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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 125

Question of Cyprus (*continued*)*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): This morning, we shall begin our consideration of agenda item 125, entitled "Question of Cyprus". As members will recall, the General Assembly at its 2367th plenary meeting, on 30 September 1975, decided that, when it considered this item, it would invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to express their views in the Committee. The Assembly would then resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

2. Accordingly, I suggest that the General Assembly invite the Special Political Committee to meet tomorrow, 12 November, in order to hear the views of the representatives of the Cypriot communities. The Assembly will then resume its consideration of this item on 13 November.

3. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to the procedure I have suggested?

It was so decided.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should also like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed on Thursday, 13 November at noon. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees to this proposal.

It was so decided.

5. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): Almost 16 months have elapsed since the massive invasion by Turkey of the small and virtually defenceless Republic of Cyprus: 16 tragic and agonizing months for its people, Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike; in 16 months of destruction, misery and immense human suffering.

6. Today, the Republic of Cyprus lies dismembered as a result of the continuing armed aggression by Turkey. Nearly 40 per cent of its territory, the most productive part, accounting for 70 per cent of the

country's economic resources, is under the military occupation of the invader. The 200,000 Greek Cypriots—that is, over one third of the total population of the island—forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes by the occupation forces and rendered destitute refugees, are still prevented by the sheer force of arms from returning to their homes. The number of people killed or murdered in cold blood and the number of missing persons amount to 1.5 per cent of the total population of the Republic, which, according to statistics, is the highest percentage of losses in any of the conflicts of our times. The value of homes and properties looted or usurped amounts to billions of dollars.

7. As appears in the report of an independent fact-finding mission of the United States Senate, after an on-the-spot investigation,

“The Turkish invasion turned the island into a shambles. In political terms, it violated the integrity of an independent State. In economic terms, it shattered the island's flourishing economy. And in human terms, it brought personal tragedy to thousands of families and turned half the population into refugees, detainees or beleaguered people caught behind cease-fire lines.”

8. There have been attempts to represent the present tragedy of my country as having its origin in the senseless coup of 15 July 1974, instigated by the now defunct Athens junta against the legitimate Government of the democratically elected President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios.

9. That coup was only the pretext which Turkey used in order to invade Cyprus, for the roots of the present situation in the Republic go much deeper; they lie in the insidious plans systematically promoted by Turkey over many years, well before 1974, for the partitioning of Cyprus, and motivated by the Turkish expansionist policy based on geopolitical and strategic considerations. That partition has been Turkey's aim for many years past, there can be little doubt. Statements by Turkish leaders and official documents provide ample evidence of this and are a matter of record. I might mention the public statement by the former Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Kemal Satir, who in a public statement in 1964 said: “Cyprus will be divided into two sections, one of which will join Turkey.”

10. May I also refer to a secret document issued on 18 April 1964 by the then Prime Minister of Turkey, the late Mr. Ismet İnönü, which clearly lays out the partitionist plan of Turkey called by him the Attila plan, as today's operations too are named by them. That plan was proposed in 1965 by the then Vice-President of the Republic, Mr. Fazıl Küçük, to the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, Mr. Galo Plaza, and appears in his report of 26 March 1965 to the

* Resumed from the 2367th meeting.

Secretary-General.¹ This plan, as can be seen from the said report, covers essentially the same area as is now under the occupation of the invading forces. It is the very same area coveted by Turkey for many years.

11. In an effort to diminish the unfavourable impact on world opinion of its aggression and conduct in Cyprus, Turkey has been falsely representing that since 1963 the Turkish Cypriots suffered at the hands of the Government, which allegedly deprived them of their freedom of movement and otherwise oppressed them. The reality is that, if the Turkish Cypriots have found themselves at a disadvantage in the past in any field, this has been due to the policy of self-segregation imposed upon them by their own leadership on orders from Ankara, for the purpose of laying the foundations of Turkey's partitionist designs even at the expense of the interests of the Turkish Cypriots. That this was the reason for the deprivations of the Turkish Cypriots is clearly borne out by the views of the Secretary-General himself contained in his reports over all those years, some of which were unanswerably quoted in this Assembly on 8 October 1975 [2380th meeting, paras. 223-224].

