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**President:** Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY  
(Ghana).

**ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): Mr. President, I should like first of all to convey to you the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Ireland on your election as President. Your election is not only a high tribute to you personally; it is also a compliment to the country you represent and to the continent of Africa, whose progressive emergence to freedom has been such a welcome feature of the past decade. I wish you all success during your term as President.

2. A few days ago the Foreign Minister of Denmark, Mr. Haekkerup, was good enough, on behalf of a number of Member States, including Ireland, to welcome the admission of three new Members to the United Nations [1287th meeting]. I desire to confirm our deep feelings of satisfaction at this event. We in Ireland have watched with keen interest the advance of Malawi, Malta and Zambia towards independence, and we are very happy that this advance has now been crowned by their admission to the United Nations. We wish their Governments a hearty Godspeed in their future work for their peoples.

3. It is appropriate, I think, to recall that the Irish delegation has on many occasions expressed its grave concern at the failure of some Members to contribute to the expenses of the Organization as apportioned by the General Assembly in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. Some delegates may remember that on 4 October 1962 [1142nd meeting] I devoted the whole of my address in the general debate to the crisis which then threatened the finances of the United Nations.

Last year [1226th meeting] I again dealt at length with the same subject.

4. All of us here, I believe, know and appreciate that the heart of the discussion on United Nations financing lies deeper than any legal arguments about Article 19. It is more than a question of dollars and cents. The very survival of the United Nations as at present constituted, with its checks and balances between the Security Council and the Assembly, is involved. The final outcome of the present crisis will show whether there is enough combined wisdom, tenacity and forbearance among its Member States to preserve the world Organization, while we gradually evolve a system of law and combined law enforcement capable of maintaining peace based on justice and guaranteeing all States against aggression. The United Nations cannot fulfil every desire of every Member all the time, but it gives opportunity to all for fruitful discussions of international problems and provides an invaluable informal meeting-ground for bilateral talks and for multilateral pressures on disputants to find reasonable compromises.

5. This second attempt at a world organization not only gives weaker nations the opportunity of combining to bring moral influence to bear on the great Powers, but in addition, through their right of discussion and of granting or refusing assessments in the Assembly, they can act as a counterweight to the permanent members of the Security Council, as a curb on their power of destruction which is now near absolute, as a conciliatory influence on their differences, and as a spur for the extension of freedom, security and prosperity to all peoples of the earth.

6. I can, of course, understand, and indeed sympathize with, the attitude of a great Power which might wish to establish for itself a second veto—a financial veto—on the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. But when the Charter was being framed at San Francisco, it was deliberately and expressly drafted to give the Assembly the power to act by a two-thirds majority as a counterweight—"le contrepoids" as one statesman put it—to the Security Council. Neither the Charter nor the "Uniting for Peace" resolution envisages this second veto. Any attempt to establish it now can only be regarded as a revolutionary act designed to destroy, first, the right of the Assembly to decide on assessments for peace-keeping operations, even those unanimously adopted by the Security Council and, secondly, to destroy the vital modicum of power residing in a two-thirds majority of the Assembly to answer an appeal for a peace-keeping force when, and only when, the Security Council has refused to give assistance through lack of unanimity of the permanent members.

7. It seems to me that if we in the Assembly, composed in the majority of smaller States, are persuaded by legal sophistry to let slip the power to mount and maintain a peace-keeping force when the Security Council has failed to act, or if we allow that power to be wrenched from our grasp by threats of disruption, it will be regarded as a sure proof that we did not deserve to have it and that we failed in our duty to the peoples of the smaller States, and indeed to the common people of the great States as well. I appeal to this Assembly to stand firm by its rights in this crisis, not out of any spirit of opposition to the permanent members of the Security Council but indeed in their best interest as well as that of the smaller States. I ask the Members also to see to it that the Secretary-General shall at all times have sufficient funds to carry out the important decisions of the Assembly. If we do so, I am convinced that though the United Nations may be faced with a period of great difficulty, it will in the end weather the storm triumphantly and emerge greatly strengthened in its capacity to promote and defend world peace and in its ability to develop the resources of the world for the welfare of all mankind.

8. In these critical days in the life of the United Nations, let us remember that when we joined the United Nations we pledged ourselves to promote the aims of the Charter. Our attitude on the matter of financing is being keenly watched by all men of goodwill, to discover whether we are determined to make the United Nations an efficient and effective instrument to achieve the Charter aims, or to allow it to become a tragic shadow of a noble idea. Reasonable men everywhere recognize that an organization, if it is to be successful, must have a sound financial basis and that, even if Article 19 were not expressly written into the Charter, when we accepted its aims we must have presumed the means, and therefore were fully aware that we were undertaking to subscribe our fair share of the means necessary to achieve those aims.

9. Speaking for my own country, I can say that when we applied for membership of the United Nations, we did so after due deliberation, fully conscious of the duties and responsibilities our small nation was shouldering. It was clear to us that in accepting and signing the Charter, each Member pledged itself to pay its due portion of the expenses of implementing the decisions of the Organization and to provide, if necessary, its due quota of soldiers for peace-keeping operations. Had we believed that by any stretch of the imagination or legal sophistry the Charter could be interpreted otherwise by the Assembly, I doubt whether we would have thought it wise or worth-while to apply for membership.

10. In any event, as representatives may be aware, since becoming a Member Ireland has supplied to the United Nations peace-keeping operations, in which we were invited to participate, more soldiers in proportion to population than any other Member State. We mourn the loss of the soldiers who fell, but are proud that they volunteered to serve the noble cause to which the Irish people, like their forefathers, are dedicated: the defence of the rights of men and nations set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and

the fostering of the spirit of brotherhood among all races, classes and creeds.

11. I would appeal to the representatives here present, particularly the representatives of the smaller States, to remember that if the United Nations were to fail, as the League of Nations failed, it is not the great Powers which would be the first to feel its loss. Rather it would be the weaker States, bereft as we would be of the protection and support afforded by the moral influence of this Organization. The Irish people, which had to fight for its personal and national rights for over seven centuries against great odds and practically without assistance, recognizes that it was the influence of this Organization more than any other factor which brought freedom to half its Members. It is because we are keenly aware of the value of the United Nations as the protector of weak nations and the friend of the poor, and our own best hope for the security and reunification of the Irish nation, that our people are prepared to do their share and, if necessary, something more than their share, to support the United Nations in its peace-keeping activities.

12. Let me hasten to point out at the same time that it is not only the smaller nations which benefit from the existence of a strong and efficient United Nations. Had it been destroyed before Cuba, the great Powers, without the conciliatory initiative this Organization exercised to bring them to negotiations, might well have destroyed each other in a nuclear holocaust, and have polluted the atmosphere of the world with radioactive fall-out.

13. In the case of the most recent peace-keeping operation—that of Cyprus—Ireland has refused to accept payment of the usual United Nations allowance for our soldiers. We did so to demonstrate our rejection of the voluntary fund method by which the Cyprus peace-keeping operation was financed. This stand has imposed a heavy financial burden on our small country, but we are convinced that the United Nations cannot achieve the aims of the Charter if the Assembly does not insist that the cost of carrying out its decisions is shared by all Members on an equitable basis in accordance with the Charter. The Irish people are prepared, I believe, to see the Cyprus operation through in the hope that it will bring stable peace to its sorely-tried people and its Mediterranean neighbours, and they are prepared to allow a reasonable opportunity to the Assembly to assess the expenses of peace-keeping operations, including those in Cyprus, on a fair and equitable basis for all Member States; but we are not prepared to agree that the pay of Irish soldiers in the United Nations peace-keeping force should be dependent on the voluntary subscriptions of a few States. We regard it as vital for a small country like ours that our soldiers serving in a United Nations contingent should have the clear and unequivocal status of a United Nations force, paid and equipped only out of the Irish exchequer and funds contributed under regular assessment procedure by all Member States.

14. Great as is my personal faith in the inherent capability of our Organization to promote peace and welfare throughout the world, I see little but confusion and disaster if it has not the resources to carry to a successful conclusion its commitment to

supply peace-keeping forces to a State that has asked its assistance. In my opinion, the recent tragedies in the Congo are due more than anything else to the failure of the United Nations to live up to its commitment to the Congolese people, and that failure arose from a lack of funds contemptibly small in amount in relation to the combined resources of our Member States.

15. Let me conclude my remarks on this subject by saying that the Assembly has the right to assess every Member for its fair share of the expenses of implementing its decisions and that each has the duty to pay, even if it is opposed to any particular decision. If one Member is allowed to refuse payment without penalty, how is the Organization to be financed if all other Members exercise an equal right not to pay? If we are to take a successful stand on this issue which we regard vital to the life of the United Nations and that means so much to the smaller Members, we must, I submit, stand firm now.

16. I wish to turn now to another grave and pressing problem—that of preventing the growth of international tension through the spread of nuclear weapons. The great Powers, as we know, are prisoners of the terrible weapons which they possess. As they confront each other, with fingers frozen on the triggers of instruments of total destruction, they deserve our sympathy, our prayers and our help.

