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President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MERIKOSKI (Finland): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to reiterate from this rostrum my congratulations on your election. Our past experience has acquainted us with your wisdom, your fairness and your remarkable knowledge of the United Nations, and we are grateful to you for putting these eminent qualities at the disposal of the Assembly.

2. This debate has already unfolded the wide range and the complexity of the questions to be dealt with in the course of this session of the General Assembly; it has once again demonstrated the commanding position of this Organization in the mainstream of international life. It is not my intention to attempt a comprehensive review of even the most important issues before us. I shall limit myself to making some observations on various aspects of the primary function of the United Nations—the maintenance and the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

3. We are all agreed on the paramount importance of disarmament as a means of reducing the danger of war. We are also agreed, I believe, that the task of the General Assembly is to lend all possible support to the negotiations that will be continued in the Disarmament Committee in Geneva as well as directly between the great Powers. It is generally recognized that the essential prerequisite of progress in this field is the creation of greater mutual confidence between the Powers most directly affected. The partial test ban treaty^{1/} has been rightly hailed as a first step in this direction. Yet the fact that the ban remains incomplete reminds us of the continued weight of the suspicions and lack of trust that still exist between these Powers. In these circum-

stances both sides no doubt will want carefully to weigh the possible effects on the existing balance of forces of any further disarmament or collateral measures.

4. This applies above all to nuclear weapons. The siting and control of nuclear weapons is, after all, one of the most complex and sensitive international problems of the present time. It is understandable, therefore, that any measure that might seem to disturb the status quo in regard to nuclear weapons is likely to cause renewed tension and suspicions and thus to endanger the process of creating greater confidence between the great Powers. It would indeed hardly be realistic to expect any real progress in nuclear disarmament before the wider dissemination of these weapons has been effectively checked.

5. Success in this respect naturally depends primarily on the nuclear Powers themselves. But also the States which do not possess nuclear weapons can, of course, help in the prevention of the spreading of these weapons. The former Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr. Undén, indicated to the Assembly two years ago^{2/} one way in which the non-nuclear Powers could work toward this end—by committing themselves, on a regional basis, not to acquire nuclear weapons or to allow such weapons to be stationed on their territories. The current relevance of this thinking has been demonstrated by recent events. It is today clear to all of us that the introduction of nuclear weapons to areas where none has been before is likely profoundly to disturb the present state of international relations.

6. In this connexion, I should like to refer to the idea put forward by the President of Finland, Mr. Urho Kekkonen, of establishing a nuclear-free zone consisting of the Nordic or Scandinavian States. This is, of course, a regional question which concerns the governments of that area, and I shall not detain the Assembly with any detailed analysis here. But I think I ought to refer to the well-known fact that although the five Scandinavian States have adopted different solutions for the problem of their national security, Finland and Sweden having chosen a policy of neutrality, Denmark, Iceland and Norway a policy of alliance, each of them has refrained from acquiring nuclear weapons and none has allowed the stationing of such weapons on its territory. This, I am sure, is one of the main reasons why the Scandinavian States are recognized as being one of the most peaceful areas in the world.

7. Another aspect of the general question of maintaining peace and security is the peace-keeping function of the United Nations. In spite of all the difficulties and temporary setbacks which the United Nations has experienced in this field, the Organization has proved capable of carrying out peace-keeping operations on a considerable scale and of creating and maintaining sufficient forces to this end, and I should like to take this

^{1/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, First Committee, 1178th meeting.

opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the part which he has played in making this possible.

8. It is, in our view, one of our main tasks to ensure and further to strengthen the capability of the United Nations in dealing effectively with local conflicts. The Finnish Government intends to continue to give its full support to the United Nations also in this field. The financial support which we are giving is of course well known. As a new measure to reinforce the practical ability of the United Nations to act when needed, the Finnish Government announced at the beginning of September 1963 that it had decided, as had been done previously by Denmark, Norway and Sweden, to form a standby force of one infantry battalion strength specially trained and equipped for participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

9. I am aware that the future ability of the United Nations to carry out its peace-keeping task would be greatly enhanced if a lasting solution were to be found to the related question of financing. The position of the Government of Finland in this matter has been stated on many occasions. I shall, therefore, limit myself to saying that Finland considers the establishment and the operations of United Nations forces as a joint undertaking for the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the main task of this Organization. Accordingly, we regard our share of the financial expenses ensuing from such undertakings as part of the responsibilities which we assumed when adopting the Charter and giving it legal force in Finland.

10. We all know that behind the financial crisis there lies a difference of opinion on how our Organization should function and that in a matter of this kind no real solution can be enforced through majority decisions. We must strive to reach a generally acceptable basis on which the activities of the United Nations could be evolved so as to enable this Organization to perform with full success its tasks in a changing world.

11. We have said in many connexions during the past years—and I wish to stress it again—that, in our view, one of the necessary conditions for the success of the United Nations is that its membership be truly universal. The many problems which we have to solve here in common, because they are the concern of all, must obviously be considered by all nations together. Only thus can we truly harmonize actions and interests for the attainment of common ends. This Organization should include all nations. All should be admitted and none excluded, and every Member properly represented.

12. Most speakers before me have already referred to the improvement that has taken place recently in international relations. There is indeed reason to believe that we are moving forward from a narrow interpretation of peaceful coexistence meaning merely the absence of hostile actions, towards active co-operation across ideological boundaries for the realization of the aims of our Charter. Such co-operation, far from preventing any one of us from remaining true to his national responsibilities, his ideals and convictions, is indeed necessary for the advancement of the national interest of each of us. In fact, never has the necessity for international co-operation been so acutely and widely felt as it is today. One of the most significant achievements of the United Nations is perhaps to have brought about this increased awareness of interdependence and a new readiness to work together in order to find ways and means for conciliating dissimilar interests.

13. This achievement tends to be overshadowed in the public mind by the failures and difficulties of international co-operation, and it seems to me that it would be useful to try to break the barrier of silence which surrounds too much of what the United Nations actually is doing. We welcome the idea of Prime Minister Nehru to designate a special year of international co-operation [1051st meeting, para. 38] in order to concentrate more attention on the co-operative achievements and activities now successfully in progress. By so doing we would, I believe, gain better understanding and greater support for the work of the United Nations and thus widen our opportunities for future action.

14. Mr. BASHEV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): Mr. President you have the good fortune to preside over the discussions of an Assembly which, we all believe, is working in an atmosphere of "détente" and heightened hope, in a climate better suited to constructive discussions and decisions than that of previous sessions. One may say that the Moscow spirit, the spirit of the memorable days of the signing of the partial test ban Treaty, is present in this hall, despite the diversity of interests and opinions expressed during these discussions.

15. The peoples throughout the world have welcomed the Moscow Treaty with profound satisfaction and the great majority of Governments have signed it. The discussions at the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly once again emphasize the great significance of this document. The Moscow Treaty is the most important diplomatic instrument of recent years: it is an application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in an extremely sensitive field of international relations, that of nuclear armaments. That is why the general endorsement of the Treaty, the emphasis laid on its importance for an international "détente" and for the creation of new and more favourable conditions for the improvement of the international climate, constitute nothing other than recognition—direct or indirect—of the fact that the policy of peaceful coexistence is the only sensible way of conducting relations between States with different social systems in this era of atoms and rockets.

Mr. Elmi (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

16. It is precisely this reasoning that leads to the conviction that there is no international problem, however complex, that cannot be solved by peaceful means, by negotiation between the States concerned, provided that they display goodwill and a sincere desire to find mutually acceptable solutions.

17. No doubt, the danger of war will remain as long as there exist in the world forces interested in war. Yet we are witnessing a steady growth of the forces of peace. Our delegation is convinced that this trend is bound to triumph: a thaw will gradually replace the cold war and lead to greater confidence; this confidence will lead to closer co-operation; and this co-operation will lead to co-ordinated and effective measures conducive to world peace and security.