12. In an attempt to disguise its real designs on Cyprus, Turkey has been pretending that its military intervention in Cyprus was intended to restore the constitutional order disturbed by the coup d'état of July 1974, claiming the right to such intervention as a guarantor of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Irrespective of the invalidity of such a claim to use force in violation of Article 103 of the Charter, I wish to stress that Turkey had no right to destroy by force the very object of its guarantee.

13. In our endeavours to preserve the independence and restore the territorial integrity of Cyprus we had recourse to the Security Council and General Assembly, seeking action from the Organization in accordance with its primary purpose under the Charter, that of maintaining international peace and security.

14. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, responding to our plea and on the basis of a draft resolution initiated by the non-aligned group, adopted unanimously resolution 3212 (XXIX). This resolution, although the result of a compromise, contained all the necessary elements for a just and workable solution to the Cyprus problem.

15. In its key provisions, resolution 3212 (XXIX) gives priority to respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and attributes an element of urgency to the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic, the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs and urgent measures for the return of all the refugees in safety to their homes. It also commends the negotiations taking place between the representatives of the two communities with a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.

16. The Security Council, by its unanimously adopted resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, endorsed the General Assembly resolution, thus making its implementation mandatory. The Security Council also urged the parties concerned to implement resolution 3212 (XXIX) as soon as possible and requested

the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of that resolution.

17. On the basis of that resolution, the Secretary-General sent, on 24 January 1975, a note verbale to the parties concerned asking what steps they had taken or contemplated taking for the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX). Turkey evaded a response, and finally made no reply, in disregard of the note and of its obligations under Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

18. Furthermore, on 13 February 1975, Turkey, acting through the instrumentality of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, proceeded to take a new arbitrary step by unilaterally declaring the invaded part of the territory of Cyprus under its military occupation a separate entity, the so-called Federated Turkish State of the Republic of Cyprus, thereby causing confusion and a further deterioration of the situation. Such action, in defiance of the resolutions I have cited, was calculated to partition Cyprus, in violation of the 1960 Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus², the Treaty of Guarantee³ and the basic structure of the Constitution of Cyprus. Furthermore, it prejudicially affected and undermined the very substance of the negotiations started in 1975, thus rendering them meaningless.

19. Our consequent recourse to the Security Council produced resolution 367 (1975), in which the Security Council noted the absence of progress towards the implementation of its earlier resolution, 365 (1974), endorsing General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), regretted the unilateral declaration of 13 February 1975, to which I have just referred, called for the urgent and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and requested the Secretary-General to undertake a new mission so that negotiations might be resumed and intensified under his personal auspices and with his direction as appropriate.

20. Relevant talks resumed in Vienna and later in New York produced, however, no results at all, notwithstanding the untiring efforts of Mr. Waldheim. The negative character of those talks is attributable, as is well known, to the attitude of Turkey, which prevented any meaningful negotiations. As a result, while the negotiations were empty of content, the obligation to implement the General Assembly resolution was ignored by Turkey and thrown by the wayside. Thus the problem of Cyprus remains unresolved and the United Nations resolutions remain unimplemented by Turkey.

21. Twelve months after the unanimous adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX) by this Assembly, there has been no withdrawal of foreign troops, speedy or otherwise, there have been no measures taken for the return of the refugees to their homes, whether urgently or otherwise, there has been no cessation of foreign interference and no respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus—all this despite the fact that Turkey also voted for resolution 3212 (XXIX). It is therefore obvious that, in casting its positive vote, Turkey was merely pretending to go along with the unanimity of the General Assembly. Turkey has chosen a policy by which it does not merely ignore United Nations resolutions but also takes specific and arbitrary action

in further violation of those resolutions, thereby causing a grave deterioration of the situation.

22. After uprooting the majority population from the occupied area, Turkey embarked upon a process of systematic colonization of the area in question by the massive importation of mainland Turks, with the intention of supplanting the indigenous population through the usurpation of their homes, properties and lands. This also violates the provisions of the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, apart from involving unparalleled inhumanity. The purpose of this colonization is to change the demographic character of the island and pave the way for its annexation by Turkey, as part of the latter's expansionist policy over Cyprus. That policy has been persistently pursued over the years, and is the cause of all the troubles that have befallen the people of Cyprus as a whole.