17. Even the smallest countries can do something to help the great Powers to reduce the tension which forces them to keep their nuclear weapons at the ready. We can help, I suggest, by co-operating to avoid strife in all areas in a spirit of peace, conciliation and brotherhood, and by moderating our demands for action to redress injustices in cases where action is not yet in the realm of the possible without war. We can help too by establishing, wherever possible, areas of law and limited armaments in which a group of States would conclude an agreement not to attack one another, to settle their differences peacefully and to limit their armaments to police level, on the condition that the United Nations, backed by the nuclear Powers, guarantee them against aggression from outside or inside the area.

18. We can help to reduce tension also by providing and supporting adequate United Nations peace-keeping forces to patrol and guard the frontiers between small States at war with each other or in grave danger of being attacked.

19. There is one way above all in which the non-nuclear States can help, particularly those among them which have the capacity to make nuclear weapons; that is by declaring their readiness, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution [1665 (XVI)] on prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons to sign an international agreement not to manufacture or acquire such weapons and to accept inspection to ensure they are keeping their pledge. The counterpart to this pledge would be that the nuclear Powers bind themselves not to give control of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear States and to go to the assistance of a non-nuclear State attacked by a nuclear Power.

20. Those who suggest that an agreement against the spread of nuclear weapons should be made dependent upon the reaching of agreement on general disarmament do not, I think, appreciate that the advent of nuclear weapons and missiles, with their capacity of instant, unheralded and total destruction, is something completely new—and irreversible—in the history of man, and that to cope with it requires an equivalent revolution in political thinking on international affairs. Luckily, the necessary change in thinking does not require the revision of the Charter; for the discussions on revision, like general and complete disarmament conferences, could go on forever without conclusive result. And in the meantime the list of nuclear States would continue to increase. We must therefore, I am convinced, endeavour to win through to a stable world peace and the restriction of armaments, on the basis of the present constitutional position and division of power in the United Nations and of accepting the monopoly of nuclear weapons in the hands of the five nuclear Powers for many years to come.

21. Though we are all inclined, from time to time, to cavil at the right of veto possessed by the members of the Security Council, I think that we should accept the present division of power and responsibility between them and the other members as a realistic division and a reasonable compromise in the circumstances of the world today. The whole constitutional position would, of course, be greatly clarified and strengthened if the five nuclear Powers occupied the five permanent seats in the Security Council. But, however desirable it might be to have the People's Republic of China as a member of the Security Council, particularly now that it has become the fifth nuclear Power, it would, in my opinion, be intolerable that this should be done by denying Taiwan and its twelve million people a right to membership of the United Nations. For I am sure that the people of Taiwan wish to govern themselves, as they did before being occupied by China and, later, Japan.

22. The small States in this Assembly which suffered occupation by foreign Powers for much longer and more completely than Taiwan—and many of us with much smaller population—should bear this in mind when asked to eject Taiwan from the United Nations.

23. It would be intolerable also, in my opinion, if Peking were admitted to a seat in the Security Council and were left under the illusion that it was not to be bound by the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or that its colonial occupation of the ancient nation of Tibet or its attack on Korea and India would be forgotten. Neither should it be allowed to think that it would not be subjected, in the United Nations, to the same pressure to refrain from aggression and to free its colonies as other colonial Members have been.

24. I do not know, of course, whether it would be possible to negotiate an agreed settlement of the problem which is called the representation of China. I suggest, however, that the Secretary-General and the four nuclear Powers in the Security Council should be asked to negotiate with Peking and Taiwan between now and the twentieth session to find out whether agreement could be arrived at on the following basis: that Taiwan would take a seat in the Assembly and

that Peking would assume the position of a permanent member of the Security Council, accepting to be bound by the purposes and principles of the Charter, by a non-dissemination agreement and by an agreement that all other nuclear States would go to the assistance of a non-nuclear State attacked by a nuclear Power.

25. It may not be possible to get the agreement suggested between Peking and Taiwan, but now that Peking has become a fifth nuclear Power it is a matter of the greatest urgency that an all-out effort should be made to find out. For it requires very little reflection to see that a number of States in the Eastern part of the world may feel compelled to follow Peking's example unless it is soon brought under the rules of the Charter and the direct influence of the United Nations, and unless, in conjunction with the other nuclear Powers, it accepts an agreement of the kind I have mentioned. The President of the United States said on 18 October 1964 that: "the nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have it." That statement is to be greatly welcomed, and I am sure it will have an encouraging effect on those who are trying to persuade their Governments not to embark on the production of nuclear weapons at great cost to their peoples.

26. President Johnson's assurance, however, would be far more effective to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons if, as I suggested in an address to the Commonwealth Club at San Francisco on 27 November 1964, similar assurances were given by the other nuclear Powers, and if those assurances were incorporated in a treaty, such as I have suggested, between the nuclear Powers and were confirmed and ratified by their treaty-making authorities. Even if all five nuclear Powers are not now prepared to sign a treaty of that kind, it would, I am convinced, be a strong brake on the spread of nuclear weapons and a vital step for the prevention of war and the establishment of stable peace if as many nuclear Powers as possible negotiated and ratified such a treaty without delay.

27. It may be said that the nuclear Powers could not be trusted not to spread nuclear weapons or relied upon to go to the assistance of a non-nuclear State attacked by a nuclear Power. But I have always believed that all great Powers, like small States, can be trusted to keep an agreement which it is in their vital interest to keep. It is clearly in the common interest of the nuclear Powers with highly concentrated urban populations and industrial facilities to restrict the monopoly of nuclear weapons and to prevent the balance of terror from being upset. The balance might, of course, be dangerously threatened by an addition to the number of nuclear Powers or a change in the control or strategic distribution of nuclear weapons. Indeed the sensitiveness of the nuclear Powers in regard to the strategic balance has been well illustrated by their reaction to the establishment and maintenance of missile bases and by the warnings which have been issued to other countries not to allow nuclear weapons on their territories and not to allow observation aircraft to use their airfields.

28. It is therefore, I think, well demonstrated that the nuclear Powers consider it vital to prevent other nuclear Powers from seizing, or even using, further territory which might be equipped as air, sea or missile bases. I am firmly convinced that if the nuclear Powers had committed themselves before the world to go to the assistance of a non-nuclear State attacked by a nuclear Power, none of them would violate its pledge, knowing that it would be in the interests of the other nuclear Powers to prevent the agreement from being broken and that its aggression would destroy its influence in the world—an influence which each of them is trying strenuously to extend.

29. In the light of those considerations, my delegation would appeal to the non-nuclear States to urge the nuclear Powers to negotiate and conclude a treaty of non-dissemination and of guarantee to non-nuclear States against attack. We are greatly encouraged in making this appeal by the fact that Prime Minister Shastri has given the lead by indicating a few days ago in London that India, a non-nuclear State with the reputed capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons, would not produce such weapons, and urging that the nuclear Powers should guarantee non-nuclear States against attack. India has thus given the lead to countries with a capacity to make nuclear weapons, and it is devoutly to be hoped that they will follow India's example.

30. I fully realize that it appears to be asking much of non-nuclear States with the capacity to make nuclear weapons to renounce their right to equip themselves with nuclear armaments. But I know of no case in any strategically sensitive part of the world where a non-nuclear State could proceed to manufacture or acquire a significant number of nuclear weapons without attracting a violent reaction from its nuclear or non-nuclear neighbours. I think it is clear that in some cases an effort to produce them might bring about, before it had proceeded very far, the very attack it wished to protect itself against with the help of a nuclear arsenal.

31. As I see the situation, the best defence of the smaller States against aggression in the nuclear age is to help stabilize the number of nuclear Powers and help to evolve a reliable system of international law and law enforcement in co-operation with the other Members of the United Nations. The first step in the evolution of the ideal system must be, I believe, an agreement that for many years to come the non-nuclear States will provide the forces necessary to keep the peace among smaller States and that the nuclear Powers will police themselves.

32. In conclusion, in the interest of all our peoples I appeal once more to the five nuclear Powers to negotiate and conclude without delay a non-dissemination agreement complemented by an agreement in which they will solemnly undertake to protect the non-nuclear States from attack by a nuclear Power. And I appeal also to the non-nuclear States which have the resources to make nuclear weapons to refrain from doing so. Let us, in the interest of the survival of mankind, make an all-out effort in the days ahead to put a stop to the mad use for destruction of our God-given resources, and use them instead to abolish the appalling misery and want which exist throughout

the world, even in some of the most highly developed countries.

33. Mr. IRIBARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, on behalf of the Venezuelan Government and its delegation, and on my own behalf, I should like to offer you our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. The unanimous vote you received bears witness to the great esteem and prestige you enjoy, both in your country and in this Organization, because of your outstanding personal qualities. At the same time I express the fervent hope that your actions will be crowned with many successes, leading to greater harmony in our debates and the adoption of effective decisions.

34. Three new nations, Malawi, Malta and Zambia, have taken their places among the Members of this Organization. I extend a most sincere welcome to their distinguished delegations and express the confidence of the Venezuelan delegation that they will make a valuable contribution to the joint task of pacification, which is the main objective of the United Nations.

