a better understanding and, given goodwill on both sides, it may increase mutual confidence and help ease tensions. It thus enriches and promotes co-operation not only on a bilateral but also on a broader, international scale. It constitutes a valuable contribution to peace.

<sup>17/</sup> "Whither Germany", *Newsweek*, 11 October 1965.

186. In this world of ours, full of controversies and conflicts, in a situation which calls for a determined stand against violations of the principles of our Charter, wise and co-ordinated actions of all men of goodwill are needed; there is need for a concerted action of nations and Governments devoted, not in words but in deeds, to peace. It is for the United Nations to be a stronghold of peaceful co-existence and peaceful co-operation.

187. These are the guiding principles on the basis of which the Polish delegation pledges its full support to the constructive efforts of this General Assembly.

188. Mr. GUIMALI (Central African Republic) (translated from French): My delegation was very distressed to learn that Mr. Fanfani, President of the Assembly, had been the victim of an accident. Before beginning my statement I should like, personally and on behalf of the members of my delegation, to express our heartfelt wishes for his speedy recovery.

189. It is now my pleasant duty to express to him also, on behalf of the Government and the delegation of the Central African Republic as well as on my own behalf, our hearty congratulations on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twentieth session. In electing him to this high office, the Members of the United Nations have recognized his indisputable qualities as a statesman.

190. I must also add, as several of the previous speakers have pointed out, that we have also not been unmindful of his origin, for he is a direct product of Latin culture from whose historic influence, moreover, my country is glad to have benefited to some degree, through France of course. My delegation, therefore, is firmly convinced that, under the enlightened guidance of Mr. Fanfani, our labours will not fail to meet with real success.

191. May I also pay a well-deserved tribute to the outgoing President, His Excellency Mr. Quaison-Sackey, and to the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose perseverance and clear-sightedness have helped to lead our Organization out of the memorable impasse in which it was floundering desperately. Throughout the nineteenth session of the General Assembly—and what a difficult session that was—a son of Africa and a son of Asia together placed at the disposal of the United Nations the best that the Third World has to offer.

192. My delegation would like also to convey its warm congratulations and its most sincere wishes for prosperity to the three new States, the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, which have just been admitted to membership of the United Nations.

193. After this introduction, I should like first to recall that last January during the nineteenth session, the representative of the Central African Republic concluded his statement in the general debate as follows:

"... we should like to express, as we begin the year 1965, our fervent hope of seeing international co-operation at work in every field to make our world more habitable, not only for the weak and poor nations, but also for those that enjoy both wealth and power". [1316th meeting, para. 107.]

194. Three events of vital importance to the life of the United Nations seemed to show us that our hope was going to be fulfilled. First, there was the solemn reaffirmation, last June at San Francisco, of our common and unshakeable faith in the United Nations. Then there was the ratification of the amendments to the Charter designed to enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, two of the principal organs of the United Nations. Lastly, I should point out that my country was relieved at the solution of the crisis caused last year by the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter. There is no doubt that the twentieth session will take place under normal conditions and in an atmosphere of complete serenity.

195. However much that prospect may encourage us, we cannot, unfortunately, ignore the spectre of continuing insecurity which haunts all mankind. We have a strong feeling that the world is approaching its end, and it is no exaggeration to use this phrase if we understand peace as the happiness and the joy of living in tranquillity. That kind of peace, which is very dear to all nations, and to all men, seems to be unstable. This instability reveals itself in three different ways: the exploitation of man by man, the subjugation of man by man and—the real tragedy—the arming of man against man.

196. My delegation considers it natural, therefore, that, in considering the main items with which the General Assembly is to concern itself during this session, we should begin by briefly stating our views on the problem of general and complete disarmament.

197. First, we consider deplorable the abusive use of the principle that "whoever wants peace prepares for war". Even if, historically speaking, this axiom were justified, it should be applied with more discretion in our day and age. Yet man is still constantly being armed against man. Not satisfied with the disastrous effects of conventional weapons, we have dared, under the pretext of scientific and technological progress, to place in the hands of man another type of weapon which is the surest means of destroying the world: I refer to atomic weapons.

198. We are at present witnessing a frantic nuclear arms race together, the proliferation of such arms and the contamination of the atmosphere. Huge sums are being spent on this which could well be used for improving the lot of the two thirds of the world's population who live in poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger.

199. It is high time that this goal was considered henceforth by all men as the only fitting goal for our era, for it is nobler, more humanitarian, in a word, more civilized. Painful though such observations may be, they should cause reflection and concern and impel us inexorably towards complete disarmament and a general halting of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

200. In this connexion, the Moscow Treaty, while still arousing enthusiasm, seems far from having the effects and the logical extensions in which mankind justifiably placed great hope. Behind the reasons of principle advanced to excuse them, we see such evils as mutual distrust, exaggerated egoism con-



cerning progress achieved and an inexplicable fear of losing prestige in this field.