23. In this connexion, it is very revealing that the so-called Constitution of the Federated Turkish State of Cyprus emphatically provides that "the Turkish Cypriot community constitutes an inseparable part of the great Turkish nation". It is characteristic also that the oath to be taken in the so-called Turkish Cypriot Assembly is an oath of allegiance "to the principles of Ataturk", and not to those of the Republic of Cyprus. And it is significant to note that in all relevant provisions the members of the Turkish Cypriot community are described as Turkish citizens, while the expelled indigenous Greek Cypriot population are defined as aliens. The Greek Cypriots are also divested of all rights to their own property.

24. It is against that background that the debate on the question of Cyprus is taking place. It is with those dismal thoughts that we appear today before the General Assembly. But it is also with hope that I am addressing this august body, in the belief that the Assembly will support our plea for the application of the principles of the United Nations and the effective implementation of its resolutions. No resolution of the United Nations has any purpose or meaning unless it is implemented. It would be a bad omen for the future of the United Nations and the international community as a whole if no concern was shown over the non-implementation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, particularly of those adopted unanimously.

25. It is on the basis of this fundamental premise that we call upon the Assembly to affirm its faith in itself by taking effective remedial action. Otherwise, it will allow itself to be submerged in ineffective resolutions.

26. It is with these thoughts in mind that I have the privilege to introduce to the Assembly the draft resolution contained in document A/L.769, and to seek the support of all Member States for it. In the draft resolution, the General Assembly would reaffirm its resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974). I am certain that the Assembly will have no difficulty in reaffirming it, having adopted it unanimously 12 months ago.

27. The General Assembly would also demand the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) in clear and unambiguous terms, in the light of the frustrating experiences of the past

year. The striking resemblances and parallels between the problems confronting my country and those of Palestine and the Middle East, our expectation that the Assembly will take a stand on this issue on the basis of principle, and the relevant declaration on Cyprus, adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima [A/10217 and Corr.1, para. 64], all encourage us to believe that the Assembly will accept our plea and demand, in conformity with its stand on the Middle East problem, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the immediate return of all the refugees to their homes in safety and the restoration of their inalienable rights. Cyprus is confident that, in this respect, its friends, and particularly the non-aligned countries, will take strong and unqualified positions on the side of justice, in the same way as Cyprus has done in the past in similar circumstances, involving the very same issues.

28. In operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, the Assembly would call upon Turkey to put an end to the policy of colonization by which it is endeavouring to change the demographic character of Cyprus. The wording of that paragraph follows that of resolution 3331 D (XXIX) regarding Palestine.

29. In introducing this part of the draft resolution, I wish to impress upon the Assembly that it is of the utmost urgency to arrest the process of colonization, embarked upon by Turkey, because the greater the implantation of Turks from mainland Turkey in Cyprus, the more remote become the possibilities for the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), which calls, *inter alia*, for the return of the refugees to their homes, and consequently the greater the difficulties for a solution of the Cyprus problem.

30. The pursuance of such a policy in the 1970s is an affront to all those countries which fought to rid themselves of colonial rule, and at the same time an encouragement to the racist régime in South Africa in the furtherance of its policy of the bantustans.

31. In operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, the Assembly would declare invalid any unilateral actions contravening the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cyprus. I am confident that the adoption of such wording will not present any difficulties, for what we are asking in fact is a declaration whereby Member States will be reminded of their obligation to show respect for the Charter.

32. Operative paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 are self-explanatory, and I do not think that I need elaborate on them.

33. The continued aggression and the occupation of a large part of my country by Turkey, the creation of *faits accomplis*, and Turkey's contemptuous disregard of and non-compliance with the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, in our opinion, justify the introduction of a draft resolution expressed in much stronger terms, which would condemn Turkey and demand the enforcement of measures against her for her continued flouting of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus. We have intentionally avoided such a course out of a sense of moderation and for the purpose of not giving room for pretexts for the continued recalcitrance of Turkey in the implementation of the provisions of such a resolution.