35. Its historical traditions and the constant will of the majority of its people have led Venezuela to pursue an independent international policy, dictated solely by its steadfast devotion to democracy and by the basic interests of its people, within the framework of loyal and voluntary co-operation, which should be mutual and of reciprocal benefit to all the Members of this world Organization. The aim of this policy is the preservation and strengthening of Venezuela's political and economic independence, in conditions which not only permit but actually favour peaceful and constructive collaboration with all the other nations of the world. This assertion may sound presumptuous, but the Members of this Assembly are fully aware that democratic Venezuela has on many occasions proved its steadfast commitment to law, to its international obligations and to the loftiest principles of justice.

36. In conformity with that policy, my country has encouraged and observed strict compliance with the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, both at the world level and at the regional level within the Organization of American States. This explains why our differences with other countries have never resulted in any aggression on the part of Venezuela. Even in those cases where there has been brazen intervention in our internal affairs, with the avowed aim of destroying what has been created by the self-determination of our people, my Government has had recourse to the appropriate international organization and through the justice of our cause, has obtained the condemnation of the aggressors. Similarly, it is by means of friendly negotiation and irrefutable historical and legal arguments that Venezuela is endeavouring to obtain reparation for an act which, through a transaction between third parties, disguised as an arbitral award, obviously invalid and unjust, deprived it of part of its territory, which is still under foreign domination.

37. Long before the United Nations was established, the objectives of this Organization were already deeply rooted in our history or were among the goals which the Venezuelan people were determined to attain. Devotion to peace, to liberty, to respect for human dignity and to adherence to the universal principles of law has been at the very heart of our existence as an independent nation.

38. It is good to recognize and to proclaim that the successful peace-keeping activities of this world Organization, as also the hard-won progress it has achieved in the improvement of living standards in various regions of the world and in the accession to independence of a large group of colonial territories, do it great credit. But no one can expect mankind to be satisfied with the small fraction that has been achieved of the enormous task imposed by the fundamental objectives of the United Nations.

39. The disquiet that this idea inevitably arouses does not, however, weaken our firm resolve to cooperate in the common struggle as we take part in this Assembly. In many parts of the world the Assembly is being watched with great concern, because of the havoc caused by apparently internal wars and the annihilation of human life by poverty, hunger, and racial and religious persecution, in open disrespect for the authority of this world Organization, which is called upon to remedy such evils, and in defiance of the real desires of the great majority of the peoples of the world.

40. In the background of this panorama lurks the spectre of an atomic war. No sooner has a step forward been taken with the banning of nuclear explosions by the Powers possessing this deadly weapon, than new explosions increase the anxiety of the peace-loving peoples of the world and there is a feeling that, instead of progressing, we have moved backward along the path of coexistence. The universal hope that man's intelligence and scientific resources will be devoted to combating cruel diseases and creating better living standards and greater educational opportunities is discouraged by the fact that, in order to withstand the aggression of potential enemies, the so-called great Powers allocate thousands of millions of dollars in their budgets to cover the growing expenditure necessitated by the development of new weapons and monstrous means of destruction.

41. The world is beginning to lose faith in the effectiveness of the efforts that have so far been made to achieve disarmament. In the short lapse of half a century mankind has witnessed the annihilation, in two world wars, not only of soldiers in the field but of civilian populations and it views with horror the threat of a new conflagration whose outcome cannot be foretold. To judge by present means of destruction, such a conflict would inevitably bring about the end of our civilization. That is why world public opinion clamours for more realistic and effective action, designed to end the arms race by means of an agreement ensuring universal disarmament with adequate control and guaranteeing the cessation of the manufacture of both strategic and technical atomic weapons.

42. Despite the fact that emphasis is frequently laid upon the right of peoples to self-determination, there are Governments which, in covert and sometimes overt, brazen alliances with rebellious minorities, strive through violence to overthrow the legal, social and economic order that other peoples have established for themselves in the free exercise of their sovereignty. My Government and my people are deeply concerned by the tendency of some groups in various parts of the world to unleash hateful, cruel and inhuman racial persecution where none existed before or to exacerbate persecution where, unfortunately, it was already rampant. We wish to express here our hope, which is undoubtedly shared by the majority of the representatives present in this Assembly, that the United Nations will take effective steps, designed to put an end drastically to such outbreaks of racial hatred.

43. It is not in a mood of pessimism or discouragement that Venezuela is attending this Assembly. On the contrary, it comes to offer its co-operation in order to give a greater and more determined impetus to mutual co-operation in a common endeavour to consolidate peaceful coexistence among nations of all ideologies, for the purpose of building a civilization worthy of God and of man.

44. Due credit must be given to the technical and financial co-operation offered to Governments through the appropriate machinery of the United Nations and the international financial institutions, in support of the programmes of the developing countries. Nevertheless, the attempts to take practical steps towards the United Nations objectives of eradicating poverty and elimination, or at least alleviating, the economic inequality between peoples have proved unsuccessful. In this connexion we must draw attention to the commendable concern shown by our Secretary-General, U Thant, and the efforts he has undertaken to find a satisfactory solution.

45. In order to attain these objectives, trade relations and development plans must be reinforced through mutual co-operation and self-help. But then there is the question of the exorbitant profits made by the economic Powers and the great international consortia. Thus the peoples of the world are hampered in the exercise of their right to live and develop worthily, on the basis of balanced trade and reasonable prices for their resources and the fruit of their labour.

46. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in 1964, demonstrated the imbalance that exists between the different areas of the world and the unavoidable need to correct it, and showed that an adequate revision of the terms of international trade is the only way of ensuring that wealth is equitably shared among all the peoples of the world. No one today can question the right of the developing countries to fair conditions for the sale of their products on world markets at prices comparable with those obtained by the products of the industrialized countries. There is similar inequality in the social and political fields, too, and it is to a large extent responsible for the continuance of present world tension. This, therefore, is one of the urgent problems which must be solved if lasting peace is to be maintained.

47. Our civilization will be unable to move forward towards universal harmony and a full and decent life for mankind unless the great economic Powers abandon their nationalism and devote themselves with true zeal to contributing sincerely to an adequate readjustment of the trade between themselves and the developing countries. This is the only way to achieve an equilibrium which will enable the less developed nations to carry out their plans for progress, within a correlation of exports and imports which would encourage more satisfactory world distribution of the products of economic activity.

48. That is why my country categorically and unconditionally supports the efforts of the so-called group of seventy-five countries which, at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964, expressed the aspirations of millions of men and women in all parts of the world, who demand their place in a world that is better for all and not just for a few. If we sincerely intend to build a world based on justice, the Geneva resolutions must not become a dead letter but must be given dynamic momentum by this Assembly.

49. Venezuela recently attended the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo,<sup>1/</sup> as an observer. The deliberations of the Conference, with the exception of the aggressive statements of an interventionist country, left us with the hope that the action of those countries may be directed towards the pacification of the world and the creation of conditions of peaceful coexistence among all Governments. This would make it possible to devote their financial resources to the improvement of the material and spiritual standards of living of their peoples. We hope, however, that this rapprochement between the non-aligned countries will not lead to the establishment of organizations outside the United Nations, which would entail the fragmentation and dispersal of resources and efforts. It is essential to avoid weakening the central body, the only instrument that is capable of co-ordinating the will of all countries and in which world public opinion exercise the most effective influence.

50. In order to attain the objectives of the United Nations, it is also essential to eliminate both political and economic colonialism, by means of the effective exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, through universally accepted methods. I am convinced that not only Venezuela, but other countries which were forced to wage cruel wars in order to obtain independence, advocate the liberation of territories which, despite the fact that they have achieved the necessary political and cultural maturity, are still under colonial administration.

51. This statement is a ratification of Venezuela's unchanging policy and I wish to stress once again that a territory's accession to independence must be effected without prejudice to the possible right of neighbouring nations to recover parts of their territory which have been wrested from them by force or by arrangements with a false veneer of legality. To ignore this right would be to run counter to the

<sup>1/</sup> Second Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo, 5 to 10 October 1964.

principle, enshrined in the Charter, of the territorial integrity of States and to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

52. The Venezuelan delegation deems it pertinent to report that the tripartite talks concerning the recovery of part of the territory of the eastern region of Venezuela are proceeding according to the agreement reached in the Joint Communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela and the United Kingdom of 7 November 1963. The first stage was the meeting of experts of the three parties concerned, held at Caracas and in London, to discuss the results of their investigations and the documentary evidence concerning the question, and to proceed to the drafting of the reports to their respective Governments. As soon as those reports are submitted, a meeting will be held at Government level in accordance with the agreement reached in London in November 1963. The Venezuelan Government once again reaffirms its hopes that the question of frontiers with British Guiana will be pursued in the amicable spirit that has so far characterized these talks.

53. The decisions of the regional bodies which lie within the United Nations orbit and are linked to it by specific clauses in the Charter, such as the Organization of American States (OAS), deserve the most resolute and unconditional support. It is necessary to preserve the force of their institutional principles and their objectives of promoting peace and the progress of their peoples within democratic régimes with a high level of social justice and respect for human rights and for the freedom and dignity of the individual.