201. My delegation considers it urgently necessary to arrest the dissemination of atomic weapons and to halt nuclear and thermonuclear tests wherever they may be carried out. It also believes that Africa should be denuclearized and that general and complete disarmament, with all its implicit guarantees of control, must be considered with all speed. To that end, we believe that a world conference is necessary which all the nuclear Powers, without exception must attend.

202. The role of the United Nations in this connexion must be seen as particularly important. All possible steps must be taken to make the Powers concerned realize their heavy responsibility to mankind.

203. The more the arms race favours the outbreak of armed conflicts, the more the Central African Republic condemns the use of force for the settlement of disputes. Thus, with regard to the situation in Viet-Nam, we repeatedly reaffirm the principles in which we believe, namely, non-intervention by foreign Powers and the absolute freedom of all peoples to choose their own destiny. If those truths are not observed, disturbances and misfortunes will inevitably follow; that has already proved true. That is why we hope for the immediate cessation of hostilities and at the same time hope that a substantive solution acceptable to all will be found without delay.

204. Apart from the problem of Viet-Nam, another trouble-spot has arisen recently in Kashmir between our friends in India and Pakistan. No one underestimated the seriousness of that situation nor the incalculable consequences it might have. Fortunately, thanks to the persistent efforts of our Secretary-General, a cease-fire has been put into effect. It is regrettable to note that, despite all this, sporadic fighting is breaking out. We can only express our confidence that the goodwill of the opposing parties will bring about a final solution which will take into account the interests of all.

205. In the Middle East, the distressing problem of the Arab refugees remains unsolved in spite of the determination of the United Nations to settle the matter by peaceful means. Is there any need to stress the value of a direct dialogue, of negotiation stripped of all political passions, between the parties concerned?

206. The same observation applies to the question of Cyprus which will also be one of our main items of concern.

207. We wish to reaffirm that we condemn also anything which may, directly or indirectly, lead to war, whether cold or hot, localized or general; the history of nations has eloquently demonstrated how painful are the consequences of war: the emergence of divided nations, separated families desperately awaiting the reconstruction of their ruined homes. That kind of situation calls for a humanitarian and speedy solution which can properly be found only through the application of the principle of self-determination; that is the only possible way to reunification which is the prelude to desirable political stability.

208. In this connexion, everything possible must be done to bring about the peaceful reunification of Germany and of Korea. The competence and the authority of the United Nations with regard to Korea must be recognized by all the parties concerned.

209. There is one living reality to which we should not obstinately close our eyes. I refer to the People's Republic of China. The United Nations must retain the universal character which its founders gave it at its birth. The admission of the China of Peking to the United Nations presents no legal problem and we must closely associate that country with our debates and our joint decisions if we wish it to co-operate in a positive way in the cause of world peace. Indeed, my delegation believes that the admission and the actual presence of that country in the United Nations would be one effective way of enabling us to assess whether or not it was prepared to fulfil the obligations laid down in the Charter.

210. By retaining in its agenda the item concerning the future of colonial peoples [agenda item 23], the United Nations is demonstrating its unshakeable determination to bring about, however great the cost, the complete elimination of the social and political system of oppression and subjugation of man by man. We cannot fail to be encouraged by this state of affairs which is, after all, the result of our joint efforts. But it is obvious that we will not be entirely satisfied as long as the vestiges of colonialism, the dark areas, still remain in any part of the African continent.

211. We therefore think that it is completely inadmissible for an aggressive Portugal and an arrogant South Africa, both outlawed by society, to pride themselves, the one on its anachronistic concept of colonization and the other on its revolting policy of apartheid.

212. Some theoreticians assert that colonization has three objectives: evangelization, civilization and trade. We are among those who recognize that the colonization carried out by other countries has had positive results in many parts of Africa. But so-called Portuguese Africa rejects a gospel which preaches hatred and crime, a civilization which it has not been able to assimilate, and trade which bleeds it white. That part of Africa wishes, in a spirit of brotherly friendship, to recover its full dignity; it wishes to be free, independent and sovereign in order that it may forge its own destiny.

213. Apartheid, which is corroding the southern part of Africa, is capable at any time of creating more serious complications if we do not find an effective remedy for it. Sentimentality about South Africa is tantamount to a betrayal of the cause of the United Nations and is therefore, an admission of complicity.

214. Some large nations have won our admiration and friendship through the broadmindedness and wisdom they demonstrate in some circumstances. Nevertheless, they know that no one can claim to be a champion of the lofty ideals of the United Nations and behave like an enemy of those ideals. Intellectual honesty does not tolerate such a con-



tradition. The United Nations requires the total and unconditional support of all its Members.