34. In the same spirit, in the draft resolution we have submitted the Assembly would demand negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, as provided in Security Council resolution 367 (1975), in terms which would ensure that they are conducted freely and relieved of constraints in a substantial and meaningful manner, so as to result in a just, lasting and mutually acceptable settlement—consistent with the United Nations resolutions and the universally accepted principles of justice and equity.

35. The substance of the Cyprus problem as it stands today is a problem of aggression by Turkey and the continuing military occupation of a large part of the Territory of Cyprus, and is not a dispute between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

36. The people of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike, have lived in peace and harmony for generations and they could well continue to do so in spite of all the tragedies that have been brought upon them from outside. If they were left alone, they could compose their differences, having common interests and common needs as inhabitants of the same island. International organizations that have visited Cyprus recently have noticed a genuine feeling among the people for conciliation and co-operation for their common benefit. This is intrinsically felt by them and has been demonstrated in many acts on many recent occasions.

37. It is our firm belief and conviction that the problem of Cyprus can never be solved by measures of intensified geographical separation or policies of racial discrimination, necessarily involving the psychology of opposing camps, with all the enmity involved. It is only through a new approach to this problem in a spirit of understanding, conciliation and co-operation, with genuine respect for each other's rights, that talks and negotiations could prove constructive and fruitful.

38. The tragic situation in Cyprus, involving the abandonment of a small, defenceless and non-aligned country in a manner showing that only force wins, inevitably has grave repercussions upon the whole international community in our present-day interdependent world.

39. The problem of Cyprus transcends Cyprus itself and assumes the dimensions of a global problem. It involves, as never before, the utter collapse of international security, which is provided for in the Charter through the United Nations, a matter that should be a serious concern to all non-aligned States and in a sense to all nations, big and small.

40. Cyprus and its people have gone through great pain and suffering. They long for peace and tranquillity that would enable them to rebuild their lives and again prosper together.

41. As I have already mentioned, the problem of Cyprus is not a dispute between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as some are tempted to think. The appeal which we address to this august body is not to shirk its responsibilities as custodian of the conscience of mankind, and to take such steps as will ensure respect for the principles of the Charter and prompt implementation of United Nations resolutions.

42. We also ask that basic guidelines be provided consistent with those resolutions so that free and

meaningful negotiations may be conducted in such a manner as to lead to a just and lasting settlement of the question of Cyprus for the benefit of its people as a whole and in the interests of peace and security in the area. It is only thus that this Organization will be playing a constructive and positive role in the solution of the problem of Cyprus. The Cypriot people have placed their trust in the United Nations in the hope of seeing a ray of light in the midst of their suffering.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): To avoid any misunderstanding I should like to complete the announcement of the procedure for the debate on Cyprus which I made at the beginning of the meeting.

44. I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that at its twenty-ninth session the Assembly decided, under rule 58 of its rules of procedure, that verbatim records should be kept of the two meetings of the Special Political Committee devoted to the question of Cyprus.⁴ May I take it therefore that the General Assembly wishes the same procedure to be followed for the meetings which the Special Political Committee will hold tomorrow, 12 November, on the question of Cyprus?

It was so decided.

The meeting was suspended at 11.25 a.m. and resumed at 12.05 p.m.

*Address by Mr. Olof Palme,
Prime Minister of Sweden*

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden, to the United Nations and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

46. Mr. PALME (Sweden): The world today is very different from the one into which the United Nations Organization was born 30 years ago. The passage of time has witnessed a transformation in the minds of men and in their vision of the world. The conflict between East and West, which not long ago contained the imminent risk of a third world war, has lost its intensity. Competing ideologies no longer cause the fear that characterized the era of the cold war. The Helsinki meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is an important contribution to détente and increased co-operation among the peoples of Europe.

47. Poverty, violence and oppression remain, however, in most parts of the world. The strong continue to impose their will on the weak, the few on the many. Political instability, social upheavals and economic distress characterize our international life. But some fundamental changes in the last 30 years have a positive trend. They show that people rise against oppression, that foreign domination will never be accepted and that the privileges of a few nations will have to give way to equality between all. And this trend has been reinforced by a spirit of solidarity between the peoples, between forces for national independence and social change.