54. Perhaps the most frequent cause of regional wars has hitherto been frontier disputes, to which has been added the emergence of a new type of indirect aggression. The latter is characterized by the assistance in money, propaganda material and weapons furnished by some States to terrorist guerrilla groups which, having failed to win over public opinion in their countries by the usual methods of political campaigning and disseminating ideas, resort to violence and armed attacks in order to overthrow the institutions which the people have established for themselves. In addition to representing a backward step in the world's political evolution, this phenomenon represents a growing threat to peaceful coexistence among peoples who have adopted different systems of government.

55. Venezuela maintains that in order to eliminate both causes of war it is necessary to put into practice the standards and principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations and in the regional organizations. We feel, however, that the countries represented here should resolve to study the characteristics and methods of the new form of indirect aggression. It is a serious matter and represents a threat to the maintenance of peace; we think that in order to counteract its effects a special agreement might be concluded, containing rules and procedures and establishing exemplary sanctions to be applied against Governments which appear to be guilty of such acts of intervention and indirect aggression.

56. In this connexion, we have the impression that the results of the recent meeting in Mexico of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law

concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States were very meagre. Further joint efforts are therefore urgently needed to enable this Committee, strengthened by the wisdom and support of this Assembly, to achieve more concrete results, both in the domain just mentioned and in the codification of international law.

57. In order to corroborate the sincerity and accuracy of what I have said, I should like to quote two paragraphs from the Preamble to the National Constitution of Venezuela, with which my Government is bound to comply:

"Co-operating with all other nations and especially with the sister Republics of the Continent, in the aims of the international community, based on mutual respect for sovereignties, the self-determination of peoples, the universal guarantee of the individual and social rights of the human person, and the repudiation of war, conquest and economic predominance as instruments of international policy;

"Supporting the democratic order as the sole means that may never be surrendered of ensuring the rights and dignity of citizens and favouring the peaceful extension thereof to all the peoples of the earth."

58. Finally, I should like to express our faith in the United Nations and our determination to work for its survival. We are sure that this desire is shared by all Member States, great and small. This Assembly is the only adequate world forum in which the small States can make their voice heard and the Organization is the most appropriate instrument for seeking a solution to their problems. It is the so-called small States which have the greatest interest in seeing that our Organization emerges successfully from the present crisis. It is those States, too, which constitute a majority in the United Nations and which cannot therefore permit the disappearance or diminished effectiveness of the only body capable, at the present state of international co-operation, of preserving peace and contributing to the solution of the numerous problems confronting mankind.

59. We therefore hope that the obstacles hindering the normal progress of the work of the Assembly will disappear and that the latter will shortly be able to begin its important work in an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation.

60. Mr. COSTOPOULOS (Greece) (translated from French): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure, in speaking in this general debate, to offer you my most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this General Assembly.

61. Your long experience in this Organization, the great personal prestige which your wisdom and impartiality have earned you, are an assurance of your success in the high office you have accepted. Our choice of you is also an expression of the respect and friendship your country enjoys in the United Nations. You may count on the friendly and wholehearted co-operation of my delegation.

62. Moreover, I consider it most auspicious and a source of satisfaction to us all that our President comes from the new Africa whose energy, enthusiasm and vitality bring to all the activities of our Organi-

zation the spark of initiative and innovation it must have if it is to maintain its ability to develop and to keep pace with changing requirements.

63. This year our Organization has again made further headway towards universality. I wish to offer a warm welcome to the three new Members: Malawi, Malta and Zambia. I am sure that they will make a valuable contribution to our deliberations and that they will always find the United Nations ready to defend their sovereign rights and to provide assistance for their national development, as promised to them in the Charter.

64. The outstanding event of recent years has been the achievement of independence by colonial peoples. It is clear that the turning-point has long since been passed and that little remains to be done in this field compared with what has already been accomplished.

65. Today the stage of history is open to all and the older actors are being outnumbered by the newcomers. Although our United Nations family is not yet complete, it may be said that it has already taken on its final shape and that the new States already occupy the place to which they are entitled. This development has enhanced the sense of responsibility and brought increased strength to our Organization.

66. Moreover, the increase in the number of Members of the United Nations has been reflected in the resolutions which make provision for wider representation in the principal organs and offices. The Greek Government has already set in motion the necessary legal procedure for the ratification of the Charter amendments enlarging the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and we express the hope, which all the evidence seems to justify, that these amendments will be ratified by the requisite number of countries, including the great Powers, and come into force before the next session of the General Assembly.

67. During this year the relaxation of tension in international affairs, which had become increasingly apparent since the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, has been generally maintained. While it is true that there have been conflicts in many areas, the general belief that nowadays they might result in a nuclear confrontation has had salutary effect. Nevertheless, the danger of new conflicts is never absent. We know this only too well in our part of the world, where for many months past a bitter conflict has endangered the peace. Greece has shown, in the circumstances, a degree of restraint and moderation which has not always been easy or popular and therefore feels that it has the right to make a further appeal to this Assembly for the peaceful settlement of international disputes within the United Nations.

68. In the same context, we think that such proposals as that the Assembly should discuss the question of renunciation of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers deserve our whole-hearted approval and careful study.

69. I wanted to begin my speech on a note of optimism. Nevertheless, the other side of the picture must not be overlooked.

70. Last year's agreement and resolutions on nuclear testing and the denuclearization of outer space gave grounds for hoping that there would be further disarmament measures. Unfortunately there has been no progress in this field since then. During this session of the Assembly, therefore, we must intensify our efforts to reach agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, the prevention of accidental war and disarmament in general.

71. In accordance with the resolutions on this subject adopted by previous sessions of the Assembly, the question of an international agreement on the denuclearization of Africa has been placed on the agenda for this session. We warmly approve of this proposal. The denuclearization of Africa is already a fact and any step which confirms and guarantees it cannot fail to contribute to the maintenance of peace. I feel it my duty to point out, however, that the question of denuclearization is not the same in the case of smaller regions which already possess nuclear weapons or regions which are within range of the nuclear weapons existing in their immediate vicinity. In such cases the question has to be examined from the point of view of the delicate strategic balance already achieved and it can be considered only in the context of general disarmament and the political agreements relating to it.

72. The relaxation of tension to which I referred earlier is the happy result of the adoption of a new attitude by the great Powers and of a new approach to international relations which generally goes under the name of "peaceful coexistence". Whatever name or definition it may be given, this approach is a great improvement and it has been widely adopted.

73. In this connexion we welcome the resolutions adopted by the Cairo Conference. Today the non-aligned countries hold the balance in international affairs. The decisions taken at Cairo show that these forty-seven countries are aware of their solidarity and of their collective strength, and that they intend to use that strength to promote stability and international peace. They showed that very clearly at the time of the Cuban crisis, when their efforts helped to overcome the crisis and to transform it into the starting point of a new era. Its adoption of the principle of peaceful coexistence and controlled disarmament makes the Cairo Conference an important landmark in that direction.

74. The present crisis in our Organization demands our immediate attention. A decision on the problem of financing peace-keeping operations cannot be further postponed without endangering the very existence of the United Nations. In view of the stipulations of the Charter, and especially after the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, there can be no doubt that peace-keeping expenses are expenses of the Organization within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter and that the General Assembly is responsible for apportioning them. While maintaining this position which we adopted at the fourth special session of the General Assembly, we sympathize with the reasons which have induced some countries to refuse to contribute to legitimate peace-keeping expenses.

75. As the Secretary-General pointed out, in a masterly speech at the University of California last April, one of the main advantages the United Nations has over the League of Nations lies precisely in this ability to mount peace-keeping operations in an age when interdependence, at the world level, is much closer than it was and a local conflict is likely to degenerate more rapidly into a general conflagration.

76. We therefore earnestly appeal to all countries to bear in mind, in handling this grave problem of financing, the paramount necessity of preserving the United Nations from the danger now threatening it. Once this paramount requirement is recognized, it will be possible, without encountering insuperable difficulties, to work out permanent financing arrangements which will take account both of the greater responsibility of the great Powers in peace-keeping matters and of the limited resources of the developing countries.

77. Moreover, experience has shown that the improvised methods by which past operations have been organized need to be replaced by permanent and systematic machinery and that national contingents should be earmarked and specially trained for these operations. We therefore welcome the measures taken to that end by various Member States, including the Scandinavian countries, and promise them our full support.

78. One of the most important events in international life and in the history of our Organization during 1964 was undoubtedly the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva last spring. Greece was an active participant in the Conference and spared no effort to ensure that its work would be crowned with success. Although the results achieved were not spectacular and fell short of our expectations and those of the developing countries, they did at least demonstrate the solidarity of the international community and an awareness of the need for better organization of international economic co-operation. We can take comfort from the fact that the major economic, financial, technical, social and administrative problems were debated at length and that these problems are now fully documented. The permanent machinery which is to be established and will soon go into operation is a pledge that solutions to these problems will be found.