215. The problem of Southern Rhodesia is no less disturbing and demands an urgent solution. The whole world should focus attention on the United Kingdom, which possesses all the means necessary to break the resistance of the minority Government and avoid the emergence of what might be called "a Rhodesian South Africa".

216. The United Kingdom has substantial achievements in decolonization to its credit. We have just applauded, in fact, the accession to national sovereignty of the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldives Islands, after many other African States. We are confident that the traditional liberalism of the United Kingdom, which is in a position to exert a whole range of legal and economic pressures, will ensure that the legitimate demands of the majority in Southern Rhodesia are satisfied.

217. In economic matters, what is scandalous is not only the growing gap between the prices of primary commodities and those of manufactured products, which is one of the basic reasons for the persistence of under-development, but the continuing disparity in resources and levels of development between the industrialized and the developing countries. In order to remedy that alarming situation so far as possible, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was held at Geneva last year and the emergence of a spontaneous association of seventy-seven developing countries was one of its positive results.

218. It is to be hoped that the new trade institutions established at Geneva will begin to operate smoothly in the very near future and that the group of seventy-seven countries—which should show willingness to co-operate fully and loyally—will benefit greatly from the spirit of understanding expected of the highly industrialized countries.

219. My country, having attained full sovereignty as a member of the international community, by an agreement reached in a spirit of friendship with the France of General de Gaulle, is happy to be a full Member of the United Nations. It wishes to reaffirm once again its determination to abide by the spirit and letter of the Charter, which it considers of paramount importance.

220. The Central African Republic wishes also to be a neutral country, a voluntarily neutral country, which does not mean that it is indifferent to matters relating to international peace and security.

221. Within the international community, the Central African Republic proposes to choose its friends freely with scrupulous respect for the principle of non-intervention, in the profound belief that those relationships, which are bound to become increasingly closer and stronger, do not necessarily constitute a commitment, much less an allegiance.

222. On the specifically African level, both in regional and inter-African relations, we are guided by a continuing concern for good neighbourliness and we reject any idea of interfering in the affairs of our partners, whether they belong to the Equatorial Customs Union in Central Africa, the African and Malagasy Union or

the Organization of African Unity. The peaceful conditions—if we may refer to them—which prevail throughout our country bear testimony to our full support for the principle of peaceful co-existence.

223. Being dedicated to the sacred cause of African unity, we have set ourselves the goal of improving the very low standard of living of our people and in order to attain that goal, we are endeavouring, despite the handicap of being land-locked, to intensify our trade relations with all countries, beginning with those which are determined to help us in one way or another to fulfil our true selves.

"Truth", as the philosopher M. Van der Meersch said, "is neither art, nor music, nor opulence, nor wit, nor laughter, nor joy paid for by the labour of others. It is rather shared suffering, the momentary shouldering of our neighbour's burden, a tear brushed away, a coaxed smile, an old man consoled. That is truth and joy. It cannot be explained, it cannot be demonstrated, it can be known only by taking the risk, by living it."

224. That is why our national party, the Mouvement de l'évolution sociale de l'Afrique noire (MESAN) has given first priority to the vital tasks of the feeding, care, housing, education and clothing of our people.

225. This ambitious, but exciting programme, does not, as we have said, divert us from our international commitment, namely, the sacred mission of all Members of the United Nations to make our world more livable every day not only for the weak nations but also for those which are both wealthy and powerful.

226. This means simply that the vastly superior interest of the world community makes it incumbent upon us, today more than ever, to strengthen what must be regarded as the pillars of the United Nations: peace among nations and peoples, equality among men whoever they may be, among peoples and therefore among their respective nations, increasing and warmer Christian brotherhood and, finally, more intensive and positive international co-operation in all fields of endeavour.

227. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Turkey, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

228. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): My delegation has listened patiently to the recriminations and unfounded charges directed against Turkey by the Foreign Minister of Greece from this rostrum this afternoon. We have also been subjected to a distorted presentation of the unfortunate question of Cyprus, which is on the agenda of the Assembly. Since there is no doubt that the same recriminations and distortions will be faithfully echoed by another speaker from this same rostrum in a day or so, I shall ask your indulgence, Mr. Vice-President, as well as that of the Assembly, to be allowed to reply to them at one and the same time, under the right of reply, at the appropriate moment.

229. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Cyprus, who has expressed the wish to exercise his right of reply.

230. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I do not intend to deliver my speech today; I will do so on Thursday as planned.

231. I want to protest against the manner in which the Turkish representative has tried to insult me in anticipation; this is something that is very un-

precedented in this Assembly, to my knowledge. When a representative in this hall tries to anticipate what I will say on Thursday, saying that I will lie to you, no comment is necessary.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*