48. The last 30 years have seen the dismantling of old empires and the abolition of colonial rule. Peoples all over the world have demanded, fought for and achieved their right to self-determination and indepen-

dence. They now start to shoulder their responsibilities in world affairs.

49. Through the efforts of the new States, we are now acquiring a global vision of the problems of the world. They have contributed to an acute perception of the interdependence between all countries based on respect for self-determination and equality. It is clear that such respect is given to the small nations mainly as a result of their mutual solidarity and cohesion. The United Nations has through their influence become a symbol of a better future and a forum where international decisions are fully shared also with the smaller, the weaker and the least wealthy countries.

50. Our view of the world owes much to the people of Viet Nam. They have fulfilled their dream of independence, after one of history's longest and most singularly cruel wars. Their epic struggle is a symbol that the will of peoples determines the course of history and that the ideals of liberation and self-determination will prevail. The end of the war relieves international relations of a festering sore, an impediment to global co-operation that in the end, I am certain, will embrace also those nations that yesterday were locked in combat. Meanwhile it is against the will of the international community to prevent the two States of Viet Nam from taking their rightful place in the United Nations.

51. We are at the end of the dissolution of the Portuguese empire. The liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique have fought for their countries' independence and have achieved their goal. By their struggle they have also contributed to the fall of the most reactionary régime in Europe. At the same time, the forces fighting against fascism in Portugal supported the liberation struggle in Africa and by their efforts undermined the colonial régime.

52. Today we welcome Angola as a new nation in Africa. The conflicts in that country, however, endanger its unity and territorial integrity. We hope that it will soon be possible to establish a basis for peace and co-operation among the people of Angola. We must reject any foreign aspirations to limit the right of the Angolan people to decide themselves on their future.

53. In southern Africa one colonial empire has thus been dismantled but white minority rule still holds sway, made more pernicious by the doctrine of racial discrimination. The peoples in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia are denied their freedom and right to self-determination. We have to ask ourselves if changes can come about only through violence, through revolution, or if there is a peaceful way to eradicate the affront to human dignity of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. In this Organization devoted to the peaceful solution of conflicts we should not advocate force or armed struggle or use its authority to support such means. But we can predict that when men who seek peace and progress are met only with oppression and exploitation they will in the end turn to violence and force. Those who guard their unjust privileges will destroy themselves when they refuse a life of racial harmony and respect for the human rights of all inhabitants. The United Nations has a duty to take effective steps to help the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia to achieve equality and freedom.

54. The fight against *apartheid* and racial discrimination is so important that it requires the joint efforts of the world community. Therefore it seems to me most unfortunate that divisive issues are brought into this context. Sweden cannot accept that zionism is equated with racism. For that reason we voted against yesterday's resolutions. We were given no other alternative.

55. It seems to me that this issue was brought up as an outflow of the deep conflict in the Middle East. In the Middle East two peoples look at the same land as part of their national home. The result is a tragic conflict and deep suffering in the whole region. The people of Israel have lived for almost 30 years in a State which was recognized already in its infancy by many other countries, including the leading Powers. It has a right as have all other States in the area to live within recognized and secure borders. At the same time, occupied territories must be returned in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The people of Palestine have a political identity and a just claim to national self-determination. So long as they are denied that right the conflict will not be resolved.

56. Political independence becomes hollow, almost illusory, for any new State if it is not coupled with the right to determine and direct also its economic and social development. The dissolution of colonial rule, however, does not entail any automatic change in the pattern of control of the world's commerce, industry and monetary affairs. Unequal economic relations remain, leading to a profoundly unjust distribution of the riches of the world. Thus the developing countries are fully justified in demanding, with increasing insistence and in full solidarity, changes in the international economy and substantially increased aid from the rich world.

57. In the United Nations we are all engaged in efforts to achieve economic and social justice on a global scale. The rich cannot continue to exist as islands of affluence in a sea of poverty. Those who talk about "international morality" are sometimes written off as naïve or sentimental or unrealistic. But who is unrealistic: the one who says that the 20 per cent of the world's population that controls 90 per cent of its resources must share them with all the others, who have only 10 per cent; or the one who says that the affluent minority should hold on to its riches come what may? Here is a case in which a moral concern coincides with the realistic self-interest of the entire human family.