79. The world economy continued to make fairly rapid progress during 1964 and the developing countries as a whole have benefited from the stabilization of world commodity markets and an improvement of the terms of trade in their favour. Any satisfaction we may feel in that respect is, however, necessarily offset by the fact that the rate of growth of their export earnings has been much slower during the last four years than that of other parts of the world.

80. It is therefore the duty of all countries, rich and poor, to continue their efforts to reduce the existing disparity in their standards of living as quickly as possible. This is the great problem of the century and Greece is convinced that the new organs which are to be established within the United Nations will not be only the beginning of a vital world-wide effort. It is in order to give positive proof of this con-

viction that Greece regularly contributes to the assistance programmes of the United Nations, such as the programme of the High Commissioner for Refugees, technical assistance and the Special Fund. Our 1965 contribution to the Special Fund alone is 370 per cent higher than that of the current year.

81. The Cyprus question is once again on our agenda. When, after long and painstaking discussion in this Assembly from 1955 to 1958, Cyprus finally achieved independence, there was every reason to hope that the new Republic, taking its place among us, would, like any other State, enjoy its independence in peace and security.

82. Unfortunately, the Turkish element, taking advantage of the privileges which the Constitution gave it for the sole purpose of guaranteeing its welfare, has systematically obstructed the operation of the machinery of government in pursuit of purely political ends.

83. Having remained completely indifferent to the fate of the island, which was sold to the British Empire in 1878, Turkish interest became apparent only in the course of the heroic struggle for independence which the Cypriots began in 1955. Having taken no part in that struggle and given no help to the war of liberation, to which it was opposed, the Turkish interests thereafter had only one ambition: to partition the country.

84. Year after year the General Assembly had declared that there was nothing to justify such action: the small size of the territory and the fact that there is a mixed population throughout the island precluded it. The Turks, however, persisted in their conviction. Controversial provisions were included in the 1959 agreement and in the Constitution, and immoderate use of these provisions by the Turkish Cypriots culminated in their rebellion in December 1963.

85. At the time of this outbreak it was found that the Turkish community had about 2,500 fully trained and equipped men. This force acted according to a pre-arranged plan and immediately occupied strategic positions which enabled it, with the assistance of forces from Turkey, to try to obtain by force its dream of partition.

86. The threat of invasion is still there and is renewed periodically by the threatening statements of the Turkish leaders. Moreover, how are the attacks of the Turkish air force against the civilian population of Cyprus last August to be forgotten? The embers of the fires started by Turkish napalm are still warm and the blood of the victims—women, children and old people—is still fresh.

87. This is an outline of the grave peril which the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one of the young Members of our Organization has had to face and this grave peril should serve as a warning to all young countries.

88. Thanks to the United Nations, to the determination of the Cypriots, to the action of the Security Council and of our Executive, to the spirit of international solidarity of the Member States participating in the Force and the generosity of those contributing

to its maintenance, Cyprus has been able to face the danger. Mediation efforts are in progress and the matter will shortly be referred to the General Assembly.

89. The Greek Government has, from the outset, given all its moral and financial assistance to the pacification and mediation efforts undertaken by the United Nations and I now give you a formal assurance that Greece will continue to do so. The contribution of \$1,550,000 to the expenses of the United Nations peace-keeping Force in Cyprus—a substantial contribution in view of Greece's resources—is proof of our confidence in the procedures prescribed by the Charter and of our respect for United Nations resolutions.

90. It is now my pleasant duty to pay a tribute to the outstanding personality of our Secretary-General who, in organizing the Force sent to Cyprus, guiding it at every step, appointing the two successive mediators and his personal representatives in Cyprus and being the inspiration and the driving force of the whole United Nations intervention in the Cyprus affair, has acquired a new title to the esteem and gratitude of all Member States. In his untiring devotion to his arduous task, he has neglected his health and fallen ill; we sincerely wish him a rapid and complete recovery.

91. I should not wish to let this opportunity pass without welcoming the resolution on Cyprus adopted by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964. It is significant that the Heads of State and of Government, coming from the most diverse countries and thus representing a wide consensus of the most highly informed world opinion, expressed the essence of the problem: namely the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its right to determine its political future free from all external threats.

92. It is, of course, understood that minority rights must be effectively protected, in Cyprus as elsewhere. But it must not be forgotten that the majority, too, has its rights, which cannot be ignored without violating the principles laid down by the Charter of the United Nations.

93. Whereas Greece has done everything in its power to prevent the Cyprus crisis from invading the field of its bilateral relations with Turkey, the Turkish Government, on the other hand, has from the outset adopted a policy of continual provocation which forced my Government to have recourse to the Security Council.

94. This provocative and blindly vindictive policy culminated in the steps taken against completely innocent people. I refer to the mass deportations, intimidation and vexations of every kind to which the Greeks living in Turkey are subjected.

95. Thousands of Greek citizens residing at Istanbul—women, old people, children and invalids not expected—were expelled overnight, uprooted from the land of their birth and cast upon the open road to experience the sad fate of refugees. We consider this tragedy unworthy of the contemporary political ethos and the standards of our civilization.

96. Turkey asserts that it is Greece's attitude in the Cyprus question which is the reason and the justification for these arbitrary measures—as though it were admissible that support for an appeal in due form to the United Nations could give rise to reprisals! What would become of our Organization if Member States were obliged to hesitate before having recourse to it, for fear of exposing their kinsmen to arbitrary action by the country that would be called to account? The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the persecution of innocent people for political ends.

97. Faithful to its democratic traditions, Greece will support with all its strength in this Assembly the complete and unfettered independence of Cyprus. Our attitude is directed not only by a moral debt to our Cypriot brothers, but also by our profound dedication to the principles of the Charter. For Greece, the Cyprus question is not a Graeco-Turkish dispute, as Turkey is vainly endeavouring to show. For us, the Cyprus question is exclusively a matter of applying certain basic principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and generally applied in all the new nations that have come into being since the War. The people of Cyprus have the right to ask the world tribunal of the United Nations for the same treatment as the new States of Asia and Africa.

98. As regards the plans for annexation by force or other unilateral action which have been attributed to Greece, we wish to state once again that they are nothing but myths. Greece's only aim in the Cyprus question is to leave the Cypriot people free to decide what form their future sovereignty shall take. It is the other side which has expansionist aims of partition or artificial federation, and threatens war and invasion. Greece will support Cyprus before the United Nations without recourse to violence or any other threat, with full confidence in the universal recognition of the principles of liberty and democracy.

99. Greece has always attached great importance to its relations with countries forming part of the Balkan peninsula, and this was demonstrated by negotiation. These efforts produced successful results.

100. Relations between Greece and Yugoslavia have for several years been marked by reciprocal friendship, and we recently concluded agreements on various questions that were in abeyance. With Romania we have settled by common accord various questions that were still pending and we are at present negotiating the settlement of others; a friendly atmosphere has thus been established between the two countries.

101. Lastly, in July of this year, Greece restored normal relations with Bulgaria by a series of agreements, and we may legitimately hope that the neighbourly relations established with this adjacent country will eventually develop to the great benefit of both peoples.

102. So long as Greece meets with equal good will on the part of its neighbours, it will pursue its policy of understanding and conciliation. Greece is convinced that in so doing it represents a stabilizing element in the peace of the Balkans.

103. Having displayed moderation and restraint in a crisis which touches it to the quick, and consideration

in its relations with its neighbours, regardless of their political and social régimes, Greece is pursuing a policy designed to encourage, both in its immediate vicinity and on a vaster scale, the continuation of efforts aimed at bringing about more and more far-reaching settlements between the nations of the West and those of the East, with a view to broadening the horizons of peace in our time.

104. Mr. BERNSTEIN (Chile) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of Chile, I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election, which denotes recognition of your ability, your intelligence, your impartiality and your faith in international peace and harmony. Your appointment does honour to you, to your country and to Africa, but, above all it does honour to the United Nations.

105. This is the first opportunity that the new Government of Chile has had of outlining here some of the basic principles guiding its foreign policy, particularly with respect to the United Nations.

106. The presidential elections held in my country last September were conducted in the freedom, honesty and order characteristic of Chilean civic traditions. In a century and a half of independent life Chile has not tolerated dictatorships, nor, fortunately, has it experienced totalitarianism or racialism. Its political democracy has been and is exemplary. Nevertheless, profound social tensions are now calling for urgent and radical changes in national structures. This is why last September's Chilean elections were an event of historic consequence for my country: the change of a system of life, of a socio-economic system, of a scale of values governing human relationships. In this change the people honestly and consciously, and with the backing of important political parties and independent forces, chose a programme of Christian democracy; a revolution, in other words, capable of removing the old structures of society but carried out without despotism, without violence, without submission to foreign orders, and with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

107. A process of profound changes has just begun in Chile, prompted by a people demanding the realization of all the ideals formed in the hundred years of our country's life. There were stages of juridical organization, political progress and industrial development. It is possible to trace a whole chain of experiences and progress which will rightly show my country as being among the first to achieve authentic democracy. But everything accomplished is now culminating in the desires of a nation which seeks better opportunities to channel its creative energies and improve its individual and collective life. The nation is now living through a decisive event which can only be compared to that which, more than 150 years ago, put an end to our colonial dependence.