18. The position of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the basic issues of our times has been repeatedly stated both in official declarations and from this rostrum. Our Government continues to believe that common sense and a sense of duty towards the future of mankind make it imperative to strive more energetically to create still more favourable conditions for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the further development of economic, cultural and other relations among States.

19. The Bulgarian Government therefore supports unreservedly any action that is likely to lead to an improvement in the international situation. It was one of the first Governments to sign the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, because it is convinced that this Treaty, apart from its intrinsic value, opens up better prospects for the peaceful settlement of international problems.

20. The path to universal and lasting peace is not the smooth roadway that leads to the United Nations. It is a rocky and thorny path, a long and hard road. To traverse it will demand much effort and patience, much wisdom and goodwill. The Moscow Treaty is not the end of this road; it is rather a starting point for reaching the goal so fervently desired by all mankind: the establishment of peace, free from the threat of nuclear war. The Moscow Treaty does not completely solve the problem of banning nuclear tests; it does not stop the arms race; that is why it cannot be an effective shield against the danger of war unless it is followed by other international agreements.

21. Our delegation is convinced that at present the fundamental task of the United Nations is to take advantage of all the possibilities and utilize all the means at its disposal to promote further progress in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

22. It must be noted with regret, however, that the disarmament negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee are moving ahead very slowly and have not yet produced the results which the peoples of the world are entitled to expect from them.

23. However difficult and complex the disarmament problem may be, requiring patient and co-ordinated efforts on the part of all Governments and all peoples, the lack of tangible progress towards its solution is not, in our opinion, due to its inherent difficulties so much as to the lack of a real desire, on the part of certain Powers, to put an end to the arms race and proceed to the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

24. There is no other explanation of the fact that some of the States members of the Committee of eighteen^{3/} are carrying on the armaments race at an increased pace. While their representatives at Geneva continue to speak in favour of disarmament, other representatives of the same countries are planning—with even greater energy—the creation of multinational forces armed with nuclear weapons. The most zealous proponents of these plans are the West German militarists, who hope to obtain the most destructive weapons by a devious route. It is difficult to reconcile the affirmations of some Western Powers that they want to halt the dissemination of nuclear weapons—an idea shared by all peace-loving Governments—with their actions aimed at providing the German revanchists with atomic weapons. Such a possibility frightens the people of the world who do not want to see resurgent German militarism equipped with nuclear weapons; they want to see the vestiges of the Second World War eliminated through the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States and the settlement, on that basis, of the question of West Berlin. It is not the open or covert nuclear rearmament of the Bundeswehr that can seriously contribute to the consolidation of peace, but the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States.

25. In present circumstances, marked by growing mutual confidence, the Government of the Soviet Union has taken decisive new steps to bring the positions closer together. Taking into account the objections raised by the Western delegations, the Soviet Union has expressed its agreements that a strictly limited number of intercontinental, anti-aircraft and anti-missile rockets should be retained exclusively in the territories of the Soviet Union and the United States until the end of the third stage of the disarmament process [see 1208th meeting, para 137]. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes this new initiative taken by the Soviet Government to meet the Western Powers half-way on this point. Now it is their turn to adopt an equally constructive approach towards the substance of the treaty on general and complete disarmament. It is hardly necessary to recall that disarmament is a goal which cannot be reached through the goodwill of only one partner in the negotiations. As an old proverb so aptly puts it, "One good turn deserves another."

26. The declaration made by the Government of the Soviet Union at the current session of the General Assembly [1208th meeting, paras. 184 and 185] to the effect that it is ready to conclude an agreement with the United States Government to prohibit the placing in orbit of objects carrying nuclear weapons is further evidence of the Soviet Government's spirit of constructive co-operation.

27. We believe that, in the favourable climate created by the Moscow Treaty, these new proposals of the Soviet Government can facilitate negotiations on the problem of general and complete disarmament. The Eighteen-Nation Committee is offered new opportunities to carry out its important task. Everything possible should be done so that, during the coming months, the disarmament negotiations may lead to more substantial results and do not once again frustrate the hope of the world that a disarmament agreement can be concluded.

28. The Geneva negotiations are obstructed by differences bearing on fundamental problems, which the delegations of the countries represented in the Eighteen-Nation Committee have not been able to overcome. The best and most efficient means of reaching an agreement would seem to be to convene a summit meeting within the Eighteen-Nation Committee. We therefore consider fully justified and timely the proposal of the Soviet Government [1208th meeting, para. 130] to convene, in the first quarter or first half of 1964, a conference of the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, with the participation of top-level statesmen, to discuss the problem of disarmament, the relaxation of world tension and other important matters.

29. The Bulgarian Government fully endorses that proposal by the Soviet Union and is ready to participate in such a conference, which might give fresh impetus, to the Geneva talks which are at present stagnating.

30. In our opinion, the action taken to solve the basic problem of disarmament not only does not exclude but on the contrary implies and even requires the continuation of our efforts in other directions to improve the international climate. Although the cold war has complicated certain international problems and created others, negotiation and agreement on questions on which positions are not far apart, or could be brought closer, will remove some of these complications and lead to a more confident climate. Every question thus settled would be a useful and positive addition to the agreement already reached, and might offer better

^{3/} Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

prospects for the slow and difficult work of denuclearization and disarmament.

31. The non-aggression pact between the countries members of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization [see 1208th meeting, para. 160] is precisely such a measure. The idea of concluding a pact of this kind is gaining ground among the Members of the United Nations. It is pertinent to point out that among those who acknowledge the importance of such a pact are the representatives of some Western States. We hope that the United States and the United Kingdom, in accordance with the pledge given in the tripartite Moscow communiqué of 25 July, have already begun the necessary consultations with their allies with a view to reaching a satisfactory agreement on this matter. There is no doubt that an agreement to conclude such a pact is entirely feasible, provided that all the countries involved show the same goodwill as they displayed when the Moscow partial nuclear test ban Treaty was signed; and that would be a further victory in the great battle for peace.

32. Similarly, it is worth emphasizing how important could be the opening and the successful conclusion of negotiations on measures for reducing military budgets, on measures to prevent the possibility of surprise attack, on reducing of the foreign garrisons in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and on establishing denuclearized zones in the various regions of the world.

33. We hope that the Western Powers concerned will show the necessary understanding, realism and goodwill with respect to these problems, the solution of which would benefit every country and the cause of peace. All nations of the world would welcome with great satisfaction and great relief an agreement on these problems, as a further demonstration of good sense and of our concern for the security and the future of mankind.

34. We should like to dwell in greater detail on the subject of denuclearized zones, which is increasingly claiming the attention of the peoples of the world.

35. The establishment of denuclearized zones, by reducing the possibility of military conflict and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to new countries and regions of the world, would unquestionably be of considerable help in improving international relations.

36. Many Governments in the Scandinavian countries, Latin America, Africa, Central Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean area are convinced of the undeniable importance of these zones as security factors, and believe they must help to set them up. The adoption at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of resolution 1652 (XVI), which calls for the consideration of Africa as a denuclearized zone, was an important step forward in the promotion of this idea. The agenda of the present session of the General Assembly contains an item entitled "Denuclearization of Latin America". Several of the speakers who preceded me on this rostrum attached considerable importance to the matter of denuclearized zones and put forward some extremely interesting ideas for its solution.

37. In these circumstances, would it not be in the interests of mankind as a whole for the United Nations to take energetic action to encourage States to declare their territory a denuclearized zone or to conclude agreements for establishing denuclearized zones in as many areas of the world as possible? There is no doubt

that the answer to this question must be in the affirmative.