58. I am convinced that the task of development in the poor nations is essentially their own responsibility. There is much to be said for a policy of self-reliance for countries of the third world. They themselves must carry out the internal institutional reforms that are necessary for that purpose. There is no alibi in the international order for any lack of progress on the domestic front. In fact, reforms in the international order will be meaningless and often impossible to attain without corresponding reforms in the national orders.

59. At the same time, however, the rich nations must accept the reform of an economic system which has served the poor countries badly. Sweden has pledged its support for a new international economic order and I repeat that pledge. No one would have an

interest in bringing the present world economic and monetary system to an abrupt collapse, and I am confident that no Government would wish that to come about. But all countries will gain in the long run by such changes as would give the third world its fair share of the global wealth.

60. A political commitment on the part of the rich countries to effect real change was given from this rostrum during the seventh special session of the General Assembly. We now need concrete evidence of their readiness to put promises into practice. The special session drew together the results from some important earlier international conferences and set in motion a series of measures which are now to be dealt with in subsequent negotiations. Sweden will endeavour to make its contribution to those negotiations.

61. Specifically, I can pledge that: we shall continue to keep our official development assistance up to the target of 0.7 per cent which we have already reached; we shall work for international negotiations to alleviate the debt burden of the poorest and most seriously affected developing countries; we shall co-operate in negotiations on individual commodities in international trade and in the work on an integrated programme, with a view to stabilizing commodity markets and improving the export earnings of the developing countries; we shall also propose arrangements that compensate for fluctuations in their raw material export incomes; we shall advocate special consideration for the needs of the developing countries in the reform of the world monetary system; and we shall continue to advocate a greater role for the developing countries particularly in the international financial institutions.

62. We all realize that the resources of the globe are exhaustible. Thus, we have come to question more insistently a way of life favouring the accumulation of material things to the point of greed and waste. There is a clear need to reorder our priorities in the distribution of common resources. In this, we must direct a substantial part of the energies and skills available in the industrialized world to improve the material level of life for the majority of poorer countries.

63. The desire to see a more even distribution of the world's wealth is for me also a projection of an effort to abolish injustices in my own country. I believe that equality within nations—both the rich and the poor—is a prerequisite for equality between them. We wish to shape our society in such a way that the people decide on production and its distribution, that the citizens are free from dependence on any authority outside their own control, and that a system based on class is changed into a community of people working together on the basis of freedom and equality. I believe that if we succeed in creating such a society, it will have a natural solidarity. That solidarity is the fundamental requirement of a world society and in the end it is the prerequisite for its survival.

64. The United Nations has thus played a historic role in the quest for national independence. It is the central forum for the struggle to achieve political and economic self-determination. One remaining process must now be set in motion. The immense and growing technological capacities must be reoriented in order to fulfil basic human needs. The human, technological

and economic resources squandered on armaments are the most glaring example of misuse. Annual expenditure on armaments now approaches the level of \$300 billion. This equals the total income of the countries where the poorest half of mankind live. Roughly half the world's scientific and technical manpower is now employed in improving existing weapons and developing new ones. Who can defend a world order based on such grotesque priorities?

65. Never in history has the capacity of man to destroy himself, his civilization and his physical environment been greater than today. And it is constantly growing. Yet no solution has been found to break out of this vicious process. The record of past efforts is depressing. Already before the First World War attempts were made to achieve agreements on the reduction of armaments. They failed. The League of Nations devoted many years of hard work to the task of disarmament. In vain. And we as Members of the United Nations committed ourselves to work for disarmament. The history of our Organization is replete with the records of our failure.

66. What went wrong as we strove so hard to prove the rationality of this or that disarmament measure? In my opinion, the answer is only partly to be found in the inadequacy of negotiating methods or the technical solutions offered for complicated disarmament problems. The reasons for failure in breaking the deadlock are basically political and related to what the Secretary-General has termed "a crisis of confidence" among States. The climate of distrust between nations has always nourished irrational behaviour on security matters. When distrust reigns, Governments tend to regard any changes in the external situation in the perspective of potential threats to their national security. Few politicians wish to attract criticism for negligence or lack of foresight in matters as serious as those of national security. Even in cases where all experts may agree that a reduction of armaments is possible and necessary—let us say for economic reasons—there is a strong reluctance on the part of the political decision-makers to tie the new level to an international commitment. It is inevitably argued that times may change and that national freedom of movement must not be curtailed.