108. At that time we achieved freedom and sovereignty. Now we are going to achieve true social justice, free from egoism and privilege, in order to make way for a genuine, united democracy which will make the best use of our physical and human resources and of the potential accumulated by contemporary civilization. This movement has been carried out in all freedom and legality, with respect for all ideas

and all men, the opposing forces being given their normal opportunity to exercise criticism, so necessary in a society like that of Chile, which seeks democratic methods in solving its contradictions, strengthening the spirit of initiative and ensuring that everyone participates in the country's destiny. The ballot boxes, not subversion or hatred, have been the tools of our revolution. For the first time in the Americas, there are the beginnings of an attempt at social change based on the postulates of Christian democracy, an integral and indivisible idea born of the anxieties of so many peoples, valid in many places yet subject to national characteristics. We are well aware that, as Abraham Lincoln once said, "the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew".

109. Our immediate practical goals are in line with the aspirations of all developing countries: more schools, more opportunities for vocational and cultural training, more houses, more agricultural freeholders, more industrial production, more equitable taxation, more foreign trade, greater equality before the law. We have immense popular enthusiasm and a series of well-conceived plans to assist us in our task. We are aware of our difficulties and our limitations, but we know too that the faith and revolutionary will of a people resolutely turned towards the future can overcome the difficulties we shall encounter.

110. The new Government of Chile realizes, however, that the life of the country and the success of the undertaking we are embarking upon are determined not only by the will of its inhabitants but also by events in international life. To immerse ourselves in the source whence flow the great currents which are shaping the physiognomy of our time means that we recognize both the need to preserve our national life through reciprocal assistance with other countries, and the duty to make our contribution to the common task for the advancement of mankind. At other periods of history, peoples could isolate themselves. Now they are all threads of a single fabric; great or small, they will share the same fate, be it the destruction of civilization or the increase and harvesting of its fruits for the benefit of all.

111. Our foreign policy, while directed towards greater understanding and increased co-operation between all nations, will be independent and worthy. Chile is nobody's satellite; but neither is it a loose link in a world which demands co-ordination and understanding. We are prepared to transcend the classical moulds of indolent diplomacy in order to promote relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, without ideological or political discriminations, without questioning their beliefs or the nature of their Governments. We have our own philosophy and our own place among the western nations, but we shall do everything in our power to clear the path leading to conciliation and understanding between nations, however opposed their interests may appear to be.

112. We reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as the soundest means of ensuring peace, stability and the progress of nations through international co-operation. The successes outweigh the failures in

the balance-sheet of our Organization. Its disappearance would plunge the world into the flood of passions and unbridled interests. Its stagnation or enfeeblement would profoundly disturb those peoples which see in it their safeguard and their guarantee of progress.

113. While it is not suggested that the United Nations should become a supranational governing body, it is necessary that Member States should accept a greater number of obligations with respect to it. Many of its resolutions are not carried out or have but a limited moral effect; nor have the obstacles to the better functioning of its conciliation and assistance machinery been totally eliminated.

114. The new Government of Chile considers that the United Nations should become the centre of gravity of international life. For this, it is necessary to reinforce its authority and the action of its organs. We are prepared to give it our complete enthusiastic support in any endeavour to invigorate it and increase its efficiency. With this same idea of giving the United Nations greater power, we think that the time has come to determine more positively the action of the regional groupings mentioned in the Charter. The prevailing tendency to link people according to their geographical circumstances, their affinities and their development plans is spreading in various continents. It could not be otherwise, because a world like ours, which is held together by the demands and merits of a levelling civilization, must be, not a mosaic of distant and disparate nations, but an organic community in which nations, like needles round a magnet, seek those that are similar and complementary organizing themselves in multinational, continental or regional associations. Let us hope that the day is not far off when we shall shorten our debates here, listening to only one voice speaking on behalf of the countries composing one region.

115. The notion of a regional grouping designed to practice interdependence as a means of promoting economic and social progress cannot be identified with that of a closed bloc, or continental or regional ascendancy or rivalry, in either politics or economics. For this reason, although their autonomy is recognized, regional groupings have to adjust their structures and actions to the noble principles of the Charter, which in recognizing their existence has also established their responsibility.

116. The American continent has a regional organization older than the United Nations. In the course of many years, it has elaborated a politico-juridical system and a series of standards and procedures which have benefited stability and coexistence in this part of the world. Nevertheless, with the passing of the years and the eruption of uncontrollable social and economic unrest among our peoples, it has become necessary to renovate the Organization of American States, to revise the principles and machinery which may have become obsolete, to try other methods so that the Organization may meet the desire of our masses for well-being and progress.

117. We, the countries which live together within the Organization of American States, are in a very special situation, which we must examine clearly and honestly if we are to achieve higher forms of co-operation

among ourselves. On one side there is the richest and strongest Power on earth, the United States; on the other side there is the group of Latin American countries weighed down by innumerable problems. On one side super-abundance, on the other want.

118. Although the structure of the system is democratic and the equality in law of the States is respected, there is a natural imbalance which can only be corrected to the extent that more beneficial collaboration is established between the United States and Latin America as a whole. According to studies of the Economic Commission for Latin America, this imbalance has meant that our continent, Latin America, is growing poorer every year, to the benefit of the industrialized centres: in the last nine years the Latin American countries have lost \$10,000 million because of the low prices of their raw materials, while receiving only \$8,000 million for the financing of their economic development. In other words, the deterioration in Latin America's terms of trade amounted to \$2,000 million in that period. Thus the gap separating the countries of Latin America from those of Europe and Anglo-Saxon America is widening every year and the imbalance between wealth and poverty is becoming more marked. We must attribute this fact to what a United Nations economist called the "cumulative factors", those factors which simultaneously enrich the rich countries and impoverish the poor ones as a direct consequence of their economic relationship.

119. That is why, when examining the "assistance" that the super-developed countries lend to others, to those which have contributed so enormously to their enrichment, I cannot refrain from recalling the lines of a satirical Spanish poet about the building of a hospital by a rich man called Juan de Robles:

*Robles, a man of charity, who loved to help the poor,*

*Built for them this hospital ... But first he made them poor.*

120. If the political system of the Organization of American States is to have real meaning and to be respected by our peoples, it is essential that the equality of the States in law should be accompanied by accelerated economic and social development. There can be no equality in law if there is economic dependence. Chile is endeavouring to perfect its sovereignty; to do so, however, it must free itself from the financial dependence imposed by its limited development.

121. Fortunately, new ways are being opened on this continent for a joint task which is to dispel old fears and suspicions, so that inter-American relations may reach a level satisfactory to all. Both the Government and the people of the United States have become convinced that Latin America must, without delay, be afforded greater assistance through better prepared plans. A result of this new arrangement, which goes beyond the simple idea of good neighbourliness, is the Alliance for Progress, which, with its initial faults overcome, must represent a prototype of collaboration adapted to the requirements of our peoples.

122. We are seeking a suitable association with the United States, an association in which obligations and rights would be shared. We do not want to go on selling

raw materials in order to import manufactured goods. We want to use our own raw materials for the development of our well-being. We are sure that new and solid ties of friendship will be established between the great nation of the north and the nations of the south and that it will become easier for Latin America to overcome its serious backwardness. This is a mandate which, from beyond the tomb, is still being sent to all us Americans of the North, South and Centre by that far-sighted statesman, that generous and revolutionary spirit who understood the needs of his time and his generation, that President who a year ago sacrificed his life to establish peace and coexistence between peoples and nations.

123. At the historic crossroads at which America finds itself, it is Chile's duty to show its profound desire to establish an authentic and dynamic community among the Latin American countries. We are prepared to show the world—and at all times—that we are both Chileans and Latin Americans; to do this, however, we must be more far-sighted in planning our existence as countries which were born together which are linked by common cultural traditions and which are now afflicted by the same problems. We do not want this affirmation of brotherhood to have a merely lyrical echo. We in Latin America are tired of wearisome rhetoric which has turned our brotherhood into a meaningless gesture.

124. Latin American integration must span various aspects of our life, of which the economic aspect requires the greatest determination and the most urgent attention. The new Government of Chile is prepared to promote, together with the other Latin American countries, the formulae and standards necessary to accelerate the progress of integration. We shall discuss with Governments, at the highest political level, the means whereby we may achieve common planning and institutional machinery which will translate our collective will into co-ordinated action. It seems that there is already identity of views. All that is lacking for the establishment of joint undertakings is the political decision. This great impulse of interpenetration must be extended to other fields so as to embrace the efforts of the young, the proletariat, universities, technicians, artists, so that we may know each other better and cultivate the enormous potentialities of our young countries on a joint basis.

125. An eloquent demonstration of the way in which the new Government of Chile will tackle the problem of Latin American integration is found in one of the articles of the draft constitutional reform which the President of the Republic submitted a week ago to the National Congress with a view to modernizing the machinery of the State and making it more dynamic. In his opinion, the progress of regional integration, the establishment of international trade and other bodies, often with supranational competence, requires that the State should be invested with powers enabling it to contribute to the constitution of such supranational institutions designed to promote and consolidate, in conditions of reciprocity, the integration of the Latin American nations.