38. The setting up of zones free from atomic weapons in the various regions of the world is linked with the question of guarantees by the nuclear Powers regarding denuclearized countries or zones. It is a perfectly legitimate question, as only such guarantees could make the denuclearization of various countries or regions really meaningful. I would like to express, on this occasion, the great satisfaction of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the Soviet Union's statement that it was willing to join with the Western Powers in providing all the guarantees necessary to exclude from the field of utilization of atomic weapons any denuclearized zones included in regional agreements or any individual countries which declared their territory to be a denuclearized zone.

39. Because of the great importance of the question of denuclearized zones, we would like to propose that the United Nations General Assembly should address an urgent appeal to all States possessing nuclear weapons to give the necessary guarantees that they will respect the special status of States and regions which are free from nuclear weapons, and to declare that they would consider such States and regions to be outside the field of utilization of nuclear weapons.

40. Such an appeal by the United Nations General Assembly to the nuclear Powers would, at the present time, be a positive and important step on the part of our Organization, and could further the solution of the question of denuclearized zones.

41. It should be remembered, in this connexion, that the Bulgarian Government has always had a positive attitude to the problem of the proclamation of zones free from nuclear weapons. It has declared on many occasions that it fully supported the proposals for making the Balkans and the Mediterranean denuclearized zones. Our Government is of the opinion that present conditions are more propitious for successfully putting these proposals into effect, and it is willing at any time to take part in any negotiations with its neighbours and with other interested countries with a view to attaining this goal.

42. The creation of a denuclearized zone in the Balkans would at the same time facilitate the subsequent development of friendly relations between the nations of that area and the solution of other pending problems between them.

43. While discussing this subject, the delegation of Bulgaria would like to express its satisfaction at the General Committee's decision (156th meeting) to recommend that the new item proposed by the Romanian delegation, entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" (A/5557), should be included in the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

44. Our Organization cannot ignore acute international problems which represent a serious threat to peace.

45. The situation in South Viet-Nam is a specific example of these problems which have been a matter of world concern for several years. Arbitrary acts and savage terror have long been everyday features of life in South Viet-Nam. The flagrant violation of human rights in that country—the arrest of thousands of innocent people, the attacks on the pagodas, the

barbaric executions and the murders of which we have heard so much during the last few weeks—are merely the latest link in the long chain of crimes committed by Ngo Dinh Diem. The crimes of the Ngo Dinh Diem régime have now reached such proportions that even its friends and allies in the West can no longer muster the moral strength to continue defending it in the face of world public opinion.

46. The intolerable situation in South Viet-Nam is due mainly to the unpopular political régime, which is kept in power only by foreign aid and terror. This régime has brutally violated the 1954 Geneva Agreements,^{4/} which guaranteed the democratic freedoms of the people of South Viet-Nam and provided for free elections so that steps could be taken to bring about the peaceful reunification of the two parts of Viet-Nam. The problems of South Viet-Nam can only be solved on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. It is thus essential to create conditions which will enable the people of South Viet-Nam to elect freely and democratically a Government of their choice which will respect the Geneva Agreements, will refuse to become a member of any military bloc, and will not allow foreign military bases to be set up in Viet-Name territory. We are sure that the people of Viet-Nam will find a way to fulfil their aspirations to live in unity and peace.

47. The following question has been asked many times in the course of our discussions: how is it that, three years after the unanimous adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, tens of millions of human beings are still groaning under the colonial yoke? The representatives of African countries have described to us in heart-rending detail the brutal forms of colonialism prevailing in Central and South Africa, the military repression in the Portuguese colonies and the apartheid and racism which exist in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. There can be no doubt that a situation fraught with danger for world peace and security—a situation which constitutes a challenge to the sense of justice of all peoples—has been created in spite of the categorical condemnation of all manifestations and forms of colonialism and, I would even go so far as to say, in spite of the impatience of the peoples of the world to see practical, specific measures put into effect for the complete elimination of colonial domination.

48. In these circumstances, it is hard to understand why certain Western Powers persist in their efforts to foist both on the General Assembly and on the Security Council the idea that it is necessary to proceed solely by the exercise of persuasion and moral pressure, even when dealing with such hardened colonialists as the rulers of Portugal and of the Republic of South Africa.

49. Eighteen years of "moral pressures" have not succeeded in convincing a country like the Republic of South Africa that it should terminate its arbitrary annexation of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa or that it should renounce the horrible policy of apartheid. It is clear that at the present time such a method is incapable of leading to any better results.

50. The rulers of Portugal and of the Republic of South Africa do nothing to hide their conviction that the United Nations is incapable of taking effective action against them. They are, in all probability, relying on

their position in the Western world and on the aid, particularly in the matter of armaments, which they receive from the Western countries. The Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of South Africa even went so far as to say, with barefaced cynicism, that he expected the collapse of the United Nations at any moment. What is imminent, however, is not the collapse of the United Nations, but that of the colonialist and racist régimes. This inevitable process will be facilitated by the implementation of the decisions adopted by the African countries at the Addis Ababa Conference,^{5/} which provided for the complete liberation of the continent of Africa from the colonialist yoke. It is the duty of the United Nations, which gave to the world the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, to bear this in mind.

51. The Charter provides the United Nations with a wide range of possibilities of applying economic or other sanctions against States which persistently violate its basic principles. The predominant opinion in this Assembly is that only energetic measures could force Portugal and the Republic of South Africa to change their policies in this connexion. Only the isolation of the racist Governments can lead to real results. The adoption of such measures can have the double effect of bringing us closer to the complete abolition of the policy of apartheid and the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, on the one hand, and serving as a warning to the other forces of colonialism on the other. It could promote and speed up the process of liberating tens of millions of human beings who are groaning under the colonialist yoke not only in Africa, but also in Asia, in the Arab Middle East, and in other parts of the world.

52. By acting in this way, the United Nations could celebrate its twentieth anniversary in the knowledge that it had won a historic victory for the whole of mankind in achieving the complete elimination of colonialism.

53. The present easing of international tension should, in order to have more real value, find its expression, *inter alia*, in practical deeds in the economic field, and should contribute to the development of economic and trade relations between States. It requires not only the joint, co-ordinated efforts of all States on a bilateral or multilateral basis, but also those of the United Nations, so that international economic co-operation and world trade can be improved and expanded.

54. In the last few years, international economic problems have become of the utmost importance. It is no accident that at the present session of the General Assembly a number of delegations have spoken at length on the unsatisfactory state of international economic relations and international trade. This state of affairs is not in the interest of any country. Closed economic groupings, discriminatory measures and arbitrary restrictions in world trade are just so many obstacles for the great majority of countries. The existence of these negative factors disorganizes normal trade, opens the door wide to price fluctuations caused by speculation, particularly in the prices of primary commodities, creates unfair advantage for certain groups and certain countries, upsets the balance of trade and payments—including that of the highly developed countries—with all the undesirable consequences of such imbalance, and hinders the economic development of the newly liberated countries.

^{4/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

^{5/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963.

55. We must therefore make a joint effort to find a solution to these problems and to eliminate the harmful effects of closed economic groupings and of discriminatory restrictions in world trade. That is the only way in which international economic co-operation and trade can be promoted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

56. The improvement of international economic relations would make possible the development, on the basis of wider co-operation, of natural resources and wealth common to two or more countries and the more efficient utilization of technical progress on a basis of reciprocity. In the case of the Balkans, there are favourable conditions for the joint utilization of water resources. As these resources are, generally speaking, very limited in that area, their joint utilization would contribute to the development of both agriculture and industry in the Balkan countries.

57. One of the most important problems of our time is that of finding a way to reduce the gap between the level of living of the highly developed countries and that of the developing countries. In order to find a solution to this urgent problem, it is essential to reduce and, if possible, close the gap between the prices of primary commodities and those of manufactured products, and it is likewise essential to create suitable conditions for an equitable correlation between these prices, so that they can evolve normally on the world market.