67. Impediments to agreements on disarmament seem to be built into the very structure of our societies. This is how, in a climate of distrust, the world continues on the absurd course of spiralling armaments.

68. Looking back at the last 30 years, we find that some stages of the history of disarmament could properly be described as moments of lost opportunities. But the glimmer of hope has always been followed by failure and disillusion. In my opinion, we are today facing another moment of similar significance. Only this time the price for failure seems higher than ever. Détente and the tide of democratization of the international community give rise to the expectation that it will prove possible to curb the nuclear-arms race. At the same time, however, the potential danger of a new round of nuclear-arms proliferation stemming from the widespread fission technology for peaceful energy purposes is imminent.

69. This time we cannot allow events to get out of hand. Mankind must become the master of technology, not its victim. The newly manifested will for mutual

confidence and for a just world order must be mobilized. Pretensions to supremacy based on the possession of nuclear arms are, in the long run, inconsistent with a world in search of independence and equality. We must mobilize a new political momentum for progress in disarmament. Every country must view the problem of its own security in a broader context than that of military defence against an armed attack. Investments in political confidence are often as important to national security as investments in armaments.

70. It is true, of course, that most of the countries which live in peace with their immediate neighbours nevertheless build up costly defence establishments. This is due, as is the case in my own country, to fear that a conflict between the great Powers may spread also to the territories of countries not directly concerned. Détente between these Powers, accompanied by measures of genuine disarmament, would consequently remove most of the basic motives for military expenditure in various parts of the world.

71. Another problem has been the exaggerated secrecy surrounding the size and the use of government expenditure for military purposes. I realize that certain details of a country's military preparedness cannot be made public. But I am convinced that, if at least information on the main chapters of military expenditure that are now kept secret—mainly because of mistrust but perhaps also by tradition or bureaucracy—was released, and realistic means of international comparison were devised, it would be found that considerable outlays for military purposes were unnecessary.

72. Attention must also be focused on a particularly objectionable trend in military technology. As in the case of nuclear weapons, great human and technological resources are employed to improve existing conventional weapons and to develop new ones. In this process, we know, there is a risk of producing not only effective but also exceedingly cruel weapons. From a humanitarian point of view, it is of great importance that increased attention be paid to existing and new particularly cruel conventional weapons and that efforts be made to achieve restrictions or prohibitions of use of such weapons and, eventually, agreement on their elimination.

73. A considerable expansion in the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes is now going on throughout the world. This provides us with great resources of energy that is cheap and much less detrimental to the environment compared with fossil fuels, which at present are the main alternatives. At the same time, the use of nuclear power involves considerable problems. Partly, new factors come into play. This means that caution must be observed when extending the use of nuclear power and that intensive efforts must be made to solve the manifold problems of security. It does not mean, however, that we should refrain from further developing this source of energy.

74. A problem on which we must now focus international attention is the risk that the accumulation of plutonium can facilitate the production of nuclear weapons. This is also the most urgent disarmament problem facing us at present.

75. Each of us has to shoulder his particular responsibility in this context—nuclear-weapon States, non-

nuclear-weapon States, parties and non-parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], exporters and importers of nuclear material, small as well as big countries. We all have some measure of responsibility for the turn of events and we must act together in this matter, in which the shape of the future of all of us is at stake.

76. How can the danger of any further proliferation of nuclear weapons be averted? The obvious prerequisite is, of course, that those two Powers which started the nuclear race assume the responsibilities that are theirs. They have to comply with their treaty obligations and solemn pledges to the world community to reach real results in their talks on nuclear disarmament. The non-nuclear-weapon Powers are entitled to demand such compliance.