126. By virtue of the proposed constitutional reform, the State of Chile shows its intention of divesting

itself of specific attributes inherent in its sovereignty in order to implant them gradually, but resolutely, in the supranational bodies necessary to channel and institutionalize the latent desire of the Latin American peoples to speak with a single voice in the family of nations. These peoples want to take advantage of the wise experience of the States of the old Europe which succeeded in wiping out national interests and establishing a common market, despite the fact that, as Jacques Maritain wrote, referring to a thousand years of war and hatred, they were separated by a wealth of tears.

127. An essential prerequisite is that the disturbing circumstances which prevent us from drawing more closely together should disappear and that the process of our integration should be accomplished without exceptions. How can I at this point refrain from touching on a wound which is painful and distressing for the Latin American peoples? The new Government of Chile is greatly preoccupied with the case of Cuba, which for the past few years has been disturbing relations in the hemisphere and undermining our regional organization. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics have met four times to consider the situation in the Caribbean. Precious energies have been wasted in an exhausting dispute but no satisfactory solution has been found. On the contrary, the problem is there facing us and it seems that the only result of so much labour was that a discussion which should have remained open was closed. We feel that to transform the case of Cuba into a blind alley or an insoluble dilemma can only lead to frustration and defeatism, which is unsuitable in young nations with a sense of the future.

128. Our opinions differ greatly from those of the Cuban régime; we should, however, be misrepresenting the truth we owe to the international community if we were not to state that the Government of Chile disagrees with the sanctions applied against that country at the meetings of Foreign Ministers at Punta del Este and Washington. My Government is ready to collaborate in the search for formulae which will bring Cuba back to the inter-American family and it hopes that the Cuban Government will make an effort in the same direction. We are helped by the conviction that the case in question, which is dividing brother nations, can only be settled equitably and definitively if the principles of self-determination, non-intervention and respect for human rights, which are the bases of inter-American coexistence and of the very Charter of the United Nations, are always borne in mind in their entirety.

129. This, however, is not the only problem worrying us. We are also disquieted by the continued existence of other trouble spots and situations threatening the peace of mind of the world community. Divided countries, the shameful Berlin wall, South-East Asia, the accumulation and spread of nuclear weapons, the maintenance of rival blocs, excessive military budgets, colonialist oppression, mockery of the self-determination of peoples, the trampling of human rights—all these are so many tentacles of the octopus which is still trying to strangle the world. It would be necessary to appraise each of these evils carefully in order to determine its degree of danger. The worst thing

that could happen would be for humanity to become accustomed to living and playing with such risks as if they were misfortunes inherent in the age in which we live.

130. In some cases the principle of self-determination needs to be applied more rigorously; in others, there should be more decisive intervention by the Security Council, or the conclusion of agreements between the Powers concerned, or more meaningful advances on the road to disarmament, or the elimination of mistrust and suspicion. It is the task of the United Nations to go ahead with its study and application of all possible ways of preventing threats to peace as if it were necessary to constitute a real science of therapeutics to allay the fears of humanity.

131. We take comfort, however, from the fact that some positive factors, too, have appeared which offer the prospect of a better organization of world peace, particularly in regard to the atomic threat. They are minor but promising contributions: the substantial reductions in the production of fissionable material, the concrete proposals submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the agreements concluded among the great Powers to undertake scientific and technological projects of universal benefit, as also the proposal to make Latin America a denuclearized zone—a proposal which Chile sponsored from the outset. We have no desire to manufacture, receive or acquire armaments of destruction and death. We wish to devote all our efforts to progress and to the struggle against inequality and poverty.

132. We hope that the powerful opposing political and military blocs will begin to lose their rigidity and that later on the need for them will disappear as the indispensable dialogue between the Powers is intensified and contact and co-operation between them are increased. Further encouragement for peace was provided by the recent Cairo Conference, at which the non-aligned countries, seeing no need to create a third force, which would be as dangerous as the other two, or to take refuge in passive neutralism, reaffirmed, in more organic form, the principle of preventing any breach of the peace and of perseverance in efforts to achieve better relations among States.

133. Nevertheless, amidst these favourable prospects, we were once again startled—by a clap of thunder: the nuclear explosion carried out by continental China. It is an auspicious sign when a nation struggling against the backwardness of centuries achieves the scientific advance implicit in the harnessing of atomic energy. An advance, indeed, but not a triumph, for it grieves us that such a great effort should not be directed towards liberation or well-being but reflects a stubborn and desperate ambition to achieve supremacy by becoming one of the conclave of countries which hold the atomic monopoly.

134. In continental China we are now confronted with a problem of new dimensions. This nation, the most populous on earth, seems to be beyond the reach of moral law because it is outside the community of nations and has a free hand to act as it pleases, without being subject to the principles and commitments that restrict the individual action of other States.

135. The Chinese nuclear explosion may tempt other countries already endowed with the scientific knowledge and technological resources to carry out similar experiments; in the belief that the balance of forces in the world has changed and that they might be left behind. Nuclear proliferation would lead us straight to disaster. While we are discussing peace here, a spectre is taking shape in the world which is capable not only of invalidating our exhortations but also of threatening the very existence of mankind.

136. This General Assembly is called upon to consider a few matters connected with the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which was held at Geneva this year. It will also have to take concrete decisions in order to put some of the recommendations of that Conference into effect.

137. Generally speaking, the developing countries cannot feel satisfied with the results of the Geneva Conference as compared with their aspirations and the urgency of their problems. The Conference did not produce any formal commitments on the part of the developed countries to take immediate steps to resolve such problems and the specific requests of the developing countries were, in general, unheeded or deferred.

138. The Chilean Government wishes to point out, however, that, although the Conference did not produce adequate and specific commitments, it did officially initiate a process for gradually overcoming the difficulties in the foreign trade of the developing countries and there was clear, and in most cases unanimous, acceptance by the international community of the need to take steps to that end.

139. It may therefore be considered that there is an undertaking of broad scope to which the developed countries are solemnly committed and which covers all the main objectives which the developing countries have been persistently pursuing. It is an undertaking to give our basic export products greater access to markets and at the same time to work towards the stabilization and improvement of commodity prices; to encourage diversification of trade by means of increased exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures; to systematize the characteristics of external financial aid; to improve the conditions of invisible trade; and in regard to many other objectives the developed countries recognized the need for collective action, accepted the broad lines of such action and undertook to work out practical rules of application. This multilateral undertaking, for the effective implementation of which we in the developing countries must be prepared to wage a constant struggle, is obviously a valuable achievement which puts us on the right road to the future.

140. We are convinced that little by little the international community will find practical means of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries. What we need for that, however, is a world body, endowed with an independent secretariat, to start functioning as soon as possible with the specific task of promoting definite solutions for the trade and development problems of the non-industrialized countries and with sufficient authority to take the

necessary decisions to that end. Without such a body, the possibility of converting the general undertaking that emerged from the Geneva Conference into an effective set of lines of action will be much more remote. It is for that reason that the Chilean delegation considers it of crucial importance that the institutional machinery unanimously recommended by the Geneva Conference should be put into operation. It is through the action of the proposed world body that the process already initiated can and should go forward.

141. We wish to reaffirm in the most forthright terms Chile's anti-colonialist position. We hope that swift action will hasten the process of total liberation of colonial peoples, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Chile has supported all constructive and harmonious efforts to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to help peoples to attain independence.

142. At the same time we trust that the application of the principle of self-determination will not lead to deceptive solutions which, while appearing to be beneficial, may throw the peoples which attain independence headlong into anarchy and poverty. Final victory over colonialism will be consolidated only when liberation leads to the economic and social well-being of peoples hitherto held back under colonial rule and when they are free from foreign interference or intervention.

143. Without infringing any of the principles of resolution 1514 (XV), we consider that the United Nations should ensure that small territories with scanty populations and meagre resources are not abandoned to their fate and allowed to drift when they relinquish their colonial status. Again, independence should not be granted as a result of the application of self-determination to groups of settlers who are nationals of the colonial Powers, nor should it be proclaimed by racial minorities who wish to perpetuate their privileges by continued oppression of the majority of the people of the territory. Furthermore, artificial countries should not be created out of the dismemberment of other countries. Let us show our support and sympathy for all those peoples who are still under colonial rule and whose aspirations to freedom we fully share.

144. It is discouraging to see that there are still places in the world where racial discrimination is practised, either in the usual ways or in the form of apartheid, a heinous doctrine that is contrary to all moral principles. Year after year from this rostrum we denounce such practices, which not only do physical and spiritual harm to millions of people but endanger world peace. We see minorities backed by force and defiant to the last, gambling with their fate as they sow the seeds of hatred and resentment and refusing to be convinced that the only reasonable solution is to grant all men equal rights and opportunities. Let us hope that, besides moral condemnation, this General Assembly will devise practical formulas which will bring relief to the victims of discrimination and a procedure to prevent the continued application of a

racial policy repudiated by men of intelligence and culture.