58. This price gap does serious harm to the vital interests of these countries and prevents them from carrying out their economic development plans more rapidly. At the same time, its very existence is one of the undeniable signs of neo-colonialist exploitation.

59. As I have just stated, a solution to the problems of international economic relations can only be found through collective efforts. In this connexion, the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is of very special significance. In our opinion, this Conference should clearly lay down more appropriate and fairer principles for world trade and for co-operation in the field of development. The purpose of the Conference is to discuss and adopt effective measures and recommendations, so that in future economic relations between States can be based on complete equality and mutual benefit, so that international trade can be increased, and so that the obstacles standing in the way of the development of such trade can be eliminated.

60. In order to safeguard world peace and security, it is essential that, in their relations, all Member States should base their policies on the principles of peaceful co-existence, that they should refuse to tolerate any manifestations of the "cold war", and that they should work together constructively towards a lasting international understanding. In such conditions, the rôle of the United Nations and its opportunities to exercise an increasingly favourable influence on the development of international relations cannot fail to increase.

61. If the United Nations is to remain faithful to its original mission, the principles underlying its Charter must be complied with: the sovereign equality of all States and respect for their territorial integrity and national independence; prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations; non-intervention in the internal affairs of States; and a whole series of other principles, all designed to further the active and

constructive development of friendly relations among nations.

62. In applying these principles, the United Nations must take resolute action to deal with threats directed against any country which, in the interest of its own development, has chosen a political régime which may not be to the taste of another Government.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

63. The settlement of the Caribbean crisis illustrates the rôle the United Nations might play in such cases in the future. The United Nations has an obligation to help in securing fulfilment of the undertakings given at the time of that crisis. The people of Cuba must be allowed to decide their own affairs in complete freedom and without any pressure from outside.

64. Our Organization has an obligation to be not merely a forum for the discussion of problems of international co-operation, but also a centre for the application of the principle of peaceful coexistence throughout the world.

65. If the United Nations is to fulfil this obligation, it should become more and more a true mirror of the realities of the contemporary world and should face the great problems of our times with more determination. To enable it to do so, changes should be made in its membership and, indeed, in its structure. It is a matter for regret that such changes are far from coming about. For instance, because of the opposition of certain great Powers, motivated solely by their own selfish interests, the United Nations has not yet attained the universality inherent in its conception. For many years now, one of the permanent members of the Security Council has been excluded from the United Nations by all manner of subterfuge. The lawful rights of China—a founding Member of the United Nations—have for years been trodden underfoot. It is high time that the real representatives of the Chinese people were admitted to the Organization and the representatives of the self-styled government of Chiang-Kai-shek expelled. The restoration of the rights of People's China would greatly help the United Nations in the more successful performance of its tasks under the Charter, particularly as concerns the settlement of the most important international issues.

66. We should like to hope that, at its eighteenth session, the General Assembly of the United Nations will play its part in the just solution of the problems which it must face. No effort should be spared in that direction. Mankind is looking, not for speeches and declarations, but for practical measures for the creation of a world without armaments, without wars and without colonial oppression—a world of peaceful coexistence. That goal should be attained as speedily as possible; the interests of peoples throughout the world demand it.

67. Before concluding, I should like to reaffirm the Bulgarian people's faith in the noble work of the United Nations. When U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, visited Bulgaria in July 1963, Todor Jivkov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated:

"The basic principles underlying the United Nations Charter are in complete concordance with the philosophy of the Bulgarian people and with its aspiration to live in peace, friendship and co-operation with all peoples. The purposes of the United Nations, as proclaimed in its Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and the development

of friendly relations among nations, are likewise the purposes on which the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is based."

68. Allow me to assure you that my delegation, guided by those principles, will do all in its power, with the modest means at its disposal, to help in solving the important problems of this session in a manner consonant with the aspirations and hopes of peoples throughout the world.

69. Mr. McINTOSH (New Zealand): Mr. President, it is a pleasure at the outset of my statement to offer you the sincere congratulations and good wishes of New Zealand on your election. Both you and Venezuela and, indeed, the rich civilization of Latin America have been justly honoured by this expression of the Assembly's confidence. The high standards of courtesy and authority set by your distinguished predecessors are already being further enhanced by your example.

70. I should also like to extend New Zealand's warmest good wishes to Malaysia. The Federation of Malaya established an impressive record of political and economic achievement. Now Malaysia offers to Singapore and the formerly dependent areas of Sarawak and Sabah opportunities to fulfil themselves within the framework of a prospering, stable and democratic State.

71. As a fellow-member of the Commonwealth, New Zealand has enjoyed close and friendly ties with Malaya and with the other constituent parts of Malaysia. We have from the first supported its formation because we were convinced that Malaysian federation was desired by the great majority of the people concerned and that it fully conformed to the principles laid down by this Assembly. For these reasons, we have welcomed the Secretary-General's own assessment as confirming, with his well-known care and impartiality, the breadth of popular support which our own reports had suggested. The Secretary-General's findings dispose of any reasonable doubts. They open the way, as the New Zealand Prime Minister has commented, "for the full and unqualified acceptance of Malaysia by all concerned". That this will be given is the earnest wish of my Government. For its part, New Zealand will give its continued full support both for the economic development and the defence of this small and progressive nation.

72. In this hall a year ago [1133rd meeting], the Prime Minister of my country expressed the alarm of all New Zealanders at having to live under the balance of terror in a world where the nuclear arms race was accelerating. He spoke of our deep unease as we compared the furious rate of arms development with the sluggish pace of disarmament negotiations. Since that time there has been a gleam of hope. But we should be deluding ourselves if we pretend that a measure of real disarmament had yet been achieved, or, indeed, that the road to general disarmament had yet opened.

73. The test ban treaty concluded in Moscow was a momentous event. It has been signed by New Zealand along with the great majority of the other nations of the world. There are sound reasons why it should be acclaimed: it should stop further poisoning of our atmosphere and our food; it should put some brake on the arms race; and the more widely this treaty is accepted, the more it will tend to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons. These are real gains and we should be the last to minimize them.

74. But even this most welcome treaty is not the treaty which the United Nations has consistently sought. Despite years of laborious negotiation the result attained is, regrettably, less comprehensive than the original objective. The treaty is certainly a prerequisite for disarmament. But it is not a comprehensive ban. Still less is it a measure of actual disarmament. It does not provide a system of verification. Consequently, it does not serve as the model for that all-embracing treaty for which the world is searching. Unless the Moscow Treaty is reinforced by further measures, the arms race will inevitably continue.

75. Its full significance cannot yet be measured. Its present significance is, however, simple. It is the first binding agreement affecting nuclear weapons and as such it is a hopeful portent. Whether this hope is borne out will depend on how effectively the treaty is observed. And it will depend on further efforts which have yet to be made. A momentum has been created. There has been a small but perceptible growth of international confidence. If this momentum can be sustained, negotiations on disarmament in the Eighteen-Nation Committee could lead on to other measures which have hitherto been beyond our grasp.

76. What has been so painfully gained could also be lost should the treaty not be universally observed. The 102 Governments which have signed it have pledged themselves not to carry out tests that poison the human environment. This number happily includes several countries which have the technical and economic capacity to make nuclear weapons. It would be tragic if the objectives of the treaty and the hopes it has raised or further progress should be jeopardized by the failure of other nations with a nuclear capability or potential to accept its terms.

77. New Zealand has long been concerned about the consequences for human health of nuclear testing in the atmosphere. We are aware, of course, that such hazards may be exaggerated. We are aware that precise scientific knowledge is lacking about the genetic effects of radio-activity. But on one point the scientists are agreed: the less that people—indeed, all living matter—are exposed to contamination, the better.

78. It will be no surprise that New Zealanders and other peoples of the Pacific—we who have seen the awesome glow in the evening sky—feel profound concern lest further atmospheric nuclear tests be conducted. In other years the countries most directly affected by tests have been the first to express their anxiety. It was the African States which, in 1959, declared their opposition to nuclear testing in the Sahara. Similarly, in 1961, those countries most directly in the path of nuclear fall-out took the initiative in appealing to the Soviet Government not to explode its 50-megaton bomb. New Zealand, by its geographical location, is especially affected by testing in the South Pacific. So are the Polynesian peoples of the area, peoples with whom New Zealanders have ties of kinship and towards many of whom we have an obligation and a responsibility.

79. In many public statements in recent years my Government has voiced its intense dislike of all such tests, and has consistently made known its deep concern to all Governments about the dangers of nuclear testing in the Pacific. We shall continue to do so, because we are all too conscious of the danger that if further tests are held they may be followed by others, that they may thus jeopardize the Moscow Treaty and put yet another obstacle in the way of disarmament.

80. There is still time for change in the course of world events and for adjustments of national and international policies. We fervently hope that the conclusion of the test ban treaty and the other steps which may follow—the other steps of real disarmament which must follow if even this small gain is not to be lost—will produce a situation in which no further tests take place or need take place in any environment, in any area of the world.

81. Before I pass on to other matters there is one aspect of the great disarmament debate which my delegation wishes to stress. We stress it because of the emphasis which has been laid upon it by the Secretary-General and because it is an important question to which attention has been devoted in various public statements by the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

82. This is the idea that it may be possible to designate certain areas as nuclear-free zones and to exclude nuclear weapons from them. We recognize that different areas have different problems and that what may be feasible in one region is not necessarily so in another. The greatest difficulties arise in regions where the contending forces of the great Powers are deployed, for it is there that the full implications of what is involved in disarmament assert themselves most powerfully. Any such proposal in these regions—the principal zones of military confrontation—may affect the strategic balance of power so directly that it may be impossible to consider nuclear weapons in isolation from conventional forces. It has to be remembered that the disruption of an existing balance may invite, rather than avert, breaches of the peace. In our own area, moreover, the existence of vast international waterways complicates the problem of ensuring that any agreed nuclear-free zone would remain nuclear-free in fact. The difficulties of verifying such an agreement would scarcely be less than those which have so far proved intractable in the negotiations for general disarmament.

83. It may be that for some regions agreement can be reached on nuclear-free arrangements capable of verification. The efforts made in some continental areas may well show that in certain circumstances the problems posed can be solved. And if, as we all hope, the negotiations for general disarmament begin now to make headway, we should expect that the feasibility of nuclear-free zones would be one of the measures to come under intense and continuing scrutiny.

84. I have spoken of the United Nations as an instrument for peace—its primary concern. But it is no less an instrument for economic development, so that the people of the whole world—not just the most fortunate minority—can be rid of hunger and poverty and the shackles of ignorance and so enjoy a satisfying standard of living. The Preamble of the Charter speaks of the peoples of the United Nations employing ... "international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". Even now we are preparing ourselves for action of this kind. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will bring together a whole range of related problems in the expectation that concerted international action will be able to alleviate at least the most pressing of them.

85. What are the prospects that performance will match hopes? The powerful industrial nations hold the keys to action. On an occasion like this there is no need to reiterate the reasons why. The responsibility that

accompanies their economic power has been heightened in recent years by the creation of regional economic associations. The question we ask is whether those nations and those regional groups are prepared to establish the trading conditions essential for more rapid economic progress in other parts of the world.

86. Some signs are favourable, notably the passage of the United States Trade Expansion Act. On the other hand, we have heard arguments in the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which suggest that nothing much can be done for the rest of the world until the economic giants have settled their conflicts, or until the doctrine of one group has been accepted by others. The industrial countries in GATT have been asked to accept a moderate programme of action for the liberalization of trade in tropical products, and in the Preparatory Committee it has been proposed that the programme should be adopted by industrial countries not members of GATT. The response has scarcely been enthusiastic.

87. In these circumstances New Zealand and countries faced with similar economic and trade problems cannot but feel discouraged. Any success we in New Zealand may have had in building up a satisfactory standard of living rests on a precarious basis of external trade receipts. Like most developing countries, we depend on the export of a few agricultural products to finance our development. Opportunities to export are, however, denied by a whole armoury of restrictive devices. These are responsible, in large part, for the serious decline in the terms of trade we have suffered in recent years, a decline which is twice that of the developing countries as a whole. The situation is aggravated by our almost complete dependence on external supplies of capital goods, external transport services and external financial services.

88. New Zealand wants to do what it can to help the developing countries surmount their trading problems and achieve improved standards. The prosperity of each is bound up with the prosperity of all. As a trading nation, we have an interest in seeing income levels rise in developing countries so that we may find new markets for the goods New Zealanders produce cheaply and well.

89. We are making, and will continue to make, our modest contribution towards solving the trade problems of developing countries, with which we have so many interests in common. These are not limited to agricultural trade. In New Zealand, too, the need to industrialize is dictated by economic reality. In an ideal world, it would no doubt be profitable to specialize far more in those agricultural activities for which our natural resources best suit us. But this is becoming less and less feasible. We are familiar with the practical difficulties of building up a manufacturing sector to our economy, and we can therefore well appreciate the desire of the developing countries to have the United Nations contribute towards their industrial progress.

90. When I speak of the activities of the United Nations in trade and industrialization, I refer also to the regional economic commissions. All are part of one organization; there can be no question of strengthening the regional bodies at the expense of the centre. We think of a coherent whole in which Headquarters and regions perform the functions to which they are best suited.

91. New Zealand, as a result of decisions taken at the recent session of the Economic and Social Council,^{6/} has become a full regional member of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and intends to play a part in keeping with its new status. We should like to acknowledge with appreciation the confidence expressed in New Zealand by members of ECAFE. Equally, on behalf of the State of Western Samoa, we should like to thank them for the support they have given to that former trust territory which as an independent State has now become a full member of that Commission.

92. The task of decolonization, like the tasks of disarmament and development, was built into the very foundations of this Organization. The world community is still grappling with disarmament and development and is still overwhelmed by their immensity. But decolonization is a task which may be seen to be nearing its end. Since the Second World War we have witnessed an annual accession of States to independence. Within a few years this has revolutionized the whole scope of international relations.

93. We are all familiar with the progression from dependent status through self-rule to independence. Every year more territories complete this progression. Now we are left with the special cases, with the fringe, with what are termed the remnants of colonialism.

94. No doubt all territories have in a sense been special cases. Many territories now independent presented formidable problems of political development, problems which were successfully overcome through patience and statesmanship. What is most striking about the territories which remain is their great diversity. They range from isolated coral atolls to the large land areas of Central and Southern Africa. Faced with this diversity the traditional modes of decolonization, though still relevant, will increasingly have to be supplemented by other and more flexible means.

95. As the problems become smaller in range, the need for specialized knowledge and imaginative thinking becomes proportionately greater. The argument is surely no longer about decolonization; the United Nations Declaration [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)] is a political fact as well as a moral one. The challenge is to consider the individuality of the remaining territories, and to devise means of translating the principles established by the Charter and by this Assembly into solutions based on the requirements of a particular territory.

96. In voicing these thoughts the New Zealand delegation naturally has uppermost in mind those scattered groups of islands which are our neighbours in the Pacific. The peoples of these islands are few in number. Since Western Samoa became independent, New Zealand remains responsible for the inhabitants of the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau, numbering only 25,000. The principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on colonialism apply to them just as much as to larger territories. New Zealand has for long willingly recognized that, few though they are, the people of our Island territories, as much as anyone else, possess the right to decide their own political future. The elected representatives of the people of the Cook Islands have over the past year been considering this question further. They have expressed their desire for full self-

government, while at the same time making it clear that they wish to remain closely associated with New Zealand. The solution which is now emerging may be as individual as the situation which is shaping it. But it will be a solution evolved by the peoples of the Islands themselves to meet their own needs and wishes; and thus it will fulfil the aims of this Organization.

97. We are well aware that the political advance of such small territories is perhaps the simplest of the tasks of decolonization. It is an undeniable fact, however unpleasant, that the most difficult colonial problems now remaining involve internal racial tensions. Such tensions may delay the emergence of a territory into independent nationhood but they have not in the past proved insuperable. It is necessary only to cite the recent examples of Jamaica, Trinidad and Malaysia. To submerge racial tensions in political unity requires a considerable act of courage by the races concerned. But it is an act of courage which must be made. Segregation seems to us no basis for an independent State. If the races cannot yet make this act of faith and courage, the United Nations has a responsibility to do its utmost to assist them. New Zealand's support this session will be given to attempts to do so.

98. Admittedly, the part which the United Nations can play in this process is not always an easy one. It is tempting to look for short cuts. We think there are none. The structure of the United Nations is such that its most effective decolonizing weapon must always be its moral influence. The United Nations has an obligation to affirm and reaffirm the goals of equal opportunity; it has also an obligation to recognize and encourage progress towards this goal. But the United Nations cannot solve a society's problems for it. We believe, and our own experience of building a nation from two races gives rise to this belief, that the solution does not come overnight or just by wishing for the ideal. It is true that external influences can often play a valuable part in indicating the direction in which progress might be sought, but they can never eliminate the need for the often painful process of adjustment which must take place within a racially-discordant society.

99. Fortunately, with determination and goodwill this adjustment can and does take place. It is a process which we believe must take place in Southern Rhodesia. The future of Southern Rhodesia cannot help but be of special concern to New Zealand, for we are a member of the Commonwealth and take pride in terming it multi-racial. Several months ago, New Zealand and some other members of the Commonwealth conveyed to the Governments involved our hopes of a peaceful and just solution and our concern that progress towards independence should be linked, through a widening of the franchise, to the proper representation of the people. We shall continue to use any influence we possess in this matter to assist and encourage the constitutional development of Southern Rhodesia towards its acknowledged goal of equal opportunity for all its citizens. That this goal should be reached peacefully must be the desire of every Member of this Organization. We hope especially that the various members of the Commonwealth will be able to exert whatever particular influence they may have to promote peace with justice in Central Africa.

100. South Africa seems to us a problem of an entirely different and much more saddening kind. We have counselled moderation towards South Africa in the past, sincerely believing it to be the best course. It has, we must admit, evoked no positive response from the South

^{6/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 946 (XXXVI).

African Government. Moderation has been condemned as ineffectual; other and more extreme alternatives are being urged. Are extreme courses likely to succeed where moderation has failed? It is a matter for careful consideration whether they would help bring the system of apartheid to an end, or whether, in the present circumstances, they would succeed only in damaging this Organization. As the years pass and the system of apartheid remains, international impatience and distress, especially on the part of the African countries, increase. We should examine all possible courses most carefully in the recognition that we share the same ideal of human dignity and the same objectives—the enjoyment by all people of South Africa of a decent human society.

101. The questions I have discussed are all major problems of the world community. A problem strictly of more concern to the Organization itself but equally vital to the world at large, and particularly to a small country like New Zealand, is the financial crisis of the United Nations.

102. At its fourth special session in May 1963, the General Assembly attempted to deal with the financial burdens weighing on the United Nations. In spite of every effort little progress was made. While the majority overwhelmingly reasserted the principle of collective responsibility, the Soviet Union and some other countries actually extended the range of expenses to which they refused to contribute. This session of the Assembly is meeting, therefore, in the knowledge that some of its Members are not at present prepared to assume their share of the costs of keeping the peace. We are meeting in the knowledge that the denial by some Members of the collective principle is throwing into doubt the capacity of the United Nations to act effectively, whether in its primary role of keeping the peace or in the vital tasks of the Decade of Development.

103. The General Assembly has invited those who have hitherto refused to pay to make a special effort, without prejudice to their political or juridical objections, to cover their debts. If the United Nations is to continue "to play its part as the guardian of peace"—to use the Soviet Foreign Minister's phrase—it needs the co-operation of those who, by exercising a financial veto, have been attempting to dictate United Nations policy. If an "international 'détente'" is to encompass the interests of all nations, the small as well as the large, it should extend to a solution of the United Nations financial crisis.

104. Many speakers have observed that the present most welcome improvement in international relations holds an opportunity for removing some of the obstacles which still stand in the way of our hopes for peaceful co-operation between East and West. My Government shares in the general expectation that the Foreign Ministers' talks which are going on outside this hall will give substance to these hopes. But another opportunity is also presented—the opportunity to strengthen and develop the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace and to make its own contribution to the growth of co-operation between East and West, and between rich and poor. We are concerned most earnestly that this opportunity also should be grasped now; and that from the efforts to reconcile national interests should emerge a stronger sense of international community.

105. Further crucial steps towards the solution of the most intractable problems of our time can certainly

be taken by the great Powers themselves. But general, world-wide disarmament will not be achieved by this means alone. The gulf between rich and poor countries will not be bridged by this means alone. These things will be assured only through the development of a true sense of international community—which implies a determination by all of us to understand each other's wishes and help meet each other's needs, the large among us as well as the small, the rich as well as the poor, the old as well as the new. The United Nations is the sole institutional framework within which the still frail sense of international community can develop. We must therefore examine every course of action—and New Zealand for its part will do so—not only for its contribution to solving any given problem but also for its effect on the future of the Organization itself.

106. Mr. PAPAGOS (Greece) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you once more on behalf of the Greek delegation upon your election to the high office of President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. In conferring upon you the weighty responsibility of presiding over this session of the Assembly, we are confident that your valuable experience and wisdom will ensure the complete success of our work.

107. As the general debate proceeds, it becomes increasingly apparent that this eighteenth session of the Assembly is meeting in an atmosphere of hope. When a few weeks ago the three Powers signed the agreement on the nuclear test ban in the Soviet capital, they were not only responding to the desires of a world worried about the dire effects of radiation on the future of the human race; they were doing more than that, because, as has been said, their agreement brought a ray of light into the darkness of the cold war.

108. Because Greece believes that the Moscow Treaty is an important step towards disarmament and towards the welfare of mankind at large, it was among the first countries to sign the Treaty, on 8 August 1963. The Greek Prime Minister had already stated, on 26 July, that the signing of the Moscow Treaty would contribute to the international 'détente' which Greece had for long advocated. No peace-loving nation can fail to be gratified at the conclusion of the Treaty, which imposes the first curb on the nuclear rivalry of the great Powers and paves the way for the conclusion of other supplementary agreements on disarmament.

109. States which, like Greece, have worked incessantly for peace, feel that the Moscow Treaty will usher in a period of 'détente' which will make it possible to settle other international issues now pending.

110. The road that now lies before the protagonists of the Moscow Treaty is long and arduous. The division between the two worlds has been deep, and the disagreements have been too keen, the disappointments too great.

111. Two fortresses, armed with vehicles capable of destroying the world in the space of a few minutes, still confront one another. More important, more threatening than these sources of danger, looms the vast difference in outlook concerning the most fundamental principles of international life. It is not only nuclear war which threatens the world. There is also war by subversion. There is a whole series of tactics, a whole range of methods by which nowadays, peace may be violated without a declaration of war. It is our duty to face all these problems realistically and

courageously and to take the necessary action to exorcise the threat of catastrophe from our minds.

112. Yet one cannot but wonder why in the schedule of items to be dealt with following the agreement on tests, many of which relate to measures for the reduction of military potential, one finds no trace of an intention to remove the causes which led to the building-up of this military potential.

113. If military potential is reduced before the most explosive problems have been settled, will this result in a better and more rapid settlement of those problems? Clearly, this is a question of cause and effect, and it is a vital question to those of us who regard military preparations as being of purely defensive value.

114. Yet there are no obstacles that goodwill cannot overcome when, in the final analysis, our existence—the existence of our peoples and countries—is at stake. That is why the Moscow Treaty could be a starting-point for establishing relations of friendship and co-operation among nations, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

115. The Moscow Treaty was not the only positive achievement recorded during the past year. The settlement of the Cuban crisis also shows what can be accomplished when a sense of responsibility is coupled with a spirit of conciliation. The United Nations was able to play a useful part in this settlement, if only through the spontaneous and unanimous reaction of its Members in favour of peace. That was not all, however; the debate in the Security Council helped to clarify the positions of the opposing parties, gave the international community an opportunity to make its voice heard, made it possible to put forward alternative compromise solutions, provided the necessary margin of time for direct contacts between the antagonists, and supplied them, when happily an agreement was reached, with a solemn forum for making statements simultaneously and without losing their prestige or dignity. The value of the distinguished role which the Secretary-General played, so discreetly, in these grave events was universally recognized.

116. Another positive achievement among United Nations peace-keeping activities was the progress made in the Congo towards the unification, the internal security, and the political stability of that country. In the Middle East, in New Guinea and more recently in Yemen, the United Nations again provided constructive assistance.

117. It has often been said that the United Nations is useful only in minor crises. Even if that were entirely true—and we know that it is not—minor crises, if allowed to worsen and grow, may very well lead to a major crisis, with all that that entails.

118. Besides, as everyone knows, the United Nations has not yet acquired the means of intervening effectively in every crisis, irrespective of its magnitude or of taking such action as could guarantee the maintenance of peace in all circumstances.

119. The financial crisis of the United Nations has caused us great concern of late. Despite the constant efforts of the vast majority of its Members, despite the example given by so many countries which are beset by genuine economic difficulties in meeting their obligations to the last cent, the financial crisis continues; it grows worse and threatens the capacity of the United Nations to discharge its primary function of maintain-

ing peace. Greece is happy to have made its positive contribution by punctually meeting all its financial obligations to the Organization, and in particular those resulting from the ONUC and UNEF operations.

120. There are certain Members which, while asserting that the Security Council has sole jurisdiction with respect to international security and the maintenance of peace, at the same time oppose any increase in the membership of the Council, although such an increase would make the Council more representative of the present composition of the Organization.

121. We are obliged to note with regret that we are sometimes confronted with tendencies which, whatever their motivation, could eventually only diminish the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for peace.

122. One need scarcely look far into the future in order to appreciate what any financial weakening of the Organization might mean.

123. Take the case of the Congo, for instance. Even those who, at various times, have expressed serious objections to certain phases of the United Nations operations in that region now agree that the principal objective of the operations has been attained. The Congo has been pacified and its territorial integrity safeguarded. We shall have to decide, however, whether those operations can be terminated at the end of the year, or whether they must continue, but with fewer personnel, for a period of a few months. The important point is that, should the situation require us to decide upon the latter course, it would be deplorable if the decision could not be taken or implemented because of financial implications. Even if the matter is considered from a purely material standpoint, it will be seen that the retention of some forces in the Congo for a limited time would be more economical in the long run than a premature discontinuance of the operation, if the result might be to plunge the Congo back into chaos and to make it necessary, later, to begin all over again.

124. While speaking of Africa, I should like to make particular reference to the Conference of Heads of African States convened by His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, which met at Addis Ababa in May 1963.

125. This happy move by Ethiopia, a country with which Greece has maintained cordial friendly relations since time immemorial, led to the establishment of the Organization of African Unity.

126. The aims of this new organization, which we hail with pleasure and welcome most cordially, are unity, co-operation in development, the protection of national independence and sovereignty, and the elimination of colonialism—all aims which are dear to the peoples of Africa and to us.

127. As a neighbour of Africa and a friend of the African peoples, Greece takes note of the aims of the new organization with great sympathy, and hopes that its activities will be productive and that its purposes will be achieved.

128. As regards the Balkan peninsula, the political line which Greece has taken has always been motivated by a desire to settle by negotiation such differences as existed between it and any of the Balkan countries, with a view to the development, on firm foundations, of mutually advantageous relations. To the extent that this attitude on the part of Greece has met with understanding, the results have been satisfactory.

129. With some Balkan countries Greece maintains relations which are either very friendly or are likely to become so. We venture to hope that relations between Greece and the other Balkan countries will tend to become more normal and will eventually improve. Greece, for its part, will, in its relations with its Balkan neighbours, continue to be guided by that spirit of conciliation and goodwill which has always inspired its foreign policy.

130. Although understandably it is the political action of the United Nations in times of crisis that focuses world attention on our Organization, it should be remembered that a political crisis, like the sudden attack of disease, may sometimes result from a chronic ailment; in the present instance, poverty, and its concomitant scourges—unemployment, illiteracy and disease. In a world where distances are being steadily reduced and the political and economic interdependence of all countries and continents is no longer questioned, the most pressing and universal need is the abolition of poverty. In the Herculean co-ordinating effort required, the United Nations plays a unique role, a role which no country or group of countries and no other institution could play. Here, the United Nations, through its specialized agencies and its organs, makes a major contribution, of which the public at large is often unaware or not fully appreciative. A well-deserved tribute should be paid to this effort and the attention of world public opinion should be drawn to it. That is why my Government approves of the idea and supports the proposal that the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations should be celebrated under the sign of international co-operation. The prospect that this gigantic task will be brought to a successful conclusion has been enhanced in our day as a result of the liberation of the colonial peoples.

131. The major historic event of recent years is indubitably decolonization, which has changed the face of the world. This event is historical not only because of its importance, but also because it may be said to have been recorded in the annals of history. The right to self-determination, which was once only an ideal, has been universally accepted and largely applied. We need only look around us to see this. It is true that some vestiges of colonialism remain. We understand the impatience of the African countries to see every trace of domination still remaining on their continent disappear as rapidly as possible. We earnestly hope that the Administering Powers will not delay in setting in motion the machinery for this inevitable transition. In saying this, we are by no means overlooking the valuable contribution which European countries can make to the African countries. But we know that this contribution can be fruitful only if there is freely accepted co-operation. Experience has shown that only if such co-operation exists will the liberated countries instinctively turn to those whom they know and who know them best, and that the painful memories of a short period of conflict will be rapidly erased by the prospect of a long association.

132. The political and economic interdependence to which I have referred can only increase in this field. We therefore most warmly welcome the preparations which have been made for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held next spring. Scientific and technological advances raise productivity, both industrial and agricultural, at an ever growing rate, which justifies the hope that the entire world will enter an era of abundance. But such abundance is not without danger if adequate measures are not taken

in time. The enrichment of certain countries may be accompanied by the impoverishment of others. The abundance of certain primary commodities may lead to a decline in prices and jeopardize the economic balance of producing countries and their development programmes. Artificial barriers to trade may simultaneously cause an accumulation of surpluses in some countries and a shortage in others. These are problems of extreme gravity and complexity. There is no more suitable instrument than the United Nations to study them and seek solutions. However these problems must be tackled without propaganda, without political exploitation, and without bias or prejudice. A fallacious theory, which is unfortunately sometimes given credence, holds that the groupings of the industrially advanced countries must necessarily aim at the exploitation of the developing countries, at their own enrichment at the expense of the latter countries, and at the perpetuation of an economic hegemony. Nothing could be more untrue. The advanced countries can progress only together with the developing countries. The time is past when a trade balance could be established between the preponderantly industrialized countries and the primary producing countries. Active trade today requires all countries to attain a level of prosperity which cannot be achieved without a certain degree of industrialization. This is the philosophy of the European Economic Community which, through association with countries such as Greece and the eighteen African States in equitable conditions, has offered them economic assistance and means of speeding up their economic development.

133. The United Nations Conference for Trade and Development has a heavy programme ahead of it. It must pave the way for the improvement of existing economic organs. It must seek ways and means of overcoming the instability of primary commodity prices which are not worse than the ill they seek to cure. It must prepare the progressive removal of trade barriers without disrupting existing trade structures. The task is enormous, and the Conference can do no more than start it. If it steers clear of propaganda and polemics, it may usher in a new era in economic and political relations.

134. Before concluding, I would like to revert to the event which offers a ray of hope for the present session—the Moscow Treaty—and to the prospects it has opened up. In Greece, our scepticism, which is characteristic of a spirit of inquiry, accentuated by the vicissitudes of our history, has never affected our position in the forefront of new international developments, particularly in working for peace. Being absorbed with our reconstruction and development, we ask only to live in peace. But we need a just peace, a peace based on mutual respect, a peace that will guarantee what we value most: liberty, human dignity and freedom from fear and want.

135. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before proceeding to the second item of this afternoon's agenda, I shall give the floor to the representative of the United Arab Republic, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

136. Mr. RIAD (United Arab Republic): As this is the first time that I have come to the rostrum during this session, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the Government and people of Venezuela our heartiest congratulations on your election to this high office. I have known you personally and followed your contributions in the United Nations,

particularly in the Security Council, and I have found in you a man of great talent and dedication to the United Nations and its principles. I am sure that my Foreign Minister, when he participates in the general debate, will extend to you the official congratulations of the Government of the United Arab Republic.

137. In exercising my right of reply at this juncture, I do so not because Mrs. Golda Meir, in her statement [1224th meeting], introduced anything new so far as the Palestine question is concerned or so far as the policies of Israel are concerned, but rather because I felt it my duty to make a brief statement for the sake of the record and to prove to this Assembly once again the distortions and the persistent efforts of the Israelis to falsify the truth, which is fully recorded in history and in the annals of the United Nations.

138. Mrs. Meir once again has resorted to this tactic and tried to give the impression that Israel advocates peace, that it has no aggressive intentions, that it is extending its hand to all other nations for co-operation and, last but not least, that Israel is seeking to establish peace with the Arab countries.

139. Nothing could be further from the truth than Mrs. Meir's assertions. Israel's record during the last fourteen years is well known to this Assembly. Listening to the statement of Mrs. Meir, it is easy for everyone to see the similarity of the Israeli claims and those of the Government of South Africa and of the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia. Israel, like the Government of South Africa and the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia, is simply asking the United Nations and the world at large to accept the *status quo*, to accept the thesis of these Governments for a peace which is based on the rule of foreigners against the wishes and inherent rights of the original inhabitants of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

140. So far as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are concerned, the United Nations and the international community without exception not only rebuked the authorities of those Governments, but consistently called upon them to alleviate all injustices, persecutions and usurpation of the rights of the original inhabitants.

141. It appears that the situation in Palestine is in fact more critical than that in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. In Palestine, as every one knows

142. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of South Africa has the floor on a point of order.

143. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa): I just wish to point out that the representative of the United Arab Republic is exercising his right of reply to a statement made by another delegation. My delegation did not have the floor, did not make any statement regarding the United Arab Republic, and I must ask you, Mr. President, to point out to the representative that he should refrain from addressing himself to a matter which is not before the Assembly.

144. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I shall give the floor once again to the representative of the United Arab Republic. In view of the point of order which has been raised, may I respectfully suggest to him that it might be better if, without prejudice to his right of reply, he limited his remarks to the reply he wishes to make to the statement made at the previous meeting by the representative of Israel.

145. Mr. RIAD (United Arab Republic): Frankly, when I am discussing a colonial matter, I cannot make a division between one question and another. When I speak about injustice, injustice cannot be divided.

146. It appears that the situation in Palestine is in fact more critical than the situation in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. In Palestine, as is well known, some foreigners invaded the country, occupied it, and expelled its inhabitants. The result is that the people of Palestine became refugees outside their own country. In spite of all this, Mrs. Meir found the courage to speak here about peace and had the audacity to think that she could deceive the peoples of the world by means of the familiar tactics of distortion of the historical facts, as if no crime had been committed, and as if there had been no injustice done to the original inhabitants of Palestine.

147. Mrs. Meir, profiting from the prevailing atmosphere at this session of the Assembly, preaches peace in the Middle East and advocates disarmament, in so doing sharing the same mistake of those others who have spoken about disarmament in the Middle East.

148. With your permission, Mr. President, and in all frankness, I must say that I believe this talk stems either from ignorance of conditions in that area or was loosely made on purpose. So far as Mrs. Meir is concerned, I do not believe that she is as ignorant as that, but certainly she is purposely preaching this philosophy of disarmament in the Middle East while fully aware that the record of Israel, both inside and outside the United Nations, in the last fourteen years has been one of shame and premeditated aggression.

149. The year 1956 is not so long past when Israel stood condemned before this world Assembly. It was condemned because of its aggression, together with that of Britain and France, in attacking my country. The Israeli authorities at that time occupied Gaza, a part of Palestine, and declared the accession of that sector to Israel. Its leaders even went so far as to declare the annexation to Israel of a part of my own country, the Sinai peninsula. This is really consistent with the Israeli policy of expansion.

150. Mrs. Meir, in her statement, tried to lecture us about the relationship between the Arab countries. According to her, that relationship is one of the reasons for tension in the Middle East. It is not for me to prove once again that the real cause of tension is the imposition of a foreign element in that area of the world. The tension in the Middle East will continue as long as the rights of the people of Palestine are not fully and completely restored.

151. What is happening in the Arab world is a normal phenomenon of evolution—an evolution which is recognized and in fact is taking place in many other areas of the world. The relations within the Arab world are relations similar to those which exist among one family of nations. We know how to solve our problems.

152. Mrs. Meir referred to the so-called issue of the German scientists and technicians in my country. The United Arab Republic, in obtaining aid and technical assistance from other countries, is exercising one of the rights exercised by all countries of the world. I do not believe that there is any country, small or large, which is not seeking the help of nationals of other countries. So far as Israel is concerned, Mrs. Meir cannot deny that its arsenal of weapons was developed by outside help.

153. As regards the relations between the Arab countries and Israel since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreements, it seems that here again Mrs. Meir has forgotten that it is Israel that is not respecting these agreements, that it was Mr. Ben-Gurion who said in 1956 that the Egyptian-Israel Armistice Agreement was dead and buried.

154. I do not believe that I need add anything to what I have said, which can easily be proved if the Members of this Organization check the Israel record.

155. The Palestine question should never be allowed to be depicted as a dispute between the Arab countries, on the one hand, and Israelis on the other. The real problem is that colonialism and Zionism have transformed the whole nation of Palestine into a nation in exile, deprived of all rights. Thus, the main party to the question of Palestine is the people of Palestine. This problem is far too deep to be exploited and played around with in the manner thought fit by Mrs. Meir in her speech this morning. Peace—and not only peace but prosperity, tranquillity and, above all, justice—would be achieved in the Middle East by the restoration of the fundamental rights of the people of Palestine in their homeland.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/5559)

156. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The Assembly will now proceed to consider the third report of the General Committee (A/5559) concerning the adoption of the agenda and allocation of items. The General Committee decided [156th meeting], without objection, to recommend that the item entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" should be included in the agenda and referred to the first meeting.

157. If there are no objections, I shall consider that this item has been included in the agenda and will be referred to the First Committee for consideration.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

*Debate resumed from the 1214th meeting.