77. The great Powers have acquired the potential to destroy each other completely and many times over, and the rest of the world as well. Still they continue their nuclear-arms race as if they could somehow gain added security or leverage. And all these outlays are made on weapons the use of which, according to their possessors, must be avoided at all costs. Détente must provide the opportunity for the two nuclear giants to break out of this deadly spiral finally. And other countries that possess nuclear weapons must follow.

78. The States contemplating the acquisition of nuclear weapons have to face the responsibilities that are theirs. If they should choose to step over the threshold, they would disrupt the efforts to uphold the non-proliferation régime to which the majority of the members of the world community adhere. They would increase the probability of the outbreak of a nuclear war, which could not but cause disaster to all of us.

79. Exporters of nuclear material have their particular responsibility. It is imperative that they follow the recommendation of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons⁵ and agree on arrangements to the effect that exports of nuclear material will take place only if all the peaceful activities of importing States not parties to the non-proliferation Treaty are placed under safeguards.

80. Importers of nuclear material and equipment should accept this obligation in the interest of all of us. This is a matter of equity. The majority of the world community has accepted the obligations which the non-proliferation Treaty imposes on them. The others should follow.

81. We must all work towards further improvements of the existing safeguards against nuclear proliferation. In the long-term perspective, an international system for the management of the whole nuclear-power cycle from the uranium mine to the final storage of highly radioactive waste should be aimed at. National solutions will not be adequate.

82. There is a clear connexion between disarmament and the quest for a new international economic order. The human, material and technological resources spent on armaments represent an immense potential source for development. If we succeeded in halting the arms race and starting the process of disarmament, this source could be utilized for progress on

the road to greater economic and social justice. This, in its turn, would strengthen our possibilities for dealing in a more effective way with the political, economic and social injustices which are the ultimate causes of war.

83. What is now needed is a world-wide recognition of this interconnexion. I am optimistic enough to believe that, if the question is put in such a perspective, people everywhere who now look upon the insane armaments race with feelings of helplessness will claim a halt in the race as their right. That is a new situation which statesmen everywhere will have to take into account.

84. Finally, the United Nations is our central political forum. It is here that we must mobilize the political determination necessary for breaking the present deadlock in disarmament. Sweden is therefore fully behind the Secretary-General when he emphasizes the necessity to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to cope with this tremendous task.

85. I am a strong believer in the United Nations. Some people tend to emphasize the lack of substantial success in United Nations involvement in some of the major problems of peace and security, human rights and the degrading poverty of a large majority of the world's population. We are all well aware of the shortcomings and the failings of the United Nations. These are, however, a reflection of the international society which created and now guides the Organization.

86. But perhaps we should look more to its achievements. If we look at a longer period we must appreciate the United Nations role in bringing the moral weight of world opinion to bear on the colonial Powers. This was essential in the struggle for self-determination and independence, which no doubt is the most significant historical development of the last 30 years. The Organization has played an essential role in promoting peace in the Middle East and in other conflict areas. The past years have seen the United Nations establish guiding principles for a new international economic order.

87. Still it is necessary to seek constantly to improve the effectiveness and capacity of the Organization. The Organization is the symbol of the international

co-operation needed to create a structure for peace and solidarity among the peoples of the world.

88. For us it is a matter of principle that the Organization should live up to its vocation of universality without exception. If the United Nations is to play its legitimate, prominent role it must be fully representative of the entire international community. The participation of all States is essential to deal effectively with problems of international peace and security.

89. The United Nations has sometimes taken decisions which we regard as unfortunate and unwise. That does not give us reason to turn against the Organization or deny it our co-operation. I think it is most unfortunate if on such occasions the Organization is blamed and counter-measures are contemplated. One should not blame the Organization: one should make it stronger. And I think it is very important to say that today. I am confident that through an open dialogue in good faith and with goodwill our differences will never reach the stage where they become a genuine threat to the very existence of our institutions.

90. We should likewise be aware that the United Nations cannot be taken for granted. It exists because the Member States work for it and in it. Indifference is what could do the most damage to this Organization, which is so vital to the vast underprivileged population of the third world, to small countries everywhere, and indeed to all nations in the world.

91. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965*, document S/6253.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5476.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 5475.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2270th meeting.

⁵ See A/C.1/1068, annex I.