145. My Government attaches particular importance to the promotion of human rights in the world. According to our ideology, basic reforms of our economic and social system go hand in hand with a proper appreciation of the attributes of the human person. It is not possible to think of progress founded on the enslavement of individuals, or of an abstract freedom resting on backwardness and poverty.

146. In this connexion we must pay particular attention to the elimination of discrimination against women. This question is very topical for Chile, because the Government's programmes include the granting of greater rights and opportunities to women so that they may have a worthy part to play in association with men in raising the standards of the material and spiritual life of our nation. The women of my country, suffering privations and hardships, have given an example of sincerity, fervour and steadfastness and are firmly committed to the drive for national renewal in Chile. From this world rostrum and on behalf of my Government, I pay them a warm tribute of admiration.

147. The United Nations is at present particularly concerned with the study of the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among States, a subject which is in line with the concept of peaceful co-existence. This is one of the most positive ideas to have emerged in recent times and it is intended to have political, moral and juridical value and to provide a rational basis for a stable and fruitful peace.

148. It is no longer possible for countries to become dangerous rivals simply because they uphold different political, religious or ethical views. No one wishes for world-wide uniformity in the various aspects of social or cultural organization. Surely it is better for the human spirit that ideas and institutions should flourish with perpetual dynamism, provided that they do not seek expansion with aggressive intent or for political domination. In times like the present, fraught with danger, it is important for the future of mankind that countries should not find in differences of régime sufficient grounds for hostility or hatred, or for taking up entrenched positions or retreating into aloofness.

149. Peaceful co-existence requires an active, not a passive, outlook. The countries which took part in the recent Cairo Conference were right when they affirmed that coexistence presupposed existence. There are countries which have a powerful and radiant existence. There are others which barely manage to exist and merely vegetate in the said gloom of underdevelopment. Coexistence will be effective when it becomes a collective driving force assisting every country to achieve progress and the full development of its personality.

150. Peaceful coexistence rests on such principles as the sovereign equality of States, self-determination, non-interference in the internal or external affairs of States, respect for territorial integrity and political independence, and the pacific settlement of disputes. The codification of these principles would be very useful in preventing friction between countries. No one need be dismayed by the difficulty of arriving

at a definition of these principles so that abstractions may be translated into legal terms of universal validity. We cannot allow ourselves to be frightened by the difficulties encountered thus far. On the contrary, it is our duty to establish a firm legal basis for peace.

151. I should like now to echo some of the words in the message that Eduardo Frei, the new President of Chile, addressed to the peoples of the world on the day that he took office, after a long but exemplary electoral struggle.

152. On behalf of Chile, I have the honour this afternoon to greet the representatives of the sister nations of Latin America, which have no desire to live according to outworn legal and diplomatic formulas or to go on being the dwindling chorus of the great Powers. I am honoured to greet the representatives of the United States, a friendly nation with which we seek a genuine association in worthy equality and a genuine alliance enabling us to achieve progress in freedom. I am honoured to greet the representatives of the peoples of ancient Europe whose presence, images and ideas have impregnated our minds and which are now showing us the miracle of their spectacular recovery and their extraordinary rejuvenation after thousands of years of antagonism. I am honoured to greet the representatives of the peoples of Africa and Asia which, like us, are striving to ensure that justice, in whose name we have been fighting for the distribution of wealth in every country, shall prevail in international relations. I am honoured to greet this afternoon the representatives of the socialist countries, with which, despite the profound ideological differences separating us, we desire to live in peace and friendship. I am honoured to greet, on behalf of President Frei, all the representatives gathered here and I offer them the Chilean Government's co-operation in the great work of justice and peace laid upon us by the Charter.

153. The people of Chile look with hope to this General Assembly. We are sure that the soul of the United Nations is to be found in the peoples who trustingly await our decisions and our guidance. If we can make our voices echo them and if we are capable of representing the poverty and the aspirations of the common man in our countries, our words will carry greater weight and whatever we accomplish will be more effective. May God enlighten our debates!

#### Statement by the President

154. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on speakers who wish to exercise their right of reply, I have a short statement to make.

155. A large number of delegations have expressed the wish that the Assembly may consider sending a message of good wishes to our Secretary-General U Thant. I understand there is agreement among the various groups. Therefore, I have undertaken to prepare the following draft letter which I shall sign and send to U Thant in the hospital:

"I have been asked to send you, on behalf of all delegations to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, our combined good wishes for your speedy recovery from your recent illness.

"We all hope you will soon be able to take your place in our midst so that we may be able to avail ourselves of your friendly help and wise counsel."

I am sure there is no objection to my sending this message to U Thant.

#### ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

##### General debate (continued)

156. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom in exercise of his right of reply.

157. Mr. KING (United Kingdom): My delegation listened attentively to the eloquent speech of the Foreign Minister of Venezuela. We warmly welcome the friendship and cordiality with which he spoke. But since he has thought it necessary to refer to British Guiana, I have to reply of behalf of my Government.

158. The Foreign Minister referred to the 1963 Agreement for an exchange and examination of documents. As the Foreign Minister explained, the process of jointly examining the relevant documents is not yet complete. The Venezuelan Government has not seen the reports of the British and British Guiana experts, and the United Kingdom and British Guiana Governments have not yet seen the reports of Venezuelan experts. I have to repeat that in the opinion of the United Kingdom Government the question of the frontier was fully and finally settled and closed by the arbitral award of 1899, and that remains my Government's view.

159. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Turkey in the exercise of his right of reply.

160. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): My delegation had not intended to take the floor at this stage of the debate, but certain remarks in the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Greece this afternoon have made it imperative for me to say a few words for the record in accordance with the right of reply.

161. In the first place the Foreign Minister of Greece made a direct reference to a burning question which will engage the close attention of the various organs of the United Nations in the weeks to come, namely the question of Cyprus. It is included in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly. Many aspects of it are to be taken up next week at a meeting of the Security Council. In other words, the parties to the dispute will have ample opportunities to air their real or imaginary grievances.

162. It would seem, therefore, that this was hardly the place or the time to indulge in the usual recriminations, false allegations and misrepresentations. These allegations will be fully dealt with in statements which my delegation will make before the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

163. For the time being I shall, if I may, merely say that when the time comes we shall prove that the Organization is faced with an attempt to exploit the lofty principles of self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity—principles to which many of us owe our membership in this Organization. An attempt is being made, I say, to use these

principles for the furtherance of colonialist and expansionist aims which we all abhor. Furthermore, an attempt is being made to use the General Assembly of the United Nations as a screen behind which solemn international obligations may be violated with impunity. Finally, an attempt is being made to use the General Assembly as an instrument in putting an end to the hard-earned independence of one of its Members so that it may be annexed by a neighbouring country.

164. So much for the moment on Cyprus. As for the acrimonious reference of the Foreign Minister of Greece to what he termed the vindictive policy against the Greeks living in Turkey, there again, when the time comes, my delegation will furnish the Assembly with a full and true account. At this stage I would merely like to set the record straight by saying that the Assembly has been presented with an entirely distorted picture of the situation.

165. The Turkish citizens of Greek origin living in Turkey enjoy to the fullest extent the rights of citizenship without any discrimination whatsoever, under full protection of the law. On the other hand, the Greek citizens in Istanbul, being alien citizens, now enjoy precisely the same status and equitable treatment accorded to the citizens of any other country.

166. This much for the record. My delegation reserves its rights at the appropriate time to refute in full the unfounded allegations which have been made before the Assembly this afternoon.

167. The PRESIDENT: In the exercise of his right of reply, I now call on the representative of Greece.

168. Mr. CCSTOPOULOS (Greece) (translated from French): The representative of Turkey has deemed it necessary to reply to certain parts of my statement dealing with the question of Cyprus. I shall not allow myself to be drawn into a discussion on Cyprus during the general debate, especially since, as I have stated, we do not consider the Cyprus question to be

a Graeco-Turkish question or a question involving a conflict between Greece and Turkey. I therefore reserve the right to reply at the appropriate time to the possibly gratuitous assertions and accusations against my country made by the representative of Turkey. For the time being, I shall limit myself to recalling the formal statement I made just now, namely, that Greece supported the Cypriots in their struggle for complete independence and their right to decide their future freely and declares itself prepared to respect their wishes. This is a statement which we have never heard from the Turkish delegation and which we shall perhaps never hear.

169. That is all I have to say for the moment.

170. The PRESIDENT: In the exercise of his right of reply, I give the floor to the representative of Cyprus.

171. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): In the exercise of my right of reply, I wish only to state that the problem of Cyprus concerns the people of Cyprus, and the people of Cyprus are entitled to full sovereignty, full independence, territorial integrity and their right of self-determination.

172. Before stepping down from the rostrum, although perhaps it is not the right time for me to do so, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the General Assembly. In you we see a person representing Africa where the spirit of freedom has gained ground and now prevails.

173. It is in this spirit of freedom that we have come to the General Assembly and raised the question of Cyprus which, I agree with the previous speakers, we shall have ample time to discuss when the appropriate opportunity arises in the course of the coming weeks.

*The